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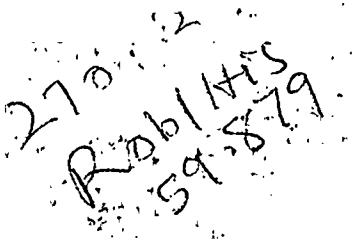

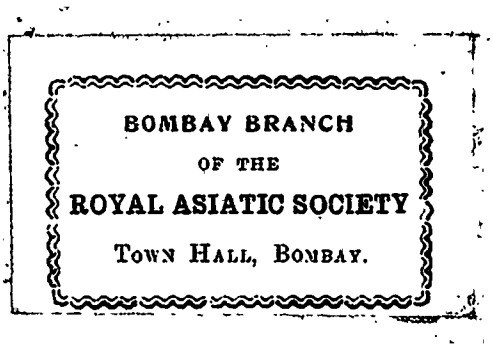

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HISTORY

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

TO THE PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY THE GREAT,

A.D. 590.

INTENDED FOR GENERAL READERS AS WELL AS FOR STUDENTS IN THEOLOGY.

59879

By JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, M.A.,

VICAR OF BEKESBOURNE, IN THE DIOCESE OF CANTERBURY.

F. b. 2

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AND CHARING CROSS.

PREFACE.

It is to be hoped that the English Church will o
produce a great ecclesiastical history, worthy to be r
with the masterpieces of our literature, and equal or
rior to the best works of its kind which have appear
other countries. But in the mean time there is a n
and a more urgent want—namely, that of a read
introduction to the subject.

My materials—as must be the case in such a wor
have been in great part taken from secondary authoriti
but I trust that, even where the original sources have no
been consulted, the writers named in the references will be found sufficiently various to secure me against the charge of having blindly followed the opinions of any party.

The reader will see that I have preferred an inartificial arrangement to the system of classifying the matter under distinct heads (such as External and Internal History —Doctrines—Schisms—Christian Life, &c.), which is now usual with German writers. It may be well to state that this preference did not originate in any wish to disparage the more scientific method, but in a belief that, for the special object which I had in view, a plan resembling that of the ordinary secular histories would be the most suitable.

J. C. R.

Bekesbourne, near Canterbury,
November 7, 1853.

*** I beg to recommend, as a valuable accompaniment to this or any ot
Church History, the 'Atlas Sacer sive Ecclesiasticus,' published at Goth
by J. E. T. Wiltsch, whose work on Geography is frequentl
following pages.

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A HISTORY

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK I.

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH TO THE EDICT OF TOLERATION BY CONSTANTINE, A.D. 313.

CHAPTER I.

THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

WE learn from the books of the New Testament that within a few years from the day of Pentecost the Gospel was spread, by the preaching, the miracles, and the life of the Apostles and their associates, through most of the countries which border on the Mediterranean Sea. At Rome, before the city had been visited by any Apostle, the number of Christians was already so great as to form several congregations in the different quarters.[a] While St. Paul was engaged in the labours which are related in the Acts of the Apostles, his brethren were doubtless active in their several spheres, although no certain record of their exertions has been preserved. St. Clement of Rome states that the Apostle of the Gentiles himself, in the last period of his life, visited "the extremity of the west;"[b] an expression which may be more probably interpreted of Spain (in accordance with the intention expressed in Rom. xv. 28) than of our own island. The early introduction of Christianity into Britain, however, appears more certain than the agency by which it was effected; and the same remark will apply in many other cases.

St. Peter is said to have founded the Church of Antioch, and, after having presided over it for seven years, to have left Euodius as his successor, while he himself penetrated into Parthia and

[a] Rom. xvi.

[b] Ad Cor. c. v. See Dr. Jacobson's note on the passage, PP. Apostol. i. 27.

other countries of the east.[c] It seems more reasonable to understand the date of *Babylon* in his First Epistle (v. 13) as meaning the eastern city of that name than as a mystical designation of pagan Rome.[d] St. Bartholomew is said to have preached in Arabia; St. Andrew in Scythia; St. Matthew in Ethiopia. St. Thomas is reported to have preached in Parthia and in India. The Persian Church claimed him for its founder, and the native Church of Malabar advances a similar claim. But the name of India was so vaguely used that little can be safely inferred from the ancient notices which connect it with the labours of St. Thomas: the more probable opinion appears to be that the Christianity of Malabar owes its origin to Nestorian missionaries of the fifth century, who carried with them from Persia the name of the apostle of that country, and so laid the foundation of the local tradition.[e] The Church of Alexandria traced itself to St. Mark; that of Milan, but with less warrant,[f] to St. Barnabas. St. Philip (either the deacon or the apostle) is said to have settled at Hierapolis in Phrygia. The foundation of the Church of Edessa by St. Thaddeus might perhaps be more readily believed if the story were not connected with that of a previous correspondence between our Saviour and Abgarus, king of that region.[g]

There may be too much hardness in rejecting traditions, as well as too great easiness in receiving them. Modern criticism is fallible, as well as ancient belief; and reactions are apt to run into excess. Where it is found that a church existed, and that it referred its origin to a certain person, the mere fact that the person in question was as likely as any other to have been the founder, or perhaps more likely than any other, can surely be no good reason for denying the claim. We have before us, on the one hand, remarkable works, and, on the other, distinguished names; tradition *may* be wrong in connecting the names with the works; but it is an unreasonable scepticism to insist on separating them, without examination and without exception. In order to the right investigation of such matters there is required, not only the acuteness of literary criticism, but, even in greater degree, a power of religious and moral discernment. The

[c] Baron. 39, 18. Against the story of St. Peter's bishopric at Antioch, see Burton, i. 119; Heinichen in Euseb. iii. 36 (t. i. p. 272).

[d] See Wiltsch, Kirchliche Geographie u. Statistik, i. 17.

[e] See Neander, i. 112-4; Milman note on Gibbon, iv. 381; Wiltsch, i. 19.

[f] Tillem. i. 657.

[g] Hegesipp. apud Euseb. i. 13; ii. 1.

narratives which are to be accepted must not merely be free from real outward difficulties; they must contain nothing that is of itself unworthy or improbable. But where these conditions are satisfied, although we may withhold our full confidence, we may yet properly admit the traditional stories as possibly true, and as worthy of preservation.

Of the personal history of the Apostles we know hardly anything with certainty beyond what is related in Scripture. With the single exception of St. John, it is believed that the whole of the blessed company suffered martyrdom. It is not so much a spirit of sound criticism as a religious prejudice which has led some Protestant writers to deny that St. Peter was ever at Rome,[h] where all testimony represents him to have suffered, together with St. Paul, in the persecution under Nero.[i]

That persecution is one of the circumstances in our early history which are attested by the independent evidence of heathen writers. It has been supposed that Christianity had once before attracted the notice of the imperial government; for it is inferred from a passage in Suetonius that disturbances among the Roman Jews on the subject of Christ had been the occasion of the edict by which Claudius banished them from the city.[k] But the persecution under Nero was more distinctly directed against the Christians, on whom the emperor affected to lay the charge of having set fire to the city.[l] Some were sewn up in the skins of wild beasts, and exposed to be torn by dogs; some were crucified; others were covered with a dress which had been smeared with pitch, and was then set on fire, so that the victims served as torches to illuminate the emperor's gardens, while he regaled the populace with the exhibition of chariot-races, in which he himself took part. We learn from Tacitus that, although the charge of incendiarism was disbelieved, the Christians were unpopular as followers of an unsocial superstition; but that the infliction of such tortures on them raised a general feeling of pity.[m] It is a question whether this persecution was confined to the neighbourhood of Rome, or whether it extended into the pro-

A.D. 64-68.

[h] See Pearson, Minor Works, ii. 327-341; Thiersch's Hist. of the Church, i. 90-3.

[i] A.D. 67 or 68. Fleury, ii. 25; Pearson, Annales Paulini (Minor Works, i. 396). But Mr. Fynes Clinton places their martyrdom in A.D. 65. Fasti Rom. p. 47.

[k] Acts xviii. 2; Sueton. Claud. 25; Guericke, i. 122.

[l] Dean Milman conjectures that some of the more fanatical *Jewish* Christians may have been heard to exult in the sight of the flames, regarding the ruin of Rome as a token of the second advent. Hist. of Christianity, ii. 37.

[m] Tacit. Annal. xv. 44.

vinces.[n] In the latter case (which, however, appears the less probable) we may suppose that, like other persecutions, it was more or less severe according to the character of the local governors.[o]

The next considerable event in the history is the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. Until that time, the capital of God's ancient people, the city where the Church had had its birth, had naturally been regarded by Christians as a religious centre. It was the scene of the Apostolic Council, held under the presidency of its bishop, St. James "the Just."[p] And, as the embracing of the Gospel was not considered to detach converts of Hebrew race from the Temple-worship and other Mosaic observances, Jerusalem had continued to be a resort for such converts, including the Apostles themselves, at the seasons of the great Jewish festivals.

A.D. 70.

But the destruction of the Temple, and of the Holy City, put an end to this connexion. It was the final proof that God was no longer with the Israel after the flesh; that the Mosaic system had fulfilled its work, and had passed away. At the approach of the besieging army, the Christian community—seeing in this the accomplishment of their Master's warnings—had withdrawn beyond the Jordan to the mountain town of Pella. The main body of them returned after the siege, and established themselves among the ruins, under Symeon, who had been raised to the bishopric on the martyrdom of St. James, some years before;[q] but the Church of Jerusalem no longer stood in its former relation of superiority to other Churches.[r]

Only one other event remains to be mentioned during this time —the persecution by Domitian. Christianity, as it was not the religion of any nation, had not, in the eyes of Roman statesmen, a claim to admission among the number of tolerated religions (*religiones licitæ*); it must, indeed, have refused such a position, if it were required to exist peaceably and without aggression by the side of systems which it denounced as false and ruinous. Hence its professors were exposed to the capricious enmity of rulers who might think fit to proceed against them. The banishment of St. John to Patmos, where he saw the visions re-

A.D. 95-6.[s]

[n] Mosheim, Instit. Majores, 124-6; Guericke, i. 123; Milman, n. on Gibbon, i. 546.

[o] Notices of martyrs who are *said* to have suffered in various countries during this persecution may be found in Tillemont, ii. 75-7.

[p] Acts xv.

[q] Euseb. iii. 11; Tillem. ii. 187, 575.

[r] Gieseler, I. i. 126-9.

[s] This is Tillemont's date, ii. 118, 522. Comp. Clinton, p. 80. Baronius and others place the beginning four years earlier.

corded in the last book of Holy Scripture, has generally been referred to this persecution.[t] Nor does there appear to be any good reason for disbelieving the story that the emperor, having been informed that some descendants of the house of David were living in Judea, ordered them to be brought before him, apprehending a renewal of the attempts at rebellion which had been so frequent among their nation. They were two grandchildren of St. Jude—the "brother" of our Lord, as he is called. They showed their hands, rough and horny from labour, and gave such answers as proved them to be simple countrymen, not likely to engage in any plots against the state; whereupon they were dismissed.[u]

The Christians who had been banished by Domitian were recalled by his successor, Nerva, and recovered their confiscated property.

St. John alone of the Apostles survived to the reign of Trajan.[x] For many years he superintended the Church of Ephesus. A pleasing story is told of his recovering to the way of righteousness a young man who had fallen into vicious courses, and had become captain of a band of robbers.[y] It is related, too, that, when too feeble to enter the church without assistance, or to utter many words, he continually addressed his flock with the charge—"Little children, love one another;" and that, when some of them ventured to ask the reason of a repetition which they found wearisome, he answered, "Because it is the Lord's commandment, and, if this only be performed, it is enough."[z] And it is surely a very incomplete view of his character which would reject as improbable the story of his having rushed out of a public bath in horror and indignation on finding it to be polluted by the presence of the heretic Cerinthus.[a]

Of the writings ascribed to this age, but which have not been admitted into the canon of the New Testament, the First Epistle of St. Clement is the only one which is generally received as genuine. The author, who is supposed to be the Clement of Philippians iv. 3, was bishop of Rome towards the end of the

[t] The modern Germans, however, more commonly refer the Apocalypse to an earlier date, such as the time of *Nero's* persecution. (See Gieseler, I. i. 127; Guericke, i. 97.) The stories of the Apostle's having been plunged into a caldron of boiling oil, and of his having drunk a cup of poison, without receiving any hurt, are supposed by Gieseler (I. i. 139) to have arisen from a desire to *realise* St. Matth. xx. 23.

[u] Hegesippus, ap. Euseb. iii. 20. See Dr. Routh's notes on the passage. Reliq. Sacræ, i. 249, seqq.

[x] Clinton, A.D. 100.

[y] Euseb. iii. 23.

[z] Hieron. in Galat. vi. 10 (t. viii. 433).

[a] Euseb. iv. 14, from Irenæus.

century.[b] His epistle was written to the Church of Corinth, on an occasion of which no other record is preserved, but probably after the persecution under Domitian:[c] the chief object of it is to recommend humility and peace. The so-called Second Epistle of Clement is rejected by most critics; and the other writings with which his name is connected are undoubtedly spurious.[d]

The epistle which bears the name of St. Barnabas (although it does not claim him for its author),[e] and the 'Shepherd' of Hermas,[f] are probably works of the earlier half of the second century.

Before leaving the apostolic age, a few words must be said on the subject of Church-government, while some other matters of this time are better reserved for notice at such points of the later history as may afford us a view of their bearings and consequences.

With respect, then, to the government of the earliest Church, the most important consideration appears to be, that the Christian ministry was developed, not from below, but from above. We do not find that the first members of it raised some from among their number to a position higher than the equality on which they had all originally stood; but, on the contrary, that the Apostles, having been at first the sole depositaries of their Lord's commission, with all the powers which it conferred, afterwards delegated to others, as their substitutes, assistants, or successors, such

[b] I do not venture to enter into the controversy as to the succession of the earliest bishops of Rome. Some of our divines (as Thorndike, i. 25, ed. Ang. Cath. Lib., and Hammond, Minor Works, ib. 238) suppose that at Rome, as at Antioch, there was at first one line of bishops for the Jewish and another for the Gentile Christians. But see Pearson's Dissertations, pt. ii. cc. 4-5, in Minor Works, vol. ii. pp. 449-460.

[c] Rothe supposes it written during a vacancy of the see of Corinth, in which a democratic party rebelled against the presbyters. So Thiersch, i. 343-4.

[d] The Clementine Homilies and Recognitions are supposed to be the work of an Ebionite of the party inclining to Gnosticism. See Neander, i. 493, and Die Clementinen, by Schliemann.

[e] Neander considers this epistle to be the work of a converted Alexandrian Jew, and written in a tone "more consonant with the spirit of Philo than that of St. Paul, or even of the Epistle to the Hebrews" (ii. 406). It has been referred by some to the reign of Hadrian. (Keble, in Tracts for the Times, No. 89, p. 16.) Guericke is in favour of its genuineness (i. 211); and I have been somewhat surprised by finding that Gieseler is of the same opinion, which he justifies by saying that Barnabas does not appear in the Acts as "ein geistig bedeutender Mann" (I. i. 146). For a list of authorities on each side see Schliemann, 415.

[f] This is ascribed to the Hermas who is mentioned in Rom. xvi. 14. It has also been ascribed to a person of the same name, who was brother of Pius I., bishop of Rome, about A.D. 150. Neander remarks that the respect paid to it by writers very near that period "can hardly be reconciled with the hypothesis of so late an origin" (ii. 411). Perhaps it belongs to the interval between the first and the second Hermas.

portions of their powers as were capable of being transmitted, and as were necessary for the continuance of the Church.

In this way were appointed, first, the order of deacons, for the discharge of secular administrations and of the lower spiritual functions; next, that of presbyters, elders, or bishops, for the ordinary care of congregations; and, lastly, the highest powers of ordination and government were in like manner imparted, as the Apostles began to find that their own body was, from its smallness, unequal to the local superintendence of the growing Church, and as the approach of their end warned them to provide for the coming times. An advocate of the episcopal theory of apostolical succession is not, I conceive, obliged to argue that there must needs have been three orders in the ministry, or that there need have been more than one. It is enough to say that those to whom the Apostles conveyed the full powers of the Christian ministry were not the deacons, nor the presbyters, but (in the later meaning of the word) the bishops; and the existence of the inferior orders, as subject to these, is a simple matter of history.

Resting on the fact that the Apostles were, during their lives on earth, the supreme regulating authorities of the Church, we may disregard a multitude of questions which have been made to tell against the theories of an episcopal polity, of a triple ministry, or of any ministry whatever as distinguished from the great body of Christians. We need not here inquire at what time and by what steps the title of *Bishop*, which had at first been common to the highest and the second orders, came to be applied exclusively to the former; nor whether functions originally open to all Christian men were afterwards restricted to a particular class; nor in how far the inferior orders of the clergy, or the whole body of the faithful, may have shared in the administration of government and discipline; nor whether the commissions given by St. Paul to Timothy and to Titus were permanent or only occasional; nor at what time the system of fixed diocesan bishops was introduced. We do not refuse to acknowledge that the organization of the Church was gradual; we are only concerned to maintain that it was directed by the Apostles, and that in all essential points it was completed before their departure.

It is evident that the ministers of the Church, beginning with St. Matthias, were usually chosen by the body of believers; but it seems to me equally clear that it was the apostolical ordination which gave them their commission—that commission being de-

rived from the Head of the Church, who had bestowed it on the Apostles, that they might become the channels for conveying it to others.[8]

Of the universal supremacy of the Bishop of Rome it is unnecessary here to speak. In this stage of Church-history it is a matter not for the narrator but for the controversialist; if indeed the new Romish theories of our day may not be regarded as dispensing even the controversial opponents of Rome from the necessity of proving that, in the earliest times of Christianity, no such supremacy was known or imagined.

[8] See Rothe, Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche (who supposes episcopacy, properly so called, to have been established by the surviving Apostles after the fall of Jerusalem); Gladstone's Church Principles, chap. v.; Thiersch, i. 258, seqq.

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGNS OF TRAJAN AND HADRIAN.

A.D. 98-138.

CHRISTIANITY was no longer to be confounded with Judaism. The great majority of the converts were of Gentile race; and the difference of manners and observances, between the followers of the two religions, was such as could not be overlooked when exhibited in large bodies of persons. But still the newer system was regarded as an offshoot of the older; its adherents were exposed to all the odium of a Jewish sect. Indeed the Christian religion must have appeared the more objectionable of the two, since it was not only exclusive, but, instead of being merely national, it claimed the allegiance of all mankind.[a]

Strange and horrible charges began to be current against the Christians. The secrecy of their meetings for worship was ascribed, not to its true cause, the fear of persecution, but to a consciousness of abominations which could not bear the light. "Thyestean banquets," promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, and magical rites were popularly imputed to them.[b] The Jews were especially industrious in inventing and propagating such stories; some of the heretical parties, which now began to vex the Church, both brought discredit on the Christian name by their own practices, and were forward to join in the work of slander and persecution against the faithful.[c] And no doubt, among the orthodox themselves, there must have been some by whom the Gospel had been so misconceived, that their behaviour towards those without the Church was repulsive and irritating, so as to give countenance to the prejudices which regarded the faith of Christ as a gloomy and unsocial superstition.[d]

It is a question whether at this time there were any laws of the Roman empire against Christianity. On the one hand, we

[a] Planck, Christl. Gesellschaftsverfassung, i. 58.

[b] Gibbon, i. 535-6. See most of the charges in Minucius Felix, 'Octavius,' cc. 9. seqq., and the refutation, cc. 28-32.

[c] Burton, i. 310; Pusey, n. on Tertullian, i. 5.

[d] Neander, i. 126.

are told that those of Nero and Domitian had been repealed; on the other hand, Tertullian[e] speaks of laws against the Christians as still subsisting; and the records of the period convey the idea that the profession of the Gospel was legally punishable. Perhaps we may most safely suppose that, although no longer condemned by any special statute, it fell under the general law which prohibited all such religions as had not been formally sanctioned by the state.[f] And this law, although it might usually be allowed to slumber, could at any time be enforced; not to speak of the constant danger from popular tumults, often incited by persons who felt that their calling was at stake—priests, soothsayers, statuaries, players, gladiators, and others who depended for a livelihood on the worship of the heathen gods, or on spectacles which the Christians abhorred.[g]

The reign of Nerva (96-98) was a season of rest for the Church. His successor, Trajan, although stained with serious personal vices,[h] was long regarded by the Romans as the ideal of an excellent prince; centuries after his death, the highest wish that could be framed for the salutation of a new emperor was a prayer that he might be "more fortunate than Augustus and *better than Trajan*."[i] In the history of the Church, however, his appearance is less advantageous.

In this reign falls the martyrdom of the venerable Symeon, the kinsman of our Lord, brother of James the Just, and his successor in the see of Jerusalem. It is said that some heretics denounced him to the proconsul Atticus as a Christian and a descendant of David. During several days he endured a variety of tortures with a constancy which astonished the beholders; and at last he was crucified, at the age of a hundred and twenty.[k]

Early in his reign Trajan issued an edict against societies or clubs (*Hetæriæ*), apprehending that they might become dangerous to the state; and it is easy to imagine how this edict might be turned against the Christians—a vast brotherhood, extending through all known countries, both within and beyond the empire, bound together by intimate ties, maintaining a lively

[e] Apol. 6.

[f] See Tillemont, ii. 168; and note on Mosh. i. 133. Comp. Bp. Kaye on Tertullian, 109, seqq.

[g] Tzschirner, Der Fall des Heidenthums, 227. Comp. Tertull., Apol. 42-3.

[h] Tillem., Hist. des Emp. iii. 162.

[i] Gibbon, i. 82.

[k] A.D. 107, according to most authorities; while Mosheim places it so late as 116 (De Rebus Christ. 234); 104, according to Burton, ii. 17. The addition, that Symeon's accusers were themselves put to death as descendants of David, has a fabulous air.

intercourse and communication with each other, and having much that was mysterious both in their opinions and in their practice.[l]

A curious and interesting contribution to the Church history of the time is furnished by the correspondence of the younger Pliny.[m] He had been sent as proconsul into Pontus and Bithynia, a region of mixed population, partly Asiatic and partly Greek, with a considerable infusion of Jews.[n] That the Gospel had early found an entrance into those countries appears from the address of St. Peter's First Epistle;[o] and its prevalence there in the second century is confirmed by the testimony of the heathen Lucian.[p] The circumstances of his government forced on Pliny's attention a subject which had not before engaged it. Perhaps, as has been conjectured,[q] the first occasion which brought the new religion under his notice may have been the celebration of Trajan's *Quindecennalia*—the fifteenth anniversary of his adoption as the heir of the empire; for solemnities of this kind were accompanied by pagan rites, in which it was unlawful for Christians to share.

Pliny was perplexed by the novelty of the circumstances with which he had to deal. The temples of the national religion were almost deserted. The persons accused of Christianity were very numerous; they were of every age, of both sexes, of all ranks, and were found not only in the towns but in villages and country places. He was uncertain as to the state of the laws;[r] and he applied to the emperor for instructions. He states the course which he had pursued: he had questioned the accused repeatedly; of those who persisted in avowing themselves Christians, he had ordered some to be put to death, and had reserved others, who were entitled to the privileges of Roman citizens, with the intention of sending them to the capital. "I had no doubt," he says, "that, whatever they might confess, wilfulness and inflexible obstinacy ought to be punished." Many who were anonymously accused had cleared themselves by invoking the gods, by offering incense to the statues

[l] The additional ground of apprehension stated by Baronius (100, 9), *that they were subject to one central head*, appears to have been a discovery of his own.

[m] Ep. x. 96, printed, with Trajan's answer, in Gieseler, I. i. 136-8; also in the very useful collection, 'Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ veteris monumenta præcipua,' Berol. 1820-2; the first publication of Hermann Olshausen, author of the admirable Commentary on the New Testament. The genuineness of these letters has, of course, been denied, but seemingly without any good grounds. They are referred by Pagi to the years 111-112; by Clinton to 104.

[n] Milman, ii. 140.

[o] Comp. Acts ii. 9.

[p] Mosh. de Rebus Christ. 219.

[q] By Pagi, in Baron. ii. 31. See Milman, ii. 141; Burton, ii. 40.

[r] Hence Gibbon (i. 550) infers that there were no laws by which the Christians could be punished; but see for the contrary, Milman, i. 141-3.

of these and of the emperor, and by cursing the name of Christ. Some professed to have abandoned Christianity three—others as much as twenty—years before.[s] Although apostates are naturally unfavourable witnesses, the governor was unable to extract from these anything to the discredit of the faith which they had forsaken. They stated that they had been in the habit of meeting before dawn on certain days; that they sang alternately (*invicem*) a hymn[t] to Christ as God. Instead of the expected disclosures as to seditious engagements, licentious orgies, and unnatural feasts, Pliny could only find that they bound themselves by an oath to abstain from theft, adultery, and breach of promise or trust;[u] and that at a second meeting, later in the day, they partook in common of a simple and innocent meal (the *agape* or *love-feast*, connected with the Eucharist). He put two deaconesses[x] to the torture; but even this cruelty failed to draw forth evidence of anything more criminal than "a perverse and immoderate superstition." In these circumstances he refers his difficulties to the emperor. He asks, with what penalties Christianity shall be visited; whether it shall be punished as in itself a crime, or only when found in combination with other offences; whether any difference shall be made between the treatment of the young and tender, and that of the more robust culprits; and whether a recantation shall be admitted as a title to pardon. He concludes by stating that the measures already taken had recovered many worshippers for the lately deserted temples, and by expressing the belief that a wise and moderate policy would produce far more numerous reconversions.

Trajan, in his answer, approves of the measures which Pliny had reported to him. He prefers intrusting the governor with a large discretionary power to laying down a rigid and uniform rule for all cases. The Christians, he says, are not to be sought out; if detected and convicted, they are to be punished; but a denial of Christ is to be admitted as clearing the accused; and no anonymous informations are to be received against them.

[s] The period of twenty years probably refers to the persecution under Domitian. (Pagi in Bar. ii. 31.) The disavowal of the Gospel in time of persecution was sanctioned by the principles of some sects. Burton, ii. 41. See ch. iii.

[t] *Carmen*. I cannot think that the current charges against the Christians prove the word here to mean *a charm*, as is said by Dr. Newman, Essay on Development, 225.

[u] This, although represented as a part of the regular worship, may most probably be understood to refer to the baptismal vow. Bishop Beveridge (Cod. Canon. Vindic. l. II. c. iii. § 7) supposes "sacramentum" here to mean the Eucharist. But the following words seem to show that the eucharistic service was in the *evening*.

[x] "Ancillæ quæ *ministræ* dicebantur."

The policy indicated in these letters has been assailed by the sarcasm of Tertullian,[y] and his words have often been echoed and quoted with approbation by later writers—forgetful that the conduct of Trajan and his minister ought to be estimated, not by the standard either of true religion or of correct and consistent reasoning, but as that of heathen statesmen. We may deplore the insensibility which led these eminent men to set down our faith as a wretched fanaticism, instead of being drawn by the moral beauty of the little which they were able to ascertain to a deeper inquiry which might have ended in their own conversion. We may dislike the merely political view which, without taking any cognizance of religious truth, regarded religion only as an affair of state, and punished dissent from the legal system as a crime against the civil authority. We may pity the blindness which was unable to discern the inward and spiritual strength of Christianity, and supposed that a judicious mixture of indulgence and severity would in no long time extinguish it. But if we fairly consider the position from which Trajan and Pliny were obliged to regard the question, instead of joining in the apologist's complaints against the logical inconsistency of their measures, we shall be unable to refuse the praise of wise liberality to the system of conniving at the existence of the religion, unless when it should be so forced on the notice of the government as to require the execution of the laws.[z]

The next[a] event to be related is the martyrdom of St. Ignatius —one of the most celebrated facts in early Church History, not only on its own account, but because of the interest attached to the epistles which bear the name of the venerable bishop.[b] The

[y] "O sententiam necessitate confusam! negat inquirendos, ut innocentes; et mandat puniendos, ut nocentes," etc. Apol. 2 (t. i. 273).

[z] Schröckh, ii. 335; Neander, i. 136.

[a] It is placed by Ussher, Tillemont, and Burton in 107; by Baronius in 110. Pagi (ap. Baron. ii. 45-8) says that it cannot have been earlier than 112, and inclines to date it in 116, which is the year given by Pearson, Lloyd, Grabe, Schröckh, and Gieseler. Mr. Fynes Clinton's date is 115. Mosheim, who gives the latest of these dates, and refers the martyrdom of Symeon to the same year, begs the question of chronological order, by saying that the rescript of Trajan to Pliny became the law of the empire, and that these were instances of its being enforced (De R. Chr. 234-5). It would be more correct to say that they were in conformity with the *principles* laid down in the rescript; which might have been the case, although they were earlier in date than it. It is, however, difficult to reconcile the tone of the Bithynian letters with the supposition that the death of Ignatius —sentenced by the emperor in person —had taken place before. If the condemnation of Ignatius was in 116, an earthquake which had done great injury at Antioch in 115 may help to account for a popular excitement against the Christians at that time. On the whole, I have preferred a late date; but for this it is necessary to suppose the Acts of the Martyrdom to be interpolated in the passage which refers it to the consulship of Sura and Senecio.

[b] The history of these must be shortly stated. Until the middle of the seventeenth century, besides some epistles which existed only in Latin, and were

birthplace of Ignatius is matter of conjecture, and his early history is unknown. He is described as a hearer of St. John;[c] and he was raised to the bishopric of Antioch about the year 70. For nearly half a century he had governed that Church, seated in the capital of Syria, a city which numbered 200,000 inhabitants; and to the authority of his position was added that of a wise and saintly character.

It is uncertain to which of the visits which Trajan paid to Antioch the fate of Ignatius ought to be referred. The Acts of his Martyrdom[d] relate that he "was voluntarily led" before the emperor—an expression which may mean either that he was led as a criminal, without attempting resistance or escape; or that he himself desired to be conducted into Trajan's presence, with a view of setting forth the case of the Christians, and with the resolution, if his words should fail of success, to sacrifice himself for his faith and for his people.[e] The details of the scene with

undoubtedly spurious, there were twelve in Greek, which laboured under great suspicion of forgery or interpolation. (See Centur. Magd. ii. 127-8.) Archbishop Ussher attempted to restore the genuine epistles by the help of two Latin MSS. (1644); and about the same time Isaac Vossius discovered at Florence a Greek MS. which agreed very closely with the text produced by Ussher's critical skill. This MS. exhibited seven epistles, considerably shorter than those of the same names which had before been known—these having been swelled by interpolations; and the remaining five epistles were adjudged to be spurious. The "shorter recension" was defended against Daillé in the celebrated work of Bishop Pearson (1672); and from that time the seven epistles—although questioned by controversialists who disliked their testimony on the subject of Church-government, and suspected by some other critics of having been more or less corrupted—have been generally received as genuine remains of the Apostolical Father. Within the last few years, however, a new controversy has sprung up from the discovery of a Syriac MS., which contains *three* epistles shorter than the corresponding Greek epistles of the Florentine copy. The editor of the three, the Rev. W. Cureton, contends that they alone are genuine; while on the other side it is maintained that they are not complete translations, but abridgments, and that they do not afford any good reason for rejecting the remaining four. The result appears to be, that in our own country, while Mr. Cureton's oriental learning and industry are acknowledged with high praise, his reasoning is generally rejected (see Prof. Hussey's Preface to Academical Sermons, the Quarterly Review for Dec. 1850, and Archdeacon Churton's Preface to Pearson's Vindiciæ, ed. Ang. Cath. Lib.); and that in Germany, where the Chevalier Bunsen has introduced the three epistles in their new form, the more sober critics prefer that which had been before known as the *shorter recension*, while Baur maintains that *the whole* are spurious, and that the Syriac version is an *abridgment* of the Greek. In these circumstances, a compiler who altogether disclaims the right to form an independent opinion on the question may surely be justified in assuming the genuineness of the seven epistles as usually received. It may be here noted as a curious fact, and one which does not tend to increase our confidence in the decisions of criticism, that the Epistle to Polycarp, which had been pointed out by Mosheim (Instit. 220-2; De R. Chr. 159) and Neander (ii. 411) as the most suspicious of the *seven*, is one of the *three* which Mr. Cureton admits as genuine.

[c] Hieron. de Viris Illustr., c. 16.

[d] Neander suspects these altogether (i. 139). The concluding part is given up by many critics. See Jacobson, PP. Apostol. pp. 534-7.

[e] Le Clerc, in Jacobson, 515.

the emperor are suspicious; it ended in the condemnation of Ignatius to be carried to Rome, and there exposed to wild beasts. He welcomed the sentence, and gladly submitted to be bound. Perhaps the emperor may have hoped to overcome the constancy of the aged bishop by the fatigues of the long journey, and the terrors of the death which awaited him. At least we may suppose him to have reckoned on striking fear into other Christians, by the spectacle of a man so venerable in character and so eminent in place, hurried over sea and land to a dreadful and degrading death,—the punishment of the lowest criminals, and especially of persons convicted of those magical practices which were commonly imputed to the Christians.[f] Perhaps he may even have thought that the exemplary punishment of one noted leader would operate as a mercy to the multitude; and we find in fact that, while the victim was on his way to Rome, his Church, which he had left to the charge of God as its pastor, was allowed to remain in peace.[g]

Ignatius was committed to the charge of ten soldiers, who treated him with great harshness.[h] They conducted him to Seleucia, and thence by sea to Smyrna, where he was received by the bishop, Polycarp—like himself a disciple of St. John, and destined to be a martyr for the Gospel. The report of his sentence, and of his intended route, had reached the Churches of Asia; and from several of these deputations of bishops and clergy had been sent to Smyrna, with the hope of mingling with him in Christian consolation, and perhaps of receiving some spiritual gift from him.[i] He charged the bishops of Ephesus, Magnesia, and Tralles with letters addressed to their respective churches; and, as some members of the Ephesian Church were proceeding to Rome by a more direct way than that which he was himself about to take, he seized the opportunity of writing by them to his brethren in the capital. At Troas he was met by the bishop of Philadelphia; and thence he wrote to that Church, as also to the Smyrnaeans, and to their bishop, Polycarp.

The epistles to the Churches are in general full of solemn and affectionate exhortation. The venerable writer recalls to the minds of his readers the great truths of the Gospel—dwelling with especial force on the reality of our Lord's manhood, and of the circumstances of His history, by way of warning against the

[f] Burton, ii. 26.
[g] Ignat. ad Rom. 9; ad Polyc. 7.
[h] Ad Rom. 5.
[i] Acta S. Ign. 3. See Jacobson, 523, and Burton, ii. 26, 231.

errors of the Docetism which had begun to infest the Asiatic churches even during the lifetime of St. John. A tendency to Judaism (or rather to heresies of a judaizing character) is also repeatedly denounced.[k]

Submission to the episcopal authority is strongly inculcated throughout. Ignatius charges the Churches to do nothing without their bishops; he compares the relation of presbyters to bishops with that of the strings to the harp; he exhorts that obedience be given to the bishops as to Christ himself, and to the Almighty Father. The frequent occurrence of such exhortations, and the terms in which the episcopal office is extolled, have been the chief inducements to question the genuineness of the Epistles altogether, or to suppose that they have been largely interpolated with the view of serving a hierarchical interest.[l] It must, however, be remembered that the question is not whether a ministry of three orders was by this time organized, but merely whether Ignatius' estimation of the episcopal dignity were somewhat higher or lower; and it has been truly remarked[m] that the intention of the passages in question is not to exalt the hierarchy, but to persuade to Christian unity, of which the episcopate was the visible keystone.

The Epistle to the Romans is written in a more ardent strain than the others. In it Ignatius bears witness to the faith and the good deeds of the Church of Rome. He expresses an eager desire for the crown of martyrdom. He entreats that the Romans will not, through mistaken kindness, attempt to prevent his fate. "I am," he says, "the wheat of God; let me be ground by the

[k] Tillem. ii. 59.

[l] "Nulla forte lis plerisque Ignatianarum epistolarum mota fuisset, nisi qui pro divina origine et antiquitate gubernationis episcopalis pugnant, caussam suam ex illis fulcire potuissent. Hoc vero quum intelligerent Presbyteriani qui dicuntur, ex nostris etiam illi, qui omne id evertendum esse arbitrantur, quod ecclesiæ doctoribus utilitatis aliquid ad suam a populo distinctionem probandam afferre potest, tanto impetu has epistolas aggressi sunt, ut existimationi nonnumquam suæ et laudi, magis quam earum auctoritati, nocuerint." (Mosh. De R. Chr. 160.) In like manner, Neander (i. 266) and Baur reject the Epistles altogether, because they disagree with their views as to the origin of Church-government, while Chev. Bunsen relies on the three of the Syriac version, as harmonising with his ideas of ecclesiastical polity. (See Quart. Rev. lxxxviii. 78.; also Dorner's remarks, in his Lehre v. d. Person Christi, i. 157, note, on Neander's way of dealing with the Epistles; and Möhler's Athanasius, i. 18-9, as to the prejudice by which anti-episcopal writers have been influenced in the case.) Mr. Cureton is, indeed, free from such prejudices, since he both professes that "no one can be more sincerely and warmly devoted to our Church system" than himself, and points out that even *his* version contains "incidental and consequently unsuspected evidence" for that system (Corpus Ignatianum, Pref. xv.-xvi.). But may not the judgment of the most unprejudiced and honest man be warped by partiality to his own discoveries?

[m] Mosh. Instit. 222; Milman, iii. 361.

teeth of beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of Christ. Rather do you encourage the beasts, that they may become my tomb, and may leave nothing of my body, so that when dead I may not be troublesome to any one." He declares that he wishes the lions to exercise all their fierceness on him; that if, as in some other cases, they should show an unwillingness to touch him, he will himself provoke them to fall on him.

It has been asked whether these expressions were agreeable to the spirit of the Gospel.[n] Surely we need not hesitate to answer. The aspirations of a tried and matured saint are not to be classed with the headstrong spirit which at a later time led some persons to provoke persecution and death, so that the Church saw fit to restrain it by refusing the honours of martyrdom to those who should suffer in consequence of their own violence.[o] Rather they are to be regarded as a repetition of St. Paul's "readiness to be offered up;" of his desire "to depart and be with Christ." To such a man as Ignatius, such a death might reasonably seem as a token of the acceptance of his labours; while it afforded him an opportunity of signally witnessing to the Gospel, and becoming an offering for his flock.[p]

From Troas he sailed to Neapolis in Macedonia; thence he crossed the continent to Epidamnus, where he again embarked; and, after sailing round the south of Italy, he landed at Portus (Porto), near Ostia. His keepers hurried him towards Rome—fearing lest they should not arrive in time for the games at which it was intended to expose him. On the way he was met by some brethren from the city. He entreated these, even more earnestly than in his letter, that they would do nothing to avert his death. He prayed in concert with them for the peace of the Church, and for the continuance of love among the faithful. He was then carried to the amphitheatre, and suffered in the sight of the crowds assembled on the last day of the *Sigillaria*—a festival attached to the Saturnalia.[q] It is related that, agreeably to the wish which he had expressed, no part of his body was left, except a few of the larger and harder bones; and that these were collected by his brethren, and reverently sent to Antioch, being received with honour by the Churches on the way.[r]

[n] Barbeyrac, De la Moralité des Pères, l. viii. c. 39 (p. 126, Amsterd. 1728). Gibbon, i. 562.

[o] See Gieseler, I. i. 248, 411.

[p] See Pearson, Vindiciæ Ignatianæ, p. ii. c. 9 (pp. 477, seqq., ed. Churton); Cureton, Corpus Ignat., 321-2.

[q] Dec. 20. Tillem. ii. 208.

[r] There is, however, in this nothing like the honours which were paid to relics in later times.

Within a few months after the martyrdom of St. Ignatius, if the late date of it be correct, Trajan was succeeded August, 117. by Hadrian.[s] The new emperor—able, energetic, inquisitive, and versatile, but capricious, paradoxical, and a slave to a restless vanity—was not likely to appreciate Christianity rightly. But it is altogether unjust to class him among the persecutors of the Church (as was once the practice); for there is no ground for supposing him to have been personally concerned in the persecutions which took place during the earlier years of his reign; and under him the condition of the Christians was greatly improved.

The rescript of Trajan to Pliny had both its favourable and its unfavourable side: while it discouraged anonymous and false informations, it distinctly recognised the profession of the Gospel as a crime to be punished on conviction; and very soon a way was found to deprive the Christians of such protection as they might have hoped to derive from the hazardous nature of the informer's office. They were not now attacked by individual accusers; but at public festivals the multitudes assembled in the amphitheatres learnt to call for a sacrifice of the Christians, as wretches whose impiety was the cause of floods and earthquakes, of plagues, famines, and defeats; and it was seldom that a governor dared to refuse the demand.[t]

A visit of Hadrian to Athens,[u] when he was initiated in the mysteries of Eleusis, excited the heathen inhabitants with the hope of gratifying their hatred of the Christians. Two of these, Quadratus, who had been an *evangelist*, or missionary,[x] and Aristides, a converted philosopher, addressed the emperor in written arguments for their religion. The "Apologies" appear to have been well received; and they became the first in a series of works which powerfully and effectively set forth the truth of the Gospel, in contrast with the fables and the vices of Paganism.[y]

About the same time a plea for justice and toleration was offered by a heathen magistrate. Serennius Granianus, when about to leave the proconsulship of Asia, represented to Hadrian the atrocities which were committed in compliance with the popular clamours against the Christians; and the emperor, in

[s] Tillem. Hist. des Emp. ii. 210.

[t] Baron. 127, 1.; Mosh. De Rebus Christ. 236; Gibbon, i. 552; Neander, i. 139; Gieseler. I. i. 172.

[u] A.D. 125, Clinton. Tzschirner (p. 262) places it in 131.

[x] Some (as Cave, Hist. Lit. i. 31, and Tzschirner, 202) identify him with a Quadratus who was bishop of Athens.

[y] See Tillem. Hist. des Emp. ii. 331-4; Routh, Reliquiæ Sacræ, i. 72-3; Neander, i. 139; Burton, ii. 74.

consequence, addressed letters to Minucius Fundanus, the successor of Granianus, and to other provincial governors.[z] He orders that the Christians should no longer be given up to the outcries of the multitude; if convicted of any offence, they are to be sentenced according to their deserts; but the forms of law must be duly observed, and unfounded charges are to be severely punished.

This rescript was valuable, as affording protection against a new form of persecution; but still it was far from establishing a complete toleration, since it omitted to define whether Christianity were in itself a crime, and thus left the matter to the discretion or caprice of the local magistrates.[a]

The reign of Hadrian was very calamitous for the Jews. In the last years of Trajan there had been Jewish insurrections in Egypt, Cyprus, Mesopotamia, and elsewhere, which had been put down with great severity, and had drawn fresh oppressions on the whole people.[b] By these, and especially by the insult which Hadrian offered to their religion, in settling a Roman colony on the site of the Holy City, the Jews of Palestine were excited to a formidable revolt, under a leader A.D. 132-5. who assumed the name of Barcochab,[c] and was believed by his followers to be the Messiah. After a protracted and very bloody war, the revolt was suppressed. Many Jews were put to death, some were sold at the price of horses, others were transported from the land of their fathers; and no Jew was allowed to approach Jerusalem except on one day in the year—the anniversary of the capture by Titus, when, for a heavy payment, they were admitted to mourn over the seat of their fallen greatness. The Roman city of Ælia Capitolina was built on the foundations of Jerusalem; a temple of Jupiter defiled Mount Zion; and it is said that profanations of a like kind were committed in the places hallowed by the birth, the death, and the burial of our Lord.[d]

While the revolt was as yet successful, the Christians of Palestine suffered severely for refusing to acknowledge Barcochab.[e] The measures of Hadrian, after its suppression, led to an impor-

[z] Olshausen, Hist. Eccl. Monum. i. 30.
[a] See Mosh. de Rebus Christ. 238; Neander, i. 140-1; Routh, i. 73; Milman, ii. 155.
[b] Tillem. Hist. des Emp. ii. 303-4.
[c] *Son of a Star* (with a reference to Numbers xxiv. 17).
[d] Tillem. Hist. des Emp. ii. 305-311; Burton, ii. 57.
[e] Neander, i. 143.

tant change in the Church of Jerusalem. Wishing visibly to disconnect themselves from the Jews, the majority of its members abandoned the Mosaic usages which they had until then retained. They chose for the first time a bishop of Gentile race, and conformed to the practice of Gentile Churches. On these conditions they were allowed to reside in Ælia, while such of their brethren as still adhered to the distinctively Jewish Christianity retired to Pella and other places beyond the Jordan, where their fathers had found a refuge during the siege of Jerusalem by Titus.[1]

A.D. 138.

[1] Tillem. Hist. des Empereurs, ii. 312.

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLY HERETICS.

HEGESIPPUS and Clement of Alexandria have been derided as having stated that the Church was not polluted by schism or heresy until the reign of Trajan, or that of Hadrian; and it is added, "we may observe, with much more propriety, that during [the earlier] period the disciples of the Messiah were indulged in a freer latitude, both of faith and practice, than has ever been allowed in succeeding ages."[a] But in truth the fathers make no such assertion as is here supposed; their words relate, not to the appearance of the first symptoms of error, but to the distinct formation of bodies which claimed the Christian name and yet held doctrines different from those of the Church.[b] Nor has the remark which is offered by way of correction any other truth than this,—that the measures of the Church for the protection of her members against erroneous teaching were taken only as the development of evil made them necessary. The New Testament itself bears ample witness both to the existence of false doctrine during the lifetime of the Apostles, and to the earnestness with which they endeavoured to counteract it. Among the persons who are there censured by name, some appear to be taxed with faults of conduct only; but of others the opinions are condemned. It is said of Hymenæus that he has "made shipwreck concerning the faith;" that he has "erred concerning the truth, saying that the resurrection is past already;" and Alexander and Philetus are included in the same charges.[c]

In St. Paul's Epistles, besides the passages which bear a controversial character on their surface, there are many in which a comparison of the language of early heresy will lead us to discern such a character.[d] The same may be observed of other apostolical writings; those of St. John in particular are throughout marked by a reference to prevailing errors, and to the terminology in

[a] Gibbon, i. 465.

[b] Milman, note on Gibbon; Tillemont, ii. 188; Burton, Bampton Lectures, 260-2; Heinichen in Euseb. iii. 32 (t. i. 266).

[c] 1 Tim. i. 19-20; 2 Tim. ii. 17-18.

[d] See Burton, Bampt. Lectures, III.-IV.; Matter, Hist. du Gnosticisme, t. i.

which these were conveyed. And long before the probable date of any Christian Scripture, we meet with him who has always been regarded as the father of heresy—the magician Simon of Samaria.[e]

In reading of the ancient heretics we must remember that the accounts of them come from their enemies; and our own experience will show us how easily misunderstanding or misrepresentation may creep in even where there is no unfair intention. We must not be too ready to believe evil;[f] we must beware of confounding the opinions of heresiarchs with those of their followers; and especially we must beware of too easily supposing that the founders of sects were unprincipled or profligate men, since by so doing we should not only, in many cases, be wrong as to the fact, but should forego an important lesson. The "fruits" by which "false prophets" shall be known[g] are not to be sought in their own practice, but in the results of their principles,—in their developed doctrines and maxims, and in those of their disciples.

But, on the other hand, if the ancients, and those who have implicitly followed them in treating such subjects, must be read with caution, it is no less necessary to be on our guard against the theories and statements of some moderns, who are ready to sympathize with every reputed heretic, to represent him as only too far elevated by genius and piety above the Church of his own day, and conjecturally to fill up the gaps of his system, to explain away its absurdities, and to harmonise its contradictions. A writer who endeavours to enter into the mind of a heresiarch, and to trace the course of his ideas, is, indeed, more likely to help us to an understanding of the matter than one who sets out with the supposition that the man's deliberate purpose was to vent detestable blasphemies, and to ruin the souls of his followers; and we may often draw instruction or warning from Beausobre or Neander, where St. Epiphanius or Baronius would only tempt us to question whether the opinions imputed to heretical parties could ever have been really held. Yet we must not assume that things cannot have been because the idea of them appears monstrous; we must remember that conjecture, however ingenious, may be mistaken; and, if the conclusions of a system as to faith or morals are abominable, we may not speak of such a system with admiration or indulgence on

[e] Acts viii. See Bull, v. 505.

[f] Evagrius (from whom such remarks might hardly have been expected), in pointing out the distinction between heathen and Christian varieties of opinion, vindicates the heretics from the charge of *intentional* impiety; each, he says, only thought to be more correct than all before him (i. 11).

[g] St. Matth. vii. 15-6. See Tholuck in loc.

account of any poetical beauty or philosophical depth which may appear to be mixed up with its errors.

The systems of the earliest heretical teachers were for the most part of the class called *Gnostic*[h]—a name which implies pretensions to some superior *knowledge*. It is disputed whether St. Paul intended to refer to this sense of the word in his warning against "knowledge falsely so called;"[i] but if (as is most likely) the peculiar use of the term began later, the thing itself existed in the Apostle's days. The tenets of the Gnostics were for the most part so remote from the Christian creed that they would now be classed rather with utter aliens from the Gospel than with heretics; but in early times the title of *heretic* was given to all who in any way whatever introduced the name of Christ into their systems; thus, as has been remarked, "if Mahomet had appeared in the second century, Justin Martyr or Irenæus would have spoken of him as an heretic."[k]

On looking at the strange opinions which are thus brought before us, we may wonder how they could ever have been adopted by any to whom the Christian faith had been made known. But a consideration of the circumstances will lessen our surprise; Gnosticism is in truth not to be regarded as a corruption of Christianity, but as an adoption of some Christian elements into a system of different origin.

At the time when the Gospel appeared, a remarkable mixture had taken place in the existing systems of religion and philosophy. The Jews had during their captivity become acquainted with the Chaldæan and Persian doctrines. Many of them had remained in the East; and a constant intercourse was kept up between the descendants of these and their brethren of the Holy Land. Thus the belief of the later Jews had been much tinged with oriental ideas, especially in relation to angels and spiritual beings.

The prevailing form of Greek philosophy—the Platonic—had, from the first, contained elements of Eastern origin; and in later days the intercourse of nations had led to a large adoption of foreign additions. The great city of Alexandria in particular,

[h] This name, however, was not assumed in common by the sects, but was *applied* to them. The Carpocratians—the worst and most immoral sect of all—or a party among these, are said to have been the only Gnostics who styled themselves so (Matter, i. 316).

[i] 1 Tim. vi. 20; where the word ἀντιθέσεις (*oppositions*) has been referred to the Gnostic doctrines of opposition between the kingdoms of light and darkness. (Matter, i. 207-8.)

[k] Burton, Bampt. Lect. 12.

which was afterwards to be the cradle of Gnosticism, became a centre of philosophical speculations. In its schools were represented the doctrines of Egypt, of Greece, of Palestine, and indirectly those of Persia and Chaldæa—themselves affected by the systems of India and the further East.[l] The prevailing tone of mind was eclectic; all religions were regarded as having in them something divine, but no one as possessing a full and sufficient revelation.[m] Hence, ideas were borrowed from one to fill up the deficiencies of another. Hence, systems became so intermingled and mutually modified, that we can understand how it has come to pass that learned men have differed as to the origin of Gnosticism—some referring it chiefly to Platonism,[n] while others trace it to Oriental sources.[o] Hence, too, we can understand how Christianity came to be combined with notions so strangely unlike itself. The same eclectic principle which had produced the fusion of other systems, led speculative minds to adopt something from the Gospel; they took only so much as was suitable for their purpose, and they interpreted this at will. The substance of each system is Platonic, or Oriental, or derived from the later Judaism; the Scriptural terms are used in senses altogether different from that which they bear in Christian theology.

The especial pretension of the Gnostics was (as has been stated) to *knowledge*.[p] By this the superior spirits were to be distinguished from the vulgar, for whom faith and traditional opinion were said to be sufficient; the Gnostics sometimes complained of it as an injustice that they were excluded from the communion of the Church, whereas they were willing to leave the multitude in possession of the common creed, and only claimed for themselves the privilege of understanding doctrine in an inner and a higher sense.[q] On such a principle the Old Testament had been interpreted by the Alexandrian, Philo—the type of a Platonizing Jew.[r] The principle was now applied to the New Testament, from which texts were produced by way of sanction for it.[s] As for the older Scriptures, the Gnostics either rejected them altogether, or perverted them by an unlimited licence of allegorising.[t]

[l] Matter, i. 127.
[m] Matter, i. 45.
[n] Matter, i. 72; Burton, Bampt. Lect., note 7. This is the view of the early Fathers. See Kaye's Tertullian, 449.
[o] Mosheim, Inst. Maj. 341; Brucker, ii. 643.
[p] Both Pythagoras and Plato had used the word γνῶσις to signify the *highest* knowledge; and the distinction of grades is common to eastern religions. (Matter, i. 51; Brucker, ii. 642.)
[q] Neander, ii. 33.
[r] Matter, i. 60. The principle of the Cabala is the same. Burton, Bampt. Lect. 303.
[s] Such as 1 Cor. ii. 6. See Matter, vol. i.
[t] Milman, ii. 110.

We find, as common to all the Gnostic systems, a belief in one Supreme God, dwelling from eternity in the *Pleroma*, or fulness of light. From him proceed forth successive generations of spiritual beings, the chief of which are shown by their names to be impersonated attributes of the Deity.[u] In proportion as these emanations are more remote from the primal source, the likeness of his perfections in them becomes continually fainter.[x] Matter is regarded as eternal, and as inherently evil. Out of it the world was formed, not by the Supreme God, but by the *Demiurge*—a being who is represented by some heresiarchs as merely a subordinate and unconscious instrument of the divine will, and by others as positively malignant and hostile to the Supreme. This Demiurge was the national God of the Jews—the God of the Old Testament; according, therefore, as *he* is viewed, the Mosaic economy is either recognized as preparatory or rejected as evil.[y] The mission of Christ was for the purpose of delivering man from the tyranny of the Demiurge. But the Christ of Gnosticism was neither very God nor very man. His spiritual nature, as being an *emanation* from the Supreme God, was necessarily inferior to its original; and, on the other hand, an emanation from God could not dwell in a material, and consequently evil, body. Either, therefore, Jesus was a mere man, on whom the Æon Christ descended at his baptism, to forsake him again before his crucifixion; or the body

[u] This is an oriental feature. To these emanations Valentinus gave the name of *æons* (*αἰῶνες*), which, for the sake of convenience, may be also used in describing systems earlier than his. "The word *αἰὼν*, according to Clement of Alexandria, combines, as in an instant, future, present, and past; *i. e.*, it presents to the mind the idea of a being which always has existed, exists, and will exist. . . . . 'As *time*,' says Damascene, 'is the duration of fragile and transitory beings, so *aion* is that of eternal beings.' This, if I mistake not, is the reason why immortal beings are styled æons." (Beausobre, Hist. de Manichée, i. 570.) Gieseler (I. i. 188) defines the word, in its Gnostic application, as meaning "developments of the Divine essence, which, as being such, are raised above the limitations of time."

[x] Burton, B. L. 36-7; Matter, i. 17.

[y] The opposition to the Demiurge was in some cases carried to an almost incredible length, so as to reverse the whole of Scripture History. Among the Ophites (from *ὄφις, a serpent*)—a sect which began in the second century, and lasted even into the sixth (Gieseler, I. i. 190)—there were some who supposed the serpent of Genesis iii. to have been either the Divine Wisdom or the Christ himself—come in order to set men free from the ignorance in which the Demiurge (*Juldabaoth*, Son of Darkness or Chaos) wished to enthral them. (Tillem. ii. 288; Mosh. 400; Matter, ii. 152; Gieseler, I. i. 189; Beaven on Irenæus, 286-291). The Cainites, another sect of the same kind, ran into perhaps a yet wilder extravagance. They held that the books of both the Old and the New Testament were the work of writers who had been inspired by the Demiurge to give a false colouring to the story; that the real worthies were those who are reprobated in Scripture—such as Cain, Esau, the men of Sodom, Korah, &c.; that the only spiritual apostle was Judas Iscariot, who betrayed his Master because he knew that the consequence would be to deliver man from the Demiurge, and had left a gospel of his own, which the Cainites supposed themselves to possess! (Neander, ii. 115; Matter, ii. 171-2.)

with which Christ seemed to be clothed was a phantom, and all his actions were only in appearance.[z]

The same view as to the evil nature of matter led to a denial of the resurrection of the body. The Gnostic could admit no other than a spiritual resurrection; the object of his philosophy was to emancipate the soul from its gross and material prison; at death, the soul of the perfect Gnostic, having already risen in baptism, was to be gathered into the bosom of God, while such souls as yet lacked their full perfection were to work it out in a course of transmigrations.[a]

Since matter was evil, the Gnostic was required to overcome it; but here arose an important practical difference; for while some sought the victory by a high ascetic abstraction from the things of sense, the baser kind professed to show their knowledge by wallowing in impurity and excess.[b]

The contest of good with evil is to end in the victory of good. Every spark of life which originally came from God will be purified and restored, will return to its source, and will dwell with Him for ever in the Pleroma.

After this general sketch of the Gnostic doctrines, we may proceed to the details of some systems; and the space which can be afforded to them will be better occupied by a somewhat full exhibition of a few than by a more cursory notice of all those which are usually found in the histories of this period.[c]

I. *Simon Magus.*

First among the precursors of Gnosticism stands Simon Magus. He was born at the Samaritan village of Gittum, and is supposed to have studied at Alexandria.[d] On returning to his native country he advanced high spiritual pretensions, "giving out that

[z] The latter view was called *Docetism* (from δοκέω, to *seem*). A distinct sect of *Docetes* arose in the middle of the second century (Matter, iii. 30); but the term is generally used to denote the *opinion*, as held in common by various sects.

[a] Burton, Bampt. Lect. 130-1, 423-7.

[b] Burton, Bampt. Lect. 138; Neander, ii. 26. The Carpocratians held that it was a duty to "pass through everything." Tillem. ii. 254.

[c] The only practicable classification of the Gnostics appears to be the geographical. Matter divides them into Syrian, Alexandrian, and Asiatic, and criticises the attempts of Neander and others to arrange them according to their tenets (i. 320-3; comp. Hagenbach, i. 46). It is found, however, that, according to the place of their origin, the various sects give greater prominence to particular doctrines; thus, the Alexandrian Gnosis had more of Platonism, and the Syrian of Parsism; the Alexandrian of the emanative principle, the Syrian of dualism. (Gieseler, I. i. 184.)

[d] Tillem. ii. 35; Burton, B. L. 91; Mosh. Inst. Maj. 389; Walch, i. 142-4; Kaye's Justin Martyr, 126.

himself was some great one," and being generally acknowledged by the Samaritans as "the great power of God."[e] His reception of baptism, and his attempt to buy the privilege of conferring the Holy Ghost, may be interpreted as tokens of a belief that the Apostles, through a knowledge of higher secrets or a connexion with superior intelligences, possessed in a greater degree the same theurgic power to which he himself pretended.[f] The feeling of awe with which he was struck by St. Peter's reproof would seem to have been of very short continuance.[g]

It is said that he afterwards roved through various countries, choosing especially those which the Gospel had not yet reached, and endeavouring to preoccupy the ground by his own system, in which the name of Christ was now introduced; that he bought at Tyre a beautiful prostitute, named Helena, who became the companion of his wanderings; that in the reign of Claudius he visited Rome, where he acquired great celebrity, and was honoured with a statue in the island of the Tiber;[h] that he there disputed with St. Peter and St. Paul (a circumstance which, if true, must be referred to a later visit, in the reign of Nero); that he attempted to fly in the air, and was borne up by his familiar demons, until at the prayer of St. Peter he fell to the earth; and that he died soon after, partly of the bodily hurt which he had received, and partly of vexation at his discomfiture. Fabulous as parts of this story obviously are, it is yet possible that they may have had some foundation. There is no apparent reason for denying that Simon may have visited Rome, and may there have had contests with the two great Apostles; the story of his flying may have arisen from

[e] Acts viii. 9-10.

[f] Matter, i. 259; Milman, ii. 96.

[g] Neander, Pflanzung u. Leitung, 107.

[h] The first authority for this is Justin Martyr, who states (Apol. i. xxxiv.) that the statue bore the inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*. In 1574 a fragment, with an inscription beginning *Semoni Sanco Deo*, was discovered in the very place described; and it has since been generally supposed that Justin—being imperfectly acquainted with Latin, knowing little of the Roman mythology, and having his mind preoccupied by the thought of Simon Magus—confounded him with Semo Sancus, a Sabine deity. Tillemont (ii. 481), Reeves (Transl. of Apologies, i. 50, ed. 1716), Burton (Bampt. Lect. note 42), and Guericke (i. 250), however, maintain the correctness of the story; as does also Dr. Pusey, although less positively (n. on Tertullian, i. 32). A remembrance of the extraordinary sights which foreigners of undoubted veracity and intelligence profess to have seen in our own country may dispose us to set aside, with very little scruple, such arguments as are founded on the character of St. Justin. In like manner the mistakes of Anglo-American travellers in England may tell against the authority of the African-Latin fathers who repeat Justin's statement. Dr. Bunsen notes it as significant, that the author of the newly-discovered 'Philosophumena,' although he follows St. Irenæus in his account of Simon, omits all notice of the statue. (Hippolytus and his Age, i. 53.)

an attempt which was really made by a Greek adventurer in the reign of Nero.[i]

Simon is said to have taught that God existed from eternity in the depth of inaccessible light; that from him proceeded the Thought or Conception of his mind (*Ennoia*); and that from these emanated by successive generations pairs of male and female æons. The Ennoia, issuing forth from the Pleroma, produced a host of angels, by whom the world was made; and they, becoming jealous of their parent, and unwilling to acknowledge any author of their being, rose against her, subjected her to various indignities, and imprisoned her in a succession of material bodies. Thus at one time she had animated the form of the beautiful wife of Menelaus; and at last she had taken up her abode in that of the Tyrian Helena, the companion of Simon. The Ennoia herself remained throughout a pure spiritual essence as at the first; the pollutions and degradations of the persons in whom she had dwelt attached only to their material bodies, and were a part of the oppressions inflicted on the divine Æon.[k]

There are various statements as to the character which Simon claimed for himself. It has been said that he professed to be the Supreme God, who (he asserted) had revealed himself to the Samaritans as the Father, to the Jews as the Son, and to the Gentiles as the Holy Ghost;[l] but it would seem rather that by professing to be the "great power of God" he meant to identify himself with the chief male Æon of his system.[m]

He taught that man was held in subjection by the angels who created the world; that not only was the Mosaic dispensation to be referred to these, but the received distinctions of right and wrong were invented by them for the purpose of enslaving mankind.[n] He himself had descended from the highest heaven, for the purpose of rescuing the Ennoia—"the lost sheep," as he termed her—from the defilement of her fleshly prison, of revealing himself to men, and setting them free from the yoke of the angels. In passing through the spheres, he had in each assumed a suitable form; and thus on earth he appeared as a man.[o] He was the

[i] Sueton. Ner. xii.; Juvenal, iii. 79. See Beausobre, Hist. de Manichée, i. 203; Burton, B. L. note 41.

[k] Beausobre supposes the whole story of Helena to be an allegory relating to the *soul* (i. 35; ii. 324-5).

[l] See Bull, v. 270. Dr. Bunsen infers from the 'Philosophumena' that these words referred to Jesus, and not to Simon (i. 48).

[m] Mosh. Inst. Maj. 391; Matter, i. 266; Burton, B. L. 388.

[n] See Waterland, v. 636; Mosh. Inst. Maj. 417; Matter, i. 286.

[o] Mosh. Inst. Maj. 424.

same Æon who had been known as Jesus—the Messiah. The history of our Lord's life and death he explained on the docetic principle.

According to St. Epiphanius, Simon said that Helena was the Holy Spirit.[p] As, then, that Person of the Godhead enlightened the Gentiles—(not, however, in the Christian sense, but by means of the Greek philosophy[q])—Helena was thus identified with the Greek goddess of wisdom, and was represented and worshipped in the character of Minerva, while Simon received like honours under the form of Jupiter.[r]

The resurrection of the body was denied; but as the soul, when set free, must pass through several spheres on its way to the Pleroma, and as the angels of those spheres had the power of impeding its flight, it was necessary to propitiate them, evil as they were in themselves, by sacrifices.[s]

The followers of Simon were divided into various sects, which are said to have been addicted to necromancy and other magical arts, and to have carried out in practice his doctrine of the indifference of actions.[t] Justin Martyr states that in his day (about A.D. 140) Simon was worshipped by almost all the Samaritans, and had adherents in other countries. Origen, about a century later, questions whether the heresy had so many as thirty adherents in the whole world.[u]

II. *Cerinthus.*

Passing over Menander (whose doctrines were not so unlike those of his master, Simon, as to require a separate detail), and the Nicolaitans (as to whom nothing is known with certainty except the denunciation of them in the Apocalypse[x]), the next considerable name which we meet with is that of Cerinthus, who rose into notoriety in the reign of Domitian.[y]

Cerinthus was a native of Judæa, and studied at Alexandria. Thence he returned to Judæa; and after a time he removed to Ephesus, as a more promising scene for the diffusion of his tenets.[z] St. John, who had been confronted with the father of heresy in the earliest days of the Gospel, was reserved for a contest with Cerinthus in the Church over which he had long presided. Both

[p] Mosh. Inst. Maj. 430; Matter, i. 277.
[q] Matter, i. 265.
[r] Ib. i. 280.
[s] Tillem. ii. 39; Mosh. Inst. Maj. 418.
[t] Matter, i. 288.
[u] Tillem. ii. 39-40; Fleury, vii. 17.
[x] ii. 15.
[y] Tillem. ii. 54.
[z] Mosh. Inst. Maj. 441; Matter, i. 298. See Stanley on the Apostolic Age, ed. 1, p. 214.

in his Gospel and in his Epistles a reference to the errors of this heresiarch appears to be strongly marked.[a]

Unlike his predecessors, Cerinthus was content to be a teacher, without claiming for himself any place in his scheme. This was a link between the opposite systems of Judaism and Gnosticism, and would seem to have been in itself inconsistent, although we have no means of judging how the inventor attempted to reconcile its elements.[b]

He taught that the world was made by an angel, remote from the Supreme God, limited in capacity and in knowledge, ignorant of the Supreme, and yet unconsciously serving him.[c] To this angel and others of the same order Cerinthus referred the Law and the Prophets;[d] the Old Testament, therefore, was not evil, but imperfect and subordinate. The nature of the Demiurge fixed a level above which the mass of the Jewish people could not rise; but the elect among them had attained to a higher knowledge.[e] Jesus was a real man, born in the usual way of Joseph and Mary, and chosen by God to be the Messiah, on account of his eminent righteousness. The Æon Christ descended on him at his baptism, revealing the Most High to him, and enduing him with the power of miracles, to be exercised for the confirmation of his doctrine.[f] The Demiurge, jealous of the invasion of his power, stirred up the Jewish rulers to persecute Jesus; but before the crucifixion the Æon Christ returned to the Pleroma. By some it is said that Cerinthus admitted the resurrection of Jesus; by others, that he expected it to take place at the commencement of the Millennium, when the body was to be reunited with the Christ from heaven.[g] As it appears certain that Cerinthus allowed the resurrection of the body, he cannot have shared in the Gnostic views as to the inherently evil nature of matter.[h]

Although Christ had revealed the true spiritual Judaism, the outward preparatory system was to be retained in part during the present imperfect state of things. Cerinthus, therefore, required the observance of such Jewish usages as Jesus had sanctioned by himself submitting to them.[i] The only part of the New Testament which he received was a mutilated Gospel of St. Matthew.

[a] Tillem. ii. 55; Waterland, iii. 539.
[b] Matter, i. 298; Guericke, i. 205; Dorner, i. 314.
[c] Mosh. 197; Matter, i. 299.
[d] Tillem. ii. 57; Mosh. Inst. Maj. 446-7, 456.
[e] Neander, ii. 44.
[f] Tillem. ii. 58; Mosh. Inst. Maj. 451; Burton, B. L. 176; Dorner, i. 315-6.
[g] Mosh. Inst. Maj. 451; Burton, B. L. 488.
[h] Mosh. Inst. Maj. 446, 556.
[i] Mosh. Inst. Maj. 454-5; De Rebus Chr. 198; Burton, B. L. 176; Neander, ii. 46.

The doctrine of an earthly reign of Christ with his saints for a thousand years has been referred to Cerinthus as its author, and it has been said that his conceptions of the millennial happiness were grossly sensual. These assertions however, which rest on the authority of Caius, a Roman presbyter, A.D. 210,[k] have been much questioned. It seems clear that the millennarian opinions which soon after prevailed in the Church were not derived from Cerinthus, and that it was a controversial artifice to throw odium on them by tracing them to so discreditable a source.[l] Nor, even if the morality of Cerinthus were as bad as his opponents represent it, can we well suppose him to have connected the notion of licentious indulgences with a state of bliss which was to have Christ for its sovereign.[m]

III. *Ebionism.*

While the Gnostics, imbued with the ideas of vastness and complexity which are characteristic of Oriental religions, looked down on Christianity as too simple,[n] it had also to contend with enemies of an opposite kind. We very early find traces of a Judaizing tendency; and although the middle course resolved on by the Council of Jerusalem, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit,[o] was calculated to set at rest the question as to the obligation of the Mosaic law on those who had embraced the faith of Christ, oppositions on the side of Judaism often recur in the books of the New Testament.

This Judaism at length issued in the formation of distinct sects. The name of *Nazarenes*, originally applied to all Christians, was appropriated to those who maintained that the law was binding on Christians of Jewish race, but did not wish to enforce it on Gentiles; while those who insisted on its obligation as universal were styled *Ebionites*. The Nazarenes are generally supposed to have been orthodox,[p] and to have been acknowledged as such by the Church; the Ebionites were unquestionably heretical.[q]

The name of the latter party has been variously derived—from that of a supposed founder, and from a Hebrew word which signi-

[k] In Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. iii. 28. See Heinichen's note, and Burton, B. L. note 76.

[l] Mosh. Inst. Maj. 457; De Rebus Chr. 721-2; Maitland, Eruvin, ed. 2, pp. 163-9.

[m] Schröckh, ii. 310.

[n] Neander, ii. 46.

[o] Acts xv.

[p] In their origin, at least, although they did not keep pace with the Church's later investigations and definitions as to doctrine. They lasted till the fifth century. (Dorner, i. 306-9.)

[q] Neander, i. 482; Gieseler, I. i. 131. See Walch, i. 108-9; and Matter, iii. 12-3.

fies *poor*.[r] The existence of Ebion is now generally disbelieved; but there remains the question how the title of *poor* came to be attached to the sect,—whether it was given by opponents, with a reference to the meagreness and beggarly character of their doctrines; or whether it was assumed by themselves, as significant of their voluntary poverty, and with an allusion to the beatitude of the "poor in spirit."[s]

The formation of the sect, as such, is dated by some in the reign of Domitian, or earlier.[t] By others it is supposed that both Ebionites and Nazarenes had their origin as late as A.D. 136–8; that the cause of their separation was the adoption of Gentile usages by the Church of Jerusalem;[u] while a third view connects the schism of the Ebionites with the statement of Hegesippus, that one Thebuthis, having been disappointed in aspiring to the bishopric of Jerusalem, began to corrupt the Church; and thus the date would be fixed about the year 107.[x]

In opposition to the Gnostics, the Ebionites held that the world was the work of God himself. As to the person of Christ, although some of them are said to have admitted his miraculous birth, while they denied his Godhead, and his pre-existence,[y] they for the most part supposed him to be a mere man, the offspring of Joseph and Mary. He was chosen for his piety to be the Messiah; but this high destination was unknown to him, until at his baptism it was revealed by Elias, in the person of John the Baptist.[z] At the same time he received a heavenly influence, which forsook him again before his crucifixion.[a]

[r] See, for authorities on both sides, Burton, B. L. note 80. In other cases of the same time we find a like contest between what may be called the *personal* and the *etymological* views; *e g.*, as to Thebuthis, and as to the origin of the Nicolaitans and the Elxaites. It is easy to understand that a name given to a sect on account of its significance may have led to the supposition of an imaginary founder. But, on the other hand, as names were generally significant, it would seldom happen that the name of a heresiarch could not be somehow interpreted as referring to his doctrines. Perhaps we may find it useful for the determination of such questions to ask whether the names are so strikingly appropriate that they would probably have been *chosen* in order to characterise the sects.

[s] Neander, i. 476-7; Guericke, i. 254.

[t] Tillem. ii. 107; Schröckh, ii. 317.

[u] See above, p. 20. Mosheim, 326; Gibbon, i. 461; Neander, i. 475-6; Schliemann, 407; Guericke, i. 254.

[x] This is the opinion of the acute and judicious Gieseler, who shows (I. i. 130) that the bishop whom Thebuthis wished to succeed was more likely Symeon than James the Just.

[y] Tillem. ii. 108. But others question this. See Burton, B. L. note 83, for a refutation of the heterodox writers who have attempted to represent Ebionitism as the characteristic not of a sect but of a period; so that, according to their view, the first Christians were Ebionites. See the same note: also Schliemann, 369; Dorner, i. 222, 230, 265, 342.

[z] Thus an idea which the Jews of the time entertained as to their expected Messiah (Kaye's Justin Martyr, p. 30) was transferred to the real Saviour.

[a] Neander, i. 479-480; Burton, B. L. 511.

It would seem that the Ebionites were divided as to their view of the Old Testament. Some supposed Christianity to differ from the Law only by the addition of certain features;[b] while the adepts regarded it as a restoration of the genuine Mosaic system, which they supposed to have been corrupted in the Old Testament.[c] These considered Moses to be the only true prophet; they rejected, not only the later Jewish traditions, but the whole of the Hebrew Scriptures, except the Pentateuch; and even it they did not admit as the work of Moses himself, but ascribed to reporters, who had wilfully or ignorantly corrupted his words. Hence they held themselves at liberty to reject so much of it as did not fall in with their principles.[d] Of the New Testament they admitted no part, except a Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, in which the account of our Lord's birth was omitted. They relied much on apocryphal scriptures, and were especially hostile to St. Paul.[e]

The local element of Judaism was strongly marked in this system. Like the Cerinthians, they held the doctrine of an earthly reign of Christ, who was to make Jerusalem the seat of his power, to subdue all enemies, and to raise the Jewish kingdom to a splendour before unknown.[f]

Although some corruptions of morals are attributed to the later Ebionites, the practice of the sect in its earlier days was undoubtedly strict. They observed the Jewish Sabbath rigidly. Some parties among them renounced all property, and abstained not only from the flesh, but from the produce of animals. In their worship and polity they affected Jewish usages and terms; they had *synagogues*, *rulers*, and the like. They celebrated the Eucharist with unleavened bread, and used only water in the cup.[g] The sect continued to exist in Syria and Peræa as late as the end of the fourth century.[h]

IV. *Saturninus.*

Menander, who has been mentioned as the successor of Simon Magus, is said to have been the master of two heretics, who became conspicuous in the reign of Hadrian, and who may be considered as the founders respectively of the Syrian and of the Alexandrian Gnosticism—Saturninus and Basilides.[i]

About A.D. 110–134. (Clinton, ii. 403.)

[b] Neander, i. 479.
[c] Schliemann, 377, 498.
[d] Tillem. ii. 109; Schliemann, 514.
[e] Tillem. ii. 112.
[f] Burton, B. L. 184; Neander, i. 481; Matter, iii. 19.
[g] Tillem. ii. 108-9.
[h] Gieseler, I. i. 131. For the smaller varieties, Elxaites, &c., see Matter, iii. 19, seqq.; Gieseler, I. i. 132; Burton, Ch. Hist. ii. 20.
[i] Euseb. iv. 7. See Clinton, A.D. 134.

Saturninus was born at Antioch, and there established his school. He taught that the Supreme God, or "Unknown Father," produced a multitude of spiritual beings. In the lowest gradation of the spiritual world, close on the borders which separate the realm of light from the chaos of matter, were seven angels, the rulers of the planets. These took a portion from the material mass, and shaped it into a world, the regions of which they divided among themselves—the God of the Jews being their chief.[k] They carry on an unceasing war with Satan, who is lord of matter, and appears to have been regarded as an independent and eternal being.[l] They were, however, remote from the source of light; a faint gleam from it was all that reached them, and their attempts to lay hold of this and to fix it were vain. They then endeavoured to frame a man, after the image of the light; but their creature was only able to grovel on the earth like a worm, until the Father in pity sent down to him a spark of his own divine life.[m] The soul thus derived from the Unknown Father is eventually to return to him. But in opposition to the elect race Satan[n] produced an unholy race, and the elect, while they sojourn in this world, are exposed to assaults from him, and from his agents both human and spiritual. The Old Testament was in part given by the seven angels, and in part by Satan.[o]

In order to deliver the elect from their enemies, and also from their subjection to the God of the Jews and the other planetary angels, who aim at establishing an independent kingdom, the Father sent down the Æon *Nous* (Reason), or Christ, clothed with a phantastic body.[p] At the consummation of all things, the bodies of the elect were to be resolved into their elements, while the soul was to re-enter into the bosom of the Eternal.[q]

The precepts of Saturninus were strictly ascetic; he forbade marriage, and the propagation of mankind.[r] It would seem, however, that the more rigid observances were only required of the highest grade among his followers.[s]

The sect did not extend beyond Syria, and soon came to an end.

V. *Basilides.*

Basilides, who became conspicuous about the year 125,[t] is said

[k] Matter, i. 334.
[l] See Mosh. 338; Matter, i. 333.
[m] Neander, ii. 125.
[n] On this point there is some difference. See Mosh. 336; Matter, i. 342; Gieseler, I. i. 191; Ritter, v. 119.
[o] Mosh. 340.
[p] Matter, i. 344.
[q] Mosh. 340; Matter, i. 337.
[r] Tillem. ii. 218.
[s] Mosh. 341; Matter, i. 346.
[t] Gieseler, I. i. 185. Clinton (ii. 403) places him in 134.

to have been, like Saturninus, a Syrian and a disciple of Menander.[u] It was, however, at Alexandria that he fixed himself, and the leading character of his system was Egyptian. He taught that from the Supreme God were evolved seven intelligences (which were, in fact, personified attributes)[x]—Mind, Word, Thought, Wisdom, Power, Righteousness, and Peace.[y] These gave birth to a second order of spirits; the second to a third; and the successive emanations continued until there were three hundred and sixty-five orders, each consisting of seven spirits—each with a heaven of its own—and every heaven, with its inhabitants, being an inferior antitype of that immediately above it.[z] The number of the heavens was expressed in the Greek notation by the letters of the word *Abraxas* or *Abrasax* (Ἀβρασάξ), which the most approved interpretations derive from the Coptic, and explain as meaning *new word* or *sacred word*.[a] It was used also to denote the providence which directs the universe—not the Supreme God as he is in himself, (since he is represented as "not to be named,") but God in so far as he is *manifested*, or the collective hierarchy of emanations.[b]

The angels of the lowest heaven (which is that which is seen from earth) formed the world and its inhabitants after a pattern shown to them by the Æon *Sophia* or Wisdom.[c] The chief angel of this order is called the *Archon*, or Ruler. *He* is the God of the Jews, and the giver of the Pentateuch, while the other parts of the Old Testament were inspired by his brother angels, who share the regions of the world among them.[d] With the New Testament Basilides dealt in an arbitrary way. He professed to rely chiefly on prophecies which bore the names of Ham and Parchor, and on an esoteric tradition derived from St. Matthias, and from Glaucias, an interpreter of St. Peter.[e] He did not reject St. Paul; but he placed him below St. Peter, and declared some of the Epistles ascribed to him to be spurious.[f]

[u] Matter, i. 402; Cave, Hist. Lit. i. 29.

[x] Neander, ii. 48-9.

[y] Gieseler, I. i. 185. See Ritter, v. 125-8. These might have been derived either from the seven Amshaspands of the Zoroastrian creed, or from the seven Sephiroth of the Cabala. But since they are spoken of as forming, with the Supreme, the first *ogdoad* (octave), M. Matter thinks that they are rather to be traced to the Egyptian system, in which that term was used.

[z] Tillem. ii. 220; Neander, ii. 49; Gieseler, I. i. 186.

[a] The former is Münter's explanation; the latter that of Bellermann. (Matter, i. 415.) See other interpretations in Beausobre, ii. 53, seqq. The word occurred also in Egyptian mythology.

[b] Matter, i. 412; Gieseler, I. i. 186; Schröckh, ii. 352. Mosheim explains it differently (347).

[c] Tillem. ii. 220; Mosh. 343.

[d] Tillem. ii. 220; Neander, ii. 55; Gieseler, I. i. 186.

[e] Tillem. ii. 219; Mosh. 537; Neander, ii. 58-9; Matter, ii. 16.

[f] Matter, i. 404.

Man received from the creative angels a soul which is the seat of the senses and of the passions; and in addition to this the Supreme God bestowed on him a rational and higher soul. The inferior soul endeavours to weaken the superior.[g]

Although Basilides cannot rightly be described as a dualist,[h] he held that throughout all nature there had been an encroachment of evil on good.[i] And the object of the present state was to enable the souls of men (which, as they had come from God, could never perish, but must return to him) to disengage themselves from the entanglements of evil. The knowledge of God had become faint among men; the Archon himself, although he had served as an instrument of the Supreme in giving the Law, was yet ignorant of its true character,—of its spiritual significancy and its preparatory office. These truths the spiritual among the Jews alone were able to attain to.[k] In order, then, to enlighten mankind, to deliver them from the limited system of the Archon, and enable them to rise towards the Supreme, the first-begotten Æon, the *Nous*, or Reason, descended on Jesus, the holiest of men, at his baptism.[l] By this manifestation the Archon learnt for the first time his own real place in the scale of the universe. The later Basilidians represented him as exasperated by the discovery, so that he instigated the Jews to persecute Jesus; but it is a question whether the founder of the sect shared in this view,[m] or whether he supposed the Archon to have reverently acquiesced in the knowledge of his inferior position.[n]

The doctrine of an atonement was inconsistent with the principles of Basilides. He allowed no other justification than that of advancement in sanctification,[o] and laid it down that every one suffers for his own sins. God, he said, forgives no sins but such as are done unwillingly or in ignorance.[p] All other sin must be expiated, and, until the expiation be complete, the soul must pass, under the guidance of its guardian angels, through one body after another,—not only human bodies, but also those of the lower creatures.[q] And thus such suffering as cannot be traced to any

[g] Tillem. ii. 222; Mosheim, 343; Schröckh, ii. 353; Matter, ii. 12.

[h] Matter, i. 407.

[i] Neander, ii. 53; Matter, i. 425; Ritter, v. 133.

[k] Neander, ii. 99; Ritter, v. 141.

[l] Tillem. ii. 220; Mosh. 350. The festival of Christ's baptism was kept with great solemnity by the sect. (Mosh. 353.)

[m] This is the opinion of the older writers for the most part, and of Matter, ii. 8.

[n] So Neander, ii. 63; Gieseler, I. i. 186.

[o] Neander, ii. 66.

[p] Tillem. ii. 222; Mosh. 357-8; Neander, ii. 64-5.

[q] Tillem. ii. 222; Neander, ii. 54, 57; Matter, ii. 3. Thus Basilides explained the visiting of sins "to the third and fourth generation." (Neander, ii. 94.)

visible cause is to be regarded as the punishment of sin committed in some former existence. The death of the innocent may also be the punishment of germs of evil, which would have grown up if life had been continued; and on this principle Basilides accounted for the sufferings of the man Jesus himself.[r]

One of the characteristics of Basilides was a profound reverence for Providence. "Rather," he is reported to have declared, "will I say anything than find fault with Providence."[s] While the Gnostics in general spoke of faith and knowledge as opposites, he taught that faith must run through the whole spiritual progress, and that the degrees of knowledge increase in proportion as faith becomes fitted to receive them.[t] He divided his disciples into several grades; in order to admission among the highest adepts, a silence of five years was required.[u]

This system became more popular than any that had preceded it,[x] and St. Jerome informs us that even in the fifth century Basilidianism continued to exist.[y] The doctrines of the sect, however, were much corrupted in the course of time. The view of Judaism was altered. The Archon came to be regarded as opposed to the Supreme God; the Gnostic, therefore, was at liberty to trample on all that had come from the inferior power, to disregard all the laws of morality.[z] Instead of the doctrine which Basilides held in common with some other sectaries, that the Æon who descended on Jesus at baptism forsook him before his crucifixion, a strange docetic fancy was introduced—that his body was phantastical, and that he transferred his own form to Simon of Cyrene, who suffered in his stead on the cross, while Jesus in the form of Simon stood by.[a] The later Basilidians made no scruple of eating idol sacrifices, or of taking part in heathen rites and festivities. They denied their faith in time of persecution, and mocked at martyrdom as a folly.[b] They were also addicted to magic; most of the gems which are found inscribed with the mystical *Abraxas* are supposed to have been used by them as amulets or talismans, although it is also certain that some of these symbols were purely heathen.[c]

[r] Mosh. 353-7: Neander, ii. 62; Matter, i. 432; ii. 9; Bp. Kaye on Clem. Alex. 266; Ritter, v. 131.
[s] Neander, ii. 57; Matter, i. 431.
[t] Neander, ii. 67-8.
[u] Euseb. iv. 7; Matter, ii. 18.
[x] Matter, ii. 17.
[y] Tillem. ii. 223; Gieseler, I. i. 187.
[z] Mosh. 358; Neander, ii. 114; Matter, ii. 21.
[a] Tillem. ii. 221; Matter, ii. 211.
[b] Tillem. ii. 221-2; Mosheim, 360; Matter, ii. 24.
[c] Mosh. 349-350; Schröckh, ii. 351; Matter, ii. 421; Gieseler, I. i. 186.

VI. *Valentinus.*

Of all the Gnostic leaders Valentinus was the most eminent for ability; his system was distinguished beyond the rest for its complex and elaborate character, and it surpassed them all in popularity.

Valentinus is supposed to have been of Jewish descent, but was a native of Egypt, and studied at Alexandria.[d] He appears to have been brought up as a Christian, or at least to have professed Christianity in early life; hence his doctrine, with all its wildness, had a greater infusion of Scriptural language and ideas than those of the earlier Gnostics.[e] Tertullian states that he became a heresiarch on being disappointed of a bishopric;[f] but it does not appear in what stage of his career the disappointment occurred, and the story has been altogether questioned.[g]

It was about the year 140 that Valentinus visited Rome.[h] The Roman Church, in its simple and severe orthodoxy, was less tolerant of novelties than that from which he had come.[i] He was thrice excommunicated, and on his final exclusion retired to Cyprus, where he wrought out and published his system. His death is supposed to have taken place about 160,—whether in Cyprus or at Rome is uncertain.[k]

In his doctrines Valentinus appears to have borrowed from the religions of Egypt and of Persia, from the Cabala, from Plato, from Pythagoras, and from the Hesiodic Theogony.[l] He supposed a First Principle, to which he gave the name of *Bythos* (*i. e.* unfathomable depth). This being, who from eternity had existed in repose, at length resolved to manifest himself. From him and the *Ennoia* or conception of his mind, who was also and more commonly called *Sige* (Silence), were produced a pair of Æons,—the male styled *Nous* (Reason), or *Monogenes* (only-begotten); the female *Aletheia* (Truth). From these by successive generations emanated two other pairs,—*Logos* (the Word) and *Zoe* (Life), *Anthropos* (Man) and *Ecclesia* (the Church). Thus was composed the first grade of beings—the *Ogdoad*, or Octave.[m] Next, from Logos and Zoe, were

[d] Tillem. ii. 257; Matter, ii. 37; Ritter, v. 192. Bishop Kaye, in his works on Tertullian and on Clement, gives full accounts of Valentinianism.

[e] Mosh. 376.

[f] Adv. Valentinianos, 4.

[g] As by Mosheim, 372; Matter, ii. 38; and Ritter, vi. 194.

[h] Clinton, ii. 404.

[i] Matter, ii. 46.

[k] Tillem. ii. 258-9, 603; Mosh. 371; Neander, ii. 71-2; Giesceler, I. i. 187.

[l] Mosh. 375; Matter, ii. 57-8; Ritter, vi. 192-3.

[m] Matter, ii. 53. The sex of these beings answers to the genders of their Greek names. (Kaye on Tertullian, 484.

produced five pairs of Æons,—the *Decad;* and then from Anthropos and Ecclesia, six pairs,—the *Dodecad;* making up in all the number of thirty. In addition to these there was an unwedded Æon, named *Horos* (Boundary), or *Stauros* (the Cross), the offspring of Bythos and Sige, whose office it was to enforce the principle of limitation, and keep every existence in its proper place.[n]

The first-begotten, Nous, alone was capable of comprehending the Supreme Father. The other Æons envied this knowledge, and in proportion to their remoteness from the source was the vehemence of their desire to fathom it.[o] *Sophia* (Wisdom), the last of the thirty, filled with an uncontrollable eagerness, and resolved to soar up to the original of her being, issued forth from the Pleroma. But she was in danger of being lost in the infinite void without, when Horos led her back to the sphere which she had so rashly forsaken.[p] Nous now, by the providence of Bythos, produced a new pair of Æons—Christ and the Holy Spirit.[q] Christ taught the elder Æons that Bythos was incomprehensible—that they could only know him through the Only-begotten, and that the happiness of every being was to rest content with such measure of light as had been allotted to it. The Spirit taught them to unite in glorifying the Supreme. Harmony was restored, and all the Æons combined to produce Jesus, the flower of the Pleroma, endowed by each with the most precious gift which he could contribute. With him were also produced a host of attendant angels.[r]

But while Sophia was on her flight beyond the Pleroma, her longings had, without the co-operation of her partner *Theletos* (Will), given birth to an abortive and imperfect being called by the name of *Achamoth.*[s] This being remained shut out from the Pleroma, without form, and in utter darkness; when Christ, taking pity on her, bestowed on her a form, and showed her a momentary glimpse of the celestial brightness.[t] Achamoth endeavoured to approach it, but was repelled by Horos.[u] On this she was seized with violent agitations; sometimes she smiled at the remembrance of the glorious vision; sometimes she wept at her exclusion. Her

[n] Neander, ii. 73-4.

[o] Mosh. 379; Matter, ii. 68.

[p] Mosh. 379.

[q] These are generally described as a pair. See Matter, ii. 70. But Mosheim (p. 374) supposes them to have been single and independent, like Horos.

[r] Tertull. adv. Valent. 12; Fleury, iii. 27.

[s] *i. e.* Wisdom, from חָכְמוֹת. The name was borrowed from the Cabala. Achamoth is also called *ἐνθύμησις*, and is distinguished from her mother as the *nether* wisdom (*ἡ κάτω σοφία*). (Gieseler, I. i. 188; Matter, ii. 72.)

[t] Mosh. 380.

[u] Tertull. adv. Valent. 14.

emotions acted on the inert and formless mass of matter; her tears produced the sea and rivers; her smiles, light; her grief and fear, solid substance.[x] She turns in supplication to the Christ, who sends down to her the Æon Jesus or Saviour, attended by his angels, and equipped with the power of the whole Pleroma. He enlightens Achamoth and calms her agitation; she produces three substances—*hylic* or material, which is naturally evil; *psychic*,[y] of intermediate quality; and *pneumatic*, or spiritual. Among the *hylic* productions were Satan and his angels; among the *psychic*, the Demiurge.[z] The Demiurge sets to work on the surrounding chaos, separates the psychic from the hylic elements, and out of the former builds seven heavens, the highest of which is his own sphere, while each of the others is committed to a superintendent angel.[a] He then makes man, bestowing on him a psychic soul and body; but Achamoth, without the knowledge of the Demiurge, implants in the new creature a spark of spiritual nature; and the Demiurge and his angels stand amazed on discovering that their workmanship has in it the element of something higher than themselves.[b]

The Demiurge becomes jealous of man. He places him under a narrow and oppressive law; and, when man breaks this, he thrusts him down from the third heaven, or paradise, to earth, and surrounds his psychic body with a "coat of skin"—a fleshly prison, subjecting the man to the bonds of matter (for thus Valentinus explained Genesis iii. 21[c]). All this, however, happened through the providence of the Supreme, whose design it was that, by entering into the world of matter, the spiritual element should become the means of its destruction.[d]

The Demiurge knew of nothing higher than himself; he had acted as the instrument of Bythos, but unconsciously. He supposes himself to be God; he instructs the Jewish prophets to proclaim him as the only God. In their writings, accordingly, Valentinus professed to distinguish between the things which they had uttered by the inspiration of the limited Demiurge, and those

[x] Mosh. 381-2; Schröckh, ii. 363; Matter, ii. 74. Matter is in this system represented not as actively evil, but as inert and negative κένωμα (*void*), as opposed to πλήρωμα (*fulness*). (Matter, ii. 84-6; Guericke, i. 269.)

[y] This word is usually Latinized by *animale*; but the English *animal* does not answer to it. It relates to the principle of life—the rational and intelligent soul, as distinguished from the spiritual.

[z] Tertull. adv. Valent. 22; Mosh. 381; Matter, ii. 78. This part of the system is very obscure; and I cannot but fear that I have committed some mistakes in the statement of it.

[a] Matter, ii. 79.

[b] Neander, ii. 82-3; Matter, ii. 80.

[c] Mosheim, 383; Matter, ii. 81; Neander, ii. 83.

[d] Neander, ii. 83.

which, without being themselves aware of it, they had derived from a higher source.[e]

Man was upheld in his contests with matter by an undiscerned influence of the higher Sophia.[f] The Demiurge taught the Prophets to promise a Messiah according to his own conceptions; he framed this Messiah of a psychic soul with a psychic and immaterial body, capable of performing human actions, yet exempt from human feelings; and to these elements, without the knowledge of his maker, was added a pneumatic soul from the higher world. This "nether Christ" was born of the Virgin Mary—passing through her "as water through a tube," without taking anything of her substance. He lived as a pattern of ascetic righteousness, until at his baptism the Æon Jesus descended on him, with the design of fulfilling the highest meaning of prophecy, which the Demiurge had not understood; and then the Demiurge became aware of the higher spiritual world.[g]

Valentinus divided men into three classes—the hylic, who could not be saved; the pneumatic, who could not be lost; and the psychic, who might be saved or lost, according to their works. It would seem, however, that he did not mean to speak of each individual as unalterably fixed in the class to which he for the time belonged; although in the hands of later Valentinians the doctrine of the threefold division was made an excuse for all manner of abominations, both in those who were supposed to be assured of salvation, and in those who were hopelessly excluded from it. Heathenism was said to be hylic, Judaism psychic, and Christianity pneumatic; but it was not denied that individuals might be either above or below the level of the systems which they professed. Among the Jews, in particular, there had always been a class of high pneumatic natures, which rose above the limited dispensation of the Demiurge.[h]

The pure truth was for the first time revealed to mankind by the coming of Christ. To the pneumatic, his mission was for the purpose of enlightenment; their higher nature is akin to the Pleroma, and they are to enter into it through knowledge, which unites them with Christ. But for the psychic a different redemption was necessary; and this was wrought out by the sufferings of the psychic Messiah, who before his crucifixion was abandoned, not only by the Æon Jesus, but by his own pneumatic soul.[i]

[e] Neander, ii. 84.
[f] Matter, ii. 87.
[g] Matter, ii. 87-90; Neander, ii. 88.
[h] Mosheim, 387; Neander, ii. 85; Matter, ii. 83-6.
[i] Mosh. 386; Matter, ii. 83.

Valentinus, therefore, differed from Basilides and others by allowing a kind of atonement—but his doctrine on this point was very unlike that of the Church, inasmuch as he did not truly recognize either the divinity or the humanity of the Saviour.[k]

Christ enters into connexion with all natures, in order that each may rise to a bliss suitable to its capacity. The psychic class obtain in baptism the forgiveness of their sins, with knowledge and power to master the hylic elements which cleave to them. The pneumatics are set free from the dominion of the Demiurge, are incorporated into the Pleroma, and each enters into a spiritual fellowship with a corresponding angelic being in the world above. This is the spiritual resurrection.[l]

The courses of the two classes are throughout distinct. For the psychics, faith was necessary, and, in order to produce it, miracles were requisite; but the pneumatics were above the need of such assistances; *they* were to be saved, not by faith but by knowledge. The literal sense of Scripture was for the psychics, who were unable to penetrate beyond it; but the pneumatics were admitted to the understanding of a higher meaning—"the wisdom of the perfect."[m]

At the final consummation, when the pneumatics shall all have been perfected in knowledge—when all the seeds of divine life among mankind shall have been delivered from the bondage of matter—Achamoth, whose place is now in a middle region, between the Pleroma and the highest heaven of the Demiurge, will enter into the Pleroma, and be united with the heavenly Christ. The matured spiritual natures, shaking off all that is lower, and restoring their psychic souls to the Demiurge who gave them, will follow into the Pleroma[n]—each to be united with its angelic partner. The Demiurge will rise to the middle region, and will transfer his present sovereignty to the *psychic* Christ, who will there reign over the psychic righteous. Then the fire which is now latent in the frame of the world will burst forth, and will annihilate all that is material.[o]

The Valentinian system was plausible in the eyes of Christians, inasmuch as it not only used a scriptural terminology, but professed to receive all the books of Scripture, while it was able to set their meaning aside by the most violent misinterpretations.[p]

[k] Matter, ii. 92; Neander, ii. 86-7.
[l] Tillem. ii. 261; Neander, ii. 92.
[m] Tillem. ii. 261; Neander, ii. 93-4; Matter, ii. 83; Gieseler, I. i. 188.
[n] Tertull. adv. Valent. 32.
[o] Fleury, iii. 28; Mosh. 385; Neander, ii. 90-4.
[p] Tillem. ii. 262; Mosh. 371; Matter, ii. 46; Beaven on Irenæus, 305.

The Gospel of St. John was the highest in authority; but the key to the true doctrine was said to be derived by secret tradition from St. Matthias, and from Theodas, a disciple of St. Paul.[q] The initiation into the mysteries was gradual, and Tertullian describes with sarcastic humour the way in which the Valentinians baffled the curiosity of such as attempted to penetrate beyond the degree of knowledge which might safely be entrusted to them.[r] After the death of their founder the Valentinians underwent the usual processes of division and corruption. A remnant of the sect existed in the beginning of the fifth century.[s]

VII. *Marcion.*

As the system of Valentinus was the most imaginative form of Gnosticism, that of Marcion was the most prosaic and practical; and, whereas in the other systems knowledge was all in all, the tendency of this was mainly religious.[t] The chief principle which Marcion had in common with the other Gnostics was the idea of an opposition between Christianity and Judaism; and this he carried to an extreme.[u]

Marcion was born at Sinope,[x] on the Euxine, about the beginning of the second century. His father was eventually bishop of that city; and there is no apparent reason for doubting that Marcion was trained as a Christian from infancy.[y] He rose to be a presbyter in the Church of Sinope, and professed an ascetic life until (according to a very doubtful story, which rests on the authority of Epiphanius) he was excommunicated by his father for the seduction of a virgin.[z] After in vain seeking to be restored, he left Asia, and arrived at Rome while the see was vacant through the death of Hyginus. He applied A.D. 142.

[q] Matter, ii. 46, 98; Ritter, v. 194.
[r] Adv. Valent. 1.
[s] Matter, ii. 126.
[t] Dorner, i. 354.
[u] Neander, ii. 130.
[x] Tertullian, in attacking him, does not forget another celebrated native of Sinope: "Illa canicula Diogenes hominem invenire cupiebat, lucernam meridie circumferens: Marcion Deum quem invenerat, extincto lumine fidei suæ amisit." Adv. Marc. i. 1.
[y] Tert. adv. Marc. i. 1. Matter (ii. 226), however, suggests that possibly the father's conversion may have been later. Tertullian styles Marcion *nauclerus*; and often uses nautical figures in speaking of him. This *may* mean that in early years Marcion led a seafaring life; but it is more likely only an allusion to his Pontic birth. See Cave, Hist. Lit. i. 34; Tillem. ii. 277; Beausobre, ii. 70; Bishop Kaye on Tertullian, 450.
[z] Matter believes the story (ii. 226). Neander, with whom Marcion is a hero, rejects it (ii. 133). The silence of Irenæus and other early writers—especially that of Tertullian—is a strong negative disproof of it. (See Beausobre, ii. 77.) Mosheim (402-3), following a hint of Beausobre (ii. 82), supposes Epiphanius to have misunderstood some figurative account in which Marcion's heresy was described as a defilement of the *Church's* virgin purity.

for admission into the communion of the Church, but was told by the presbyters that the principle of unity in faith and discipline forbade it unless with the consent of the bishop by whom he had been excommunicated.[a] Before leaving his own country, Marcion had become notorious for peculiar opinions, which, indeed, were probably the real cause of his excommunication.[b] He now began to vent these by asking the Roman presbyters to explain our Lord's declaration that old bottles are unfit to receive new wine. On hearing their answer he propounded his own view—that the "old bottles" meant the Law, and the "new wine" the Gospel.[c]

Having failed in his attempts to be readmitted into the Church, he attached himself to Cerdon, a Syrian, who had for some years been lecturing at Rome. The fame of the master was soon lost in that of the disciple; it is not known what was the share of each in the formation of their system.[d] Marcion is said to have travelled in Egypt and the East, for the purpose of spreading his heresy, and is supposed to have died at Rome in the time of Eleutherius.[e] Tertullian states that he had been repeatedly excluded from the Church; that, on the last occasion, the bishop of Rome restored to him a large sum of money, which he had offered "in the first ardour of his faith;"[f] that he obtained a promise of being once more admitted, on condition of bringing back those whom he had perverted; and that death overtook him before he could fulfil the task.[g]

After A.D. 176.

Unlike the other Gnostics, Marcion professed to be purely Christian in his doctrines; he borrowed nothing from Greece, Egypt, or Persia; he acknowledged no other source of truth but the Holy Scripture; he was an enemy to allegorical interpretation; while he rejected the tradition of the Church, he did not pretend to have any secret tradition of his own; he denied the

[a] Tillem. ii. 275-6. Comp. Canon. Apost. xxxii. Beausobre (ii. 76) notices the inconsistency of this with later Roman claims.

[b] Mosh. 402; Neander, ii. 136.

[c] Mosh. 403; Neander, ii. 136-7; Matter, ii. 232.

[d] Neander, ii. 138; Matter, ii. 224.

[e] See Tillem. ii. 278. Mr. Clinton infers from Clem. Alex. Strom. iv. p. 500 B, that he was alive at the date of that work, A.D. 194.

[f] Adv. Marcion, iv. 4; De Præscr. Hær. 30. Neander supposes this gift to have been made in Asia, and on the occasion of Marcion's conversion (ii. 133). But the scene is commonly laid at Rome; and we have seen that he was most likely brought up as a Christian.

[g] Neander denies the truth of this altogether (ii. 139). Gieseler quotes a passage which proves that the Marcionites attached little importance to doctrines, and therefore thinks it probable that the founder may have been led to regret his schism as hurtful to the practical interests of Christianity (I. i. 195). Tillemont supposes that the story has been transferred by mistake from Cerdon to Marcion (ii. 274, 609).

opposition between faith and knowledge.[h] But with Scripture itself he dealt very violently. He rejected the whole Old Testament; of the New, he acknowledged only the Gospel of St. Luke and ten of St. Paul's Epistles; and from these he expunged all that disagreed with his own theories.[i] He did not question the authorship of the other books, but supposed that the writers were themselves blinded by Judaism; and, moreover, that their works had been corrupted in the course of time.[k]

Marcion held the existence of three principles—the Supreme God, perfectly good; the God of Matter, eternal and evil; and between these the Demiurge, a being of limited power and knowledge, whose chief characteristic was a justice unmixed with love or mercy. It is not certain whether the Demiurge was supposed to be an independent existence, or (as in most Gnostic systems) an emanation from the Supreme God; but the latter opinion is the more probable.[l]

The Creation of the Supreme is immaterial and invisible. The Demiurge formed this world and its inhabitants out of substance which he had taken from the material chaos without the consent or knowledge of its ruler. The soul of man was not (as in other systems) supposed to be implanted by the Supreme God, but was the work of the Demiurge, and of a quality answerable to his limited nature; it had no power to withstand the attacks of the material principle, which is always striving to reclaim the portion abstracted from it. Man fell through disobedience to the laws of the Demiurge, and his original nature was changed for the worse.[m] The Demiurge chose for himself one nation—the Jews; to these he gave a law which was not in itself evil, but was fitted only for lower natures, being imperfect in its morality, and destitute of inward spirit. His system was rigorously just; the disobedient he made over to torments, and he rewarded the righteous with rest in "Abraham's bosom."[n]

The Demiurge promised a Messiah, his son, and of a nature like his own, who was to come, not for the purpose of atonement and forgiveness, but in order to destroy heathenism and to establish the empire of the Jews. But the good God, in pity for men, of whom the vast majority, without any fault of their own, were excluded from all knowledge of the Demiurge, and liable to

[h] Matter, ii. 234; Neander, ii. 131-2.
[i] Matter, ii. 236, 257-260; Neander, ii. 149; Bishop Kaye on Tertullian, 469.
[k] Matter, ii. 231.
[l] Beausobre, ii. 88-90; Mosh. 404; Schröckh, ii. 412; Neander, ii. 141; Matter, ii. 260-2; Gieseler, I. i. 193.
[m] Neander, ii. 142: Matter, ii. 265.
[n] Mosh. 404-5; Neander, ii. 142-3.

his condemnation, resolved to send down a higher Messiah, his own son. Mankind were not prepared for this by any previous revelations; the Messiah appeared suddenly in the synagogue of Capernaum, "in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar."[o] In order to obtain a hearing from the Jews, he accommodated himself to their notions, and professed to be that Messiah whom the Demiurge's prophets had taught them to expect. Now, for the first time, the true God was revealed, and the forgiveness of sins was bestowed on men, with knowledge and strength, in order to overcome the enmity of matter.[p]

The Demiurge, ignorant of the Messiah's real nature, but jealous of a power superior to his own, stirred up the Jews against him; the material God urged on the Gentiles to join in the persecution. On the subject of our Lord's body the views of Marcion were peculiar; he supposed it to be not a mere phantom, but a spiritual and ethereal body, really existing although invisible, and clothed with a phantastic outward form. For such a body the crucifixion could not be a real suffering; by submitting to the cross, the Saviour meant to teach that death and suffering are not to be avoided as evils.[q]

Marcion admitted the descent into hell, and with it was connected one of his strangest doctrines—that the heathens, and the reprobates of the Old Testament,—such as Cain, Esau, and the men of Sodom,—suffering from the vengeance of the Demiurge, gladly hailed the offer of salvation, and were delivered; while the Old Testament saints, being satisfied with the happiness of Abraham's bosom, rejected the Christ and were left as before.[r] This, however, was not to be their final condition. The Demiurge's Messiah was after all to come; he was to gather the dispersed of Israel out of all lands, to establish an universal empire of the Jews, and to bless the adherents of his father with an earthly happiness; while such of the heathen and of the disobedient as had not been exempted from his power by laying hold on the higher salvation were to be consigned to torments. For the people of the Supreme God, the soul will be released from the flesh, and will rise to dwell with him in a spiritual body.[s]

[o] Tertull. adv. Marc. iv. 7; Mosh. 406; Tillem. ii. 268; Neander, ii. 144; Matter, ii. 246, 267-270.

[p] Mosh. 407; Neander, ii. 144-5; Guericke, i. 280.

[q] Mosh. 407-9; Neander, ii. 145-6; Matter, ii. 279.

[r] Mosh, 407; Matter, ii. 275, 281; Neander, ii. 146. This bears some likeness to the Cainite doctrine (sup. p. 25), but rests on a different ground.

[s] Neander, ii. 147; Matter, ii. 267, 283. Marcion denied the resurrection of the body. Tert. adv. Marc. i. 24.

The fundamental difficulty with Marcion was the supposed impossibility of reconciling love with punitive justice; hence his distinction of the Supreme God, all love, and the Demiurge, all severity. In order to carry out this view he wrote a book called *Antitheses*, which was intended to show an essential difference between the Old and the New Testament. In it he insisted on all such principles and narratives in the elder Scriptures as appeared to be inconsistent with the character of love; and he made the most of all the instances in which our Lord had (as he supposed) set himself against the Jewish system.[t]

Marcion is described as a man of grave disposition and manners.[u] The character of his sect was ascetic; he allowed no animal food except fish;[x] he forbade marriage, and required a profession of continence as a condition of baptism. Baptism, however, might be deferred; the catechumens were (contrary to the practice of the Church) admitted to witness the celebration of the highest mysteries; and if a person died in the state of a catechumen, there was a vicarious baptism for the dead.[y]

The bold rejection of Judaism and Paganism, the arbitrary treatment of Holy Scripture, and the apparent severity of the sect, drew many converts.[z] Marcion affected to address his followers as "companions in hatred and tribulation:"[a] they rather courted than shunned persecution; many suffered as Christians with great constancy, and the sect boasted of its martyrs.[b] Marcionism was not extinct until the sixth century.[c]

Strange and odious as Gnosticism was, we must yet not overlook the benefits which Christianity eventually derived from it. In its various forms, all the chief ideas and influences of earlier religions and philosophies were brought into contact with the Gospel—pressing, as it were, for entrance into the Christian system. Thus the Church was forced to consider what in those older systems was true, and what false; stedfastly to reject the falsehood, to appropriate the truth, to hallow it by a combination with the Christian principle, and so to rescue all that was precious from the wreck of a world which was

[t] Tillem. ii. 267-9; Neander, ii. 141; Matter, ii. 275. Tertullian discusses these points at great length (libb. ii.-iv.).
[u] Mosh. 401. [x] Ib. 407.
[y] Matter, ii. 286-8. For this 1 Cor. xv. 29 was alleged.
[z] Matter, ii. 289.
[a] Tertull. adv. Marc. iv. 9.
[b] Tillem. ii. 270; Mosh. 409; Neander, ii. 138, 148. See Bayle, art. 'Marcionites,' note E.
[c] Matter, ii. 314.

passing away. "It was," says a late writer,[d] "through the Gnostics that studies, literature, and art were introduced into the Church;" and when Gnosticism had accomplished its task of thus influencing the Church, it ceased to exist.[e]

In order to complete the notices of Gnosticism by including Valentinus and Marcion, it has been necessary to advance somewhat beyond the point which we had reached in the general history. The narrative must now be resumed from the death of Hadrian.

[d] Baumgarten-Crusius, 'Dogmengeschichte,' quoted by Dorner, i. 357.

[e] Dorner, i. 356-7; Neander, ii. 157.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REIGNS OF THE ANTONINES.

A.D. 138–180.

THE rescripts of the last two emperors had done much for the protection of the Christians; and their condition A.D. 138–161. was yet further improved during the peaceful reign of the elder Antoninus.

Finding that the provincial governors in general refused to punish the profession of the Gospel as in itself criminal, its enemies now had recourse to charges of atheism—an imputation which seems to have originated in the circumstance that the Christians were without the usual externals of worship, temples and altars, images and sacrifices.[a] The custom of ascribing all public calamities to them, and of calling for their blood as an atonement to the offended gods, still continued; and the magistrates of several cities in Greece requested the emperor's directions as to the course which should be taken in consequence. He wrote in reply, confirming the edict of Hadrian, that the Christians should not be punished, unless for crimes against the state.[b] Another document,[c] however, in which he is represented as instructing the Council of Asia to put to death all who should molest the Christians on account of their religion, is now generally regarded as spurious.[d]

The cause of the persecuted body was pleaded by Justin, usually styled Martyr, in an apology addressed to the emperor, his adopted sons, the senate, and the people of Rome.[e] Justin was a native of Flavia Neapolis, a town of Greek population and language, on the site of the ancient Sychem, in Samaria.[f] He has himself, in his Dialogue with Trypho, related the progress of his religious opinions; how—induced, as it would seem, rather by

[a] Mosh. 239; Tzschirner, 228.
[b] Fleury, iii. 42; Mosh. 240.
[c] Euseb. iv. 13.
[d] Tzschirner, 304; Neander, i. 143; Gieseler, I. i. 174; Milman, ii. 160.
[e] The date is fixed by most writers from A D. 138 to 140; but by some as late as 150 or 151 (Semisch, Justin der Märtyrer, i. 64, 73; Clinton, A.D.151). The chief objection to an early date is the mention of the heretic Marcion (c. xxxv.), which Pagi (in Baron. ii. 171) gets over by supposing that when Justin wrote, Marcion had become notorious in the East, although he had not yet visited Rome.
[f] Bishop Kaye's Justin Martyr, 4-5; Semisch, i. 6-10.

a desire to discover some solid foundation of belief than by any speculative turn of mind[g]—he tried in succession the most popular forms of Greek philosophy; how in one after another he was disgusted, either by the defectiveness of the doctrine or by the character of the professor; how, soon after having embraced Platonism, he was walking on the seashore in deep meditation, when he was accosted by an old man of reverend appearance, who told him that his studies were unpractical and useless, and directed him to the Prophets and the New Testament.[h] The convictions which arose from this course of reading were strengthened by his observation of the constancy with which Christians endured persecution and death for the sake of their faith. Justin became a Christian, and devoted himself to the defence and propagation of the Gospel. He travelled in Egypt, Asia, and elsewhere, retaining the garb of a philosopher, which invested him with an air of authority, and was serviceable in procuring a hearing for his doctrines;[i] but his usual residence was at Rome, where he established a school of Christian philosophy.[k]

Justin's First Apology contains a bold remonstrance against the iniquity of persecuting Christians for their religion, while all other parties were allowed to believe and to worship according to their conscience.[l] In this and in the other writings by which he maintained the cause of the Gospel against its various adversaries —heathens, Jews, and heretics—he refutes the usual calumnies, the charges of atheism and immorality, of political disaffection and sedition.[m] He appeals to the evidence of prophecy and miracles,[n] to the purity of the New Testament morality, to the

[g] Neander, ii. 413.

[h] Semisch, i. 10-15, supposes Ephesus to have been the scene of this.

[i] Semisch, i. 23; Neander, i. 381-2.

[k] Tillem. ii. 377. It is generally supposed that Justin did not enter into the ministry of the Church; Tillemont, however, is inclined to think that he was a priest, because in describing the administration of the Christian rites he uses the first person plural (ii. 356). Neander would account for this by saying that "no such distinction was as yet made between clergy and laity as would render it improbable that Justin expressed himself in this way on the principle of the universal Christian priesthood." (ii. 413.) But surely Justin might speak in the first person plural of acts done by the Church without meaning either that he was himself an officiating person, or that every member of the congregation was alike entitled to officiate.

[l] Kaye, 12; Semisch, ii. 123.

[m] Semisch, ii. 100, 114, 118, 119.

[n] The evidence from miracles, however, was little insisted on by the early Christian writers, since the belief in theurgic practices was so common among the heathen that the proof of a miracle would have done but little to establish the divine origin of a doctrine, unless some criteria were settled by which one kind of miracles might be distinguished from another. This is the true explanation of "the supine inattention of the pagan and philosophic world," from which Gibbon would conclude against the reality of the New Testament miracles (i. 525). Justin did something towards establishing a distinction. Semisch, ii. 197-201; Tzschirner, 270, 519-520. Comp. Bishop Kaye on Tertullian, 125-8.

lives of his brethren, their love even for their enemies, their disinterestedness, their firmness in confessing the faith, their patience in suffering for it.[o] No one, he says, had ever consented to die for philosophy; but multitudes, even in the lowest ranks, had braved danger and death in the cause of Christ.[p] He dwells on the chief points of Christian doctrine, and elaborately discusses the resurrection of the body, an article which was especially difficult to the apprehension of the heathens.[q] He vindicates the character and the miracles of our Lord;[r] he rebuts the arguments drawn from the novelty of his religion, and from the depressed condition of its professors, which their enemies regarded as a disproof of their pretensions to the favour of the Almighty.[s] Nor is he content with defending his own creed; he attacks the corruptions and absurdities of Paganism, not only in its popular and poetical form, but as it appeared in the more refined interpretations of the philosophers.[t]

In controversy with the heathens, Justin insists on the analogies which are to be found between the doctrines of Plato and those of Holy Scripture. He derives the wisdom of the Greeks from the Jews, and ascribes the corruptions of it to demons.[u] While, however, he thus referred to heathen philosophy by way of illustration, and represented it as a preparation for Christianity, he was careful not to admit it as supplementary, or as an element of adulteration.[x]

Although it is a mistake to suppose that the Apologies of the early writers were mere exercises, composed without any intention of presenting them to the emperors who are addressed,[y] there is no evidence that Justin's First Apology produced any effect on Anto-

[o] Semisch, ii. 192-4.
[p] Kaye, 17.
[q] Semisch, ii. 157.
[r] Ib. ii. 178.
[s] Ib. ii. 120, 178.
[t] Ib. ii. 105, 152.
[u] Ib. ii. 161; Tzschirner, 242, 288, 291.
[x] Semisch, ii. 227-9. Another way of employing heathen authority consisted in references to the Sibylline prophecies. These writings, of unknown origin, had been interpolated from time to time before the Christian era. Christians had very early begun to practise on them in like manner, and to circulate other prophecies under the names of heathen sages, such as Hystaspes and Hermes Trismegistus. (Mosh. 229-231; Gieseler, I. i, 227: Neander, i. 245-6: Tzschirner, 268-270; Burton, ii. 113-5.) Tzschirner (196) thinks that in this they did not intend to deceive, but merely to present their doctrines in a form attractive to the heathens. There is no doubt that Justin's references to these books were made in perfectly good faith. (Beveridge, Codex Canon. Vindic. 176, 192; Semisch, ii. 208.) Schröckh shows (ii. 400, seqq.) that the acceptance of such forgeries by the early Christian writers is no prejudice to the value of their evidence in favour of the books of Scripture.
[y] This idea was started by Bayle, art. *Athenagoras*, notes B. C.; but is now generally regarded as a mistaken transference of modern notions to early times. See Schröckh, iii. 105; Tzschirner, 209.

ninus, or contributed towards his measures in favour of the Christians. The Roman political view of religion was, indeed, not to be disturbed by argument. All that the magistrate had to care for was a conformity to the established rites; this was considered to be a duty towards the state, and was not supposed to imply any inward conviction. The refusal of compliance by the Christians, therefore, was an unintelligible scruple; statesmen could only regard it, with Pliny, as a criminal obstinacy.[a]

The elder Antoninus was succeeded in 161 by his adopted son Marcus Aurelius.[b] Under this emperor—celebrated as he is for benevolence, justice, and intelligence—the state of the Christians was worse than in any former reign, except that of Nero; if, indeed, this exception ought to be made, since Nero's persecution was probably limited to Rome.[c] The gradual advance towards toleration, which had continued ever since the death of Domitian, is now succeeded by a sudden retrograde movement. The enmity against Christians is no longer peculiar to the populace; the local governors and judges are found to take an *active* part in persecution. Now, for the first time, they seek out the victims, in contravention of the principle laid down by Trajan;[d] instead of discouraging informations, they invite or instigate them; they apply torture with the view of forcing a recantation; in order to obtain evidence, they violate the ancient law which forbade the admission of slaves as witnesses against their masters; they even wring out the evidence of slaves by torture.[e]

In explanation of the contrast between the general character of Marcus and his policy towards the Church, it has been suggested that, in his devotion to philosophical studies, he may have forgotten the duty of watchfully superintending the proceedings of his subordinates; that he may have shared no further in the persecutions of his reign than by carelessly allowing them to be carried on.[f] This supposition, however, would seem to be inconsistent with facts; for, although no distinct document is extant, it is almost certain that the measures against the Christians were

[a] Neander, i. 243-4; Semisch, ii. 116. "Le vieux polythéisme . . . était devenu une sorte d'hypocrisie publique, professée par l'état." Villemain, Tableau de l'Éloquence Chrétienne, 59. Comp. Beugnot, i. 35.

[b] It does not seem necessary in such a work as this to mention the colleagues who were associated with some of the emperors, unless in cases where the character of the colleague told on the religious policy of the reign.

[c] Mosh. 246.

[d] Neander, i. 148-9; Milman, ii. 160.

[e] Tillem. ii. 310; Mosh. 244; Neander, i. 149; Gieseler, I. i. 175.

[f] Mosh. 244.

sanctioned by new and severe edicts proceeding from the emperor himself;[g] and we are not without the materials for a more satisfactory solution.[h]

The reign was a period of great public disasters and calamities. A fearful pestilence ravaged the countries from Ethiopia to Gaul: the Tiber rose in flood, destroying among other buildings the public granaries, and causing a famine in the capital. The empire was harassed by long wars on the eastern and northern frontiers, and by the revolt of its most distinguished general in Syria. All such troubles were ascribed to the wrath of the gods, which the Christians were supposed to have provoked. The old tales of atheism and abominable practices, however often refuted, continued to keep their ground in the popular belief;[i] and it appears on inquiry that the fiercest renewals of persecution coincided in time with the chief calamities of the reign.[k] The heathen, high as well as low, were terrified into a feeling that the chastisements of Heaven demanded a revival of their sunken religion; they restored its neglected solemnities, they offered sacrifices of unusual costliness, they anxiously endeavoured to remove whatever might be supposed offensive to the gods.[l]

The emperor, as a sincerely religious heathen, shared in the general feeling;[m] nor were his private opinions such as to dispose him favourably towards the Christians, whom it would appear that he knew only through the representations of their enemies the philosophers.[n] The form of philosophy to which he was addicted —the Stoic—was very opposite in tone to the Gospel. It may be described as aristocratic—a system for the elevated few; it would naturally lead its followers to scorn as vulgar a doctrine which professed to be for all ranks of society, and for every class of minds.[o] The firmness of the Stoic was to be the result of correct reasoning; the emperor himself, in his "Meditations," illustrates the true philosophical calmness by saying that it must *not* be like the demeanour of the Christians in death, which he regards as

[g] Tertullian says that he made no laws against them (Apol. i. 5); but see Pusey's notes; also Baron. 164. 4; Neander, i. 142-3; Tzschirner, 312; Milman, ii. 178. Neander (i. 149) ascribes to him an edict which bears the name of *Aurelian;* but Gieseler (I. i. 175) and Milman oppose this view.

[h] This subject is very ably treated by Dean Milman, vol. ii. c. 7.

[i] Mosh. 243.

[k] Milman, ii. 173-5.

[l] Baron. 164. 6; Neander, i. 145.

[m] Tillem. Emp. ii. 372; Neander, i. 146-7.

[n] Tillem. ii. 307; Mosh. 241-5.

[o] Schröckh, iii. 80; Villemain, Tabl. de l'Éloq. Chrét. The truth of this description is not affected by the difference which M. Villemain well points out between the harshness of Stoicism in its earlier days and the humaner form which it wore in Marcus Aurelius—the result, perhaps, of an unsuspected influence of the Gospel (p. 66).

enthusiastic and theatrical.[p] And the enthusiasm was infectious; the sect extended throughout, and even beyond, the empire; already its advocates began to boast of the wonderful progress of their doctrines;[q] and the circumstances thus alleged in its favour might suggest a fear of dangerous combinations and movements to the mind of an unfriendly statesman.[r] If, too, the prosperity of a nation depended on its gods, the triumph over paganism which the Christians anticipated must, it was thought, imply the ruin of the empire. A "kingdom not of this world" was an idea which the heathen could not understand; and their alarm was not without countenance from the language of many Christians. Not only was the Apocalypse interpreted as foretelling the downfall of pagan Rome, but pretended prophecies, such as the Sibylline verses, spoke of it openly, and in a tone of exultation.[s]

It was long believed that Marcus, in the latter years of his reign, changed his policy towards the Christians, in consequence of a miraculous deliverance which he had experienced in one of his campaigns against the Quadi. His army was hemmed in by the barbarians; the soldiers were exhausted by wounds and fatigue, and parched by the rays of a burning sun. In this distress (it is said) a legion composed of Christians stepped forward and knelt down in prayer; suddenly the sky was overspread with clouds; the Romans were refreshed by a copious shower, and took off their helmets to catch the rain. While they were thus partly unarmed, and intent on quenching their thirst, the enemy attacked them; when a violent storm of lightning and hail drove full against the barbarians, and enabled the imperial forces to gain an easy victory. It is added that the interposition of the God of Christians was acknowledged; that the emperor bestowed the name of *Fulminatrix* on the legion whose prayers had been so effectual; and that he issued an edict in favour of their religion.[t]

A.D. 174.

In refutation of this story it has been shown that, while the deliverance is attested by heathen as well as Christian writers, by

[p] L. xi. c. 3, quoted by Mosh. 245, Planck, i. 60; Neander, i. 146; Gieseler, I. i. 170.

[q] See Just. Mart. Dial. c. Tryph., quoted by Mosh. 203; and below, ch. viii. sect. 1.

[r] Matter, Hist. du Christianisme, i. 98.

[s] Tzschirner, 192-4, 199, 234, 310-311; Beugnot, i. 21; Milm. ii. 164-172. Moreover, the Christian writers did not always preserve a proper tone of respect towards the emperor. Thus Tatian spoke of him as paying large salaries to philosophers, "that their beards might not grow for nothing." Orat. i. 19, quoted by Tzschirner, 311.

[t] Euseb. v. 5; Tillem. Emp. ii. 405-7.

coins, and by a representation on the Antonine column,[u] it is ascribed by the heathens to Jupiter or Mercury, and is said to have been procured either by the arts of an Egyptian magician or by the prayers of the emperor himself; that the idea of a Christian legion is absurd; that the title of *Fulminatrix* was as old as the time of Augustus; and that the worst persecutions of the reign were later than the date of the supposed edict of toleration.[x] But, although the miracle of "The Thundering Legion" is now generally abandoned,[y] the story may have arisen without any intentional fraud. The deliverance of the army in the Quadian war is certain; we may safely assume that the Christian soldiers prayed in their distress, and rightly ascribed the relief to the mercy of God. We have then only to suppose, further, that some Christian, ignorant of military antiquities, connected this event with the name of the *Legio Fulminatrix;* and the other circumstances are such as might have easily been added to the tale in the course of its transmission.[z]

The most eminent persons who suffered death under Marcus Aurelius were Justin and Polycarp. Early in the reign Justin was induced by the martyrdom of some Christians at Rome to compose a Second Apology, in which he expressed an apprehension that he himself might soon fall a victim to the arts of one Crescens, a Cynic, who is described as a very vile member of his unlovely sect.[a] The apprehension was soon verified; and Justin, after having borne himself in his examination with firmness and dignity, was beheaded at Rome, and earned the glorious title which usually accompanies his name.

The martyrdom of Justin was soon followed[b] by that of Polycarp—a man revered, perhaps, beyond any other member of the whole Church.[c] He had been a disciple of St. John, who is sup-

[u] See the engraving in Baron. ii 292.

[x] See Pagi in Baron. ii. 286; Mosh. 251; Kaye on Tertullian, 99; Gieseler, I. i. 176; Pusey, n. on Tertul. i. 14; Clinton, ii. 23, seqq.

[y] Guericke, indeed, endeavours to uphold it (i. 130); but an explanation similar to that in the text is given even by Dr. Newman (Essay on Eccl. Miracles, cxxi.-ii.), and by Rohrbacher, v. 159-161.

[z] See Mosh. 249-251; Schröckh, iii. 148-9; Routh, Reliqq. Sacræ, i. 165-7; Kaye on Tertullian, 99; Burton, ii. 166-8; Neander, i. 159-162.

[a] Cave, Hist. Lit. i. 36; Tillem. ii. 393. Bishop Pearson supposes that the Second Apology was addressed to Antoninus Pius, and that Justin was put to death in 147. But the Apology is usually placed in this reign, and the martyrdom about 166. Semisch, 147-53; Gieseler, I. i. 205.

[b] Some place the death of Polycarp first. Baronius and Mosheim date it in 169; Pearson in 147; Pagi (although not confidently) in 158 (ap. Baron. ii. 236); Clinton in 166; others in 167.

[c] See Tillem. ii. 334.

posed to have placed him in the see of Smyrna; and we have already noticed his connexion with the martyr St. Ignatius.

Towards the end of the reign of Pius, Polycarp had visited Rome[d]—partly, although not exclusively,[e] for the purpose of discussing a question as to the time of keeping Easter. It had been the practice of the Asiatic Churches to celebrate the Paschal supper on the fourteenth day of the first Jewish month —the same day on which the Jews ate the passover; and three days later, without regard to the day of the week, they kept the feast of the Resurrection. Other Churches, on the contrary, held it unlawful to interrupt the fast of the Holy Week, or to celebrate the Resurrection on any other day than Sunday; their Easter, consequently, was always on a Sunday, and their Paschal supper was on its eve. The Asiatic or *Quartodeciman* practice was traced to St. John and St. Philip; that of other Churches to St. Peter and St. Paul.[f]

Polycarp was received at Rome by the bishop, Anicetus, with the respect due to his personal character, to his near connexion with the Apostles, to his advanced age, and to his long tenure of the episcopal office—for Anicetus was the seventh bishop of Rome since his guest had been set over the Church of Smyrna.[g] The discussion of the Paschal question was carried on with moderation; it was agreed that on such a matter a difference of practice might be allowed; and Anicetus, in token of fellowship and regard, allowed the Asiatic bishop to consecrate the Eucharist in his presence.[h]

During his residence at Rome, Polycarp succeeded in bringing back to the Church many persons who had been perverted by Valentinus, Marcion, and Marcellina, a female professor of Gnosticism. It is said, also, that he had a personal encounter with Marcion. The heresiarch—probably with reference to some former acquaintance in Asia—asked him for a sign of recognition. "I know thee," was the answer, "for the firstborn of Satan."[i]

[d] About A.D. 158, Burton (ii. 124); 159, Baron.; 160, Schröckh.

[e] Mosh. ed. Soames, i. 177, note; Neander, i. 413; Heinichen, n. in Euseb. v. 24 (t. ii. p. 127).

[f] This is Mosheim's account of the difference (435, seqq.); but there still remains a question on the subject. Comp. Schröckh, iii. 53-4; Routh, Rel. Sac. ii. 17-20; Neander, i. 412-3; Gieseler, I. ii. 240-2; Guericke, i. 187-8; Jacobson, PP. Apostol. liii.

[g] Burton, ii. 123.

[h] This is the most usual interpretation of Iren. ap. Euseb. v. 24:—*παρεχώρησεν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ*; but some, with whom Heinichen (not. in loc.) agrees, understand the meaning to be, that Anicetus *gave* the Eucharist to Polycarp.

[i] Euseb. iv. 14; Tillem. ii. 335.

The martyrdom of Polycarp is related in a letter written in the name of his Church.[k] Persecution had begun to rage in Asia; many of the Smyrnæan Christians had suffered with admirable constancy; one, however, who had at first been forward in exposing himself, had been persuaded to sacrifice, and from his case the writers take occasion to discourage the practice of voluntarily courting persecution.

The multitude was enraged at the sight of the fortitude with which the martyrs suffered. A cry arose "Away with the Atheists! Seek out Polycarp!" The behaviour of the venerable bishop was worthy of his character for Christian prudence and sincerity. At the persuasion of his friends he withdrew to a village, from which he afterwards removed to another. When discovered in his second retreat, he calmly said "The will of God be done!" He ordered food to be set before his captors, and spent in fervent prayer the time which was allowed him before being carried off to the city. On entering the arena he is said to have heard a voice from heaven—"Be strong, Polycarp, and play the man!" and it is added that many of his brethren also heard it. His appearance greatly excited the spectators. The proconsul exhorted him to purchase liberty by renouncing his faith; but he replied, "Fourscore and six years[l] have I served Christ, and he hath done me no wrong; how can I now blaspheme my King and Saviour?" The proconsul renewed his solicitations, and threatened him with the beasts and with fire; but Polycarp was unshaken.

The multitude cried out for his death, and (in accordance, it is said, with an intimation which had been conveyed to him in a vision of a fiery pillow) he was sentenced to be burnt. A quantity of wood was soon collected—the Jews, "as was their custom," being especially zealous in the work. The martyr requested that he might not be fastened with the usual iron cramps, professing a trust that God would enable him to endure the flames without flinching. He was therefore tied to the stake with cords, and in that position uttered a thanksgiving for the privilege of glorifying God by his death. The pile was then kindled, but, instead of touching him, the flame swept around him "like the sail of a ship filled with wind," while his body appeared in the midst, "not like flesh that is burnt, but like bread that is baked, or like gold

[k] Published in the Collection of Apostolical Fathers, and in Olshausen's Monumenta.

[l] Some understand this to mean his age; others the period since his conversion. See Jacobson, PP. Apostol. 504-5.

and silver glowing in a furnace;" and a perfume as of frankincense or spices filled the air.[m]

As the fire seemingly refused to do its office, one of the executioners stabbed the martyr with a sword, whereupon there issued forth a profusion of blood, sufficient to quench the flames.[n] The heathens and the Jews then burnt the body—out of fear, as they said, lest the Christians should worship Polycarp instead of "the Crucified,"—an apprehension by which, as the Church of Smyrna remarks, they showed an utter ignorance of Christian doctrine. The brethren were obliged to content themselves with collecting some of the bones, and bestowing on them an honourable burial. As in the case of Ignatius, the death of the bishop procured a respite for his flock.

Towards the end of the reign a violent persecution took place in the south of Gaul.[o] The Church of Lyons and Vienne was of eastern and comparatively late origin;[p] it was still under the care of Pothinus, the head of the mission by which the Gospel had been introduced. In the year 177,[q] when the empire was alarmed by renewed apprehensions of the German war, the Christians of these cities found themselves the objects of outrage; they were insulted and attacked in the streets, their houses were entered and plundered. The eagerness of the authorities to second the popular feeling is in striking contrast with the practice of earlier times. Orders were given to search out the Christians; by the illegal application of torture some heathen slaves were brought to charge their masters with the abominations of Œdipus and Thyestes; and the Christians were then tortured in various ways, exposed repeatedly to beasts, and imprisoned in dungeons, where noisomeness and privation were fatal to many. The bishop, a man ninety years old, and infirm both from age

[m] This has been accounted for by supposing that the hastily-gathered pile was partly composed of aromatic wood. (Milman, ii. 88.) It seems best in general to leave without comment those parts of the story in which the feelings of the narrators may have given it a miraculous character.

[n] The Martyrdom in the common copies (c. 16) reads, ἐξῆλθε περιστερὰ καὶ πλῆθος αἵματος, "there came out a dove and a large quantity of blood." The words περιστερὰ καὶ are wanting in Eusebius and in some MSS. Various conjectures have been proposed in order to get rid of or explain the *dove*. Some would read περὶ στέρνα, "there came forth *about the breast*," or ἐπ' ἀριστερά, "*on the left*." See Jacobson, in loc. Dr. Wordsworth offers a very ingenious reading, περὶ σπύραικα, "about the haft." (St. Hippolytus and the Church of Rome, p. 319.)

[o] The authority for this is a letter of the Church of Lyons and Vienne, preserved by Eusebius, b. v. (although incomplete).

[p] Mosh. 207, 211.

[q] Tillem. iii. v.; Milman, ii. 194.

and from sickness, was dragged before the governor, who asked him, "Who is the God of Christians?" "If thou art worthy," he answered, "thou shalt know." He was scourged by the officers, and was beaten, kicked, and pelted by the crowd; after which he was carried almost lifeless to a prison, where he died within two days. A distinction was made as to the manner of death between persons of different conditions; slaves were crucified, provincials were exposed to beasts, and the emperor, being consulted as to the manner of dealing with those who claimed the privilege of Roman citizenship, ordered that such of them as adhered to their faith should be beheaded. Yet, notwithstanding this, an Asiatic named Attalus, although a citizen of Rome, was tortured and was exposed to beasts. When placed in a heated iron chair, he calmly remarked, as the smell of his burning flesh arose, that his persecutors were guilty of the cannibalism which they falsely imputed to the Christians.

The behaviour of the sufferers was throughout marked by calmness and sobriety. They succeeded by their prayers and by their arguments in persuading some of their brethren, who had at first yielded to the fear of death, to confess their Lord, and to give themselves for him. Blandina, a slave, was distinguished above all the rest for the variety of tortures which she endured. Her mistress, a Christian, had feared that the faith of a slave might give way in time of trial; but Blandina's character had been formed, not by her condition, but by the faith which she professed. Her constancy wearied out the inventive cruelty of her tormentors, and in her greatest agonies she found strength and relief in repeating, "I am a Christian, and no wickedness is done among us."

The malice of the heathen did not end with the death of their victims. They cast their bodies to the dogs; they burnt such fragments as were left uneaten, and threw the ashes into the Rhone, in mockery of the doctrine of a resurrection.

In this reign began the controversial opposition on the side of Paganism. The leader in it, Celsus, is described as a person of a showy but shallow cleverness, and is supposed to have been an Epicurean, although in his attack he affected the character of a Platonist.[r] He was formally answered at a later period by

[r] See Mosh. 256; Gieseler, I. i. 161; Neander, i. 222, seqq.; Tzschirner, 325-7; Semisch, i. 41. By some Celsus is placed in the reign of Hadrian. Mosheim, in his preface to a translation of Origen's work against him, conjectures

Origen; and in the mean time the Gospel found its advocates both in the form of apologies and of other treatises. Among the apologists were Melito bishop of Sardis; Theophilus bishop of Antioch; Athenagoras, an Athenian philosopher, who is said to have been converted by a perusal of the Scriptures, which he had undertaken with the view of refuting Christianity;[s] Claudius Apollinaris bishop of Hierapolis; Miltiades; and Tatian, a pupil of Justin Martyr.[t] Tatian afterwards gained a more unhappy celebrity as the founder of the sect of Encratites. His tenets, and those of his contemporary Bardesanes of Edessa—whose hymns found their way even into the congregations of the orthodox[u]—need not be further described than by saying that they both belonged to the Gnostic family. A heresy of a different kind—that of Montanus—had also its rise in the reign of Marcus; but a notice of it will find a more suitable place in the next chapter.

that he was a Neoplatonist, of the school of Ammonius; but this supposition, which would place him much later, is improbable. (Schröckh, iv. 94.) Redepenning calls him an eclectic Platonist. (Origenes, ii. 131-4.)

[s] Schröckh, iii. 119. See Tzschirner, 212-5. Philip of Side, a writer of the fifth century (for whom see below, b. ii. c. 9), very improbably makes him head of the catechetical school of Alexandria. Tzsch. 214.

[t] Minucius Felix is also referred to this period by some writers, as Tzschirner, 219. See Gieseler, I. i. 208.

[u] His son Harmonius was also celebrated as a hymnographer. St. Ephrem, in the fourth century, expelled the hymns of Harmonius from the Church, by substituting orthodox compositions of the same measures. Sozomen, iii. 16.

CHAPTER V.

THE REIGNS FROM COMMODUS TO ELAGABALUS.

A.D. 180–222.

ALTHOUGH the writings of the apologists had failed to obtain a legal toleration for the Church, they were not without effect.[a] The cause which could find men of ability and learning to advocate it with their pens, took by degrees a new position. The old vulgar calumnies died away; the more enlightened of the heathen began to feel that, if their religion was to withstand the Gospel, it must be reformed, not only in practice but in doctrine. Hence we find in this period attempts, on the part of the philosophers, to claim for their own system some truths to which Christianity had first given prominence, approximations in various ways, and endeavours after a combination of doctrines.

Of the princes who occupied the imperial throne, some reigned but a short time, and have left no traces in the history of the Church. The unworthy son of Marcus Aurelius is said to have been influenced by his favourite concubine, Marcia, to spare the Christians, and to recall many of them from banishment.[b] Under Severus there was a persecution in some quarters, which ceased soon after the accession of Caracalla. Elagabalus did not persecute; it is said that, in his desire to make all the old national religions subservient to the Syrian worship of which he had been the priest, he intended to combine the symbols of Judaism and Christianity with the gods of Greece and Rome, in the temple which he erected to the sun;[c] but his career of insane depravity was cut short before he had attempted to carry out this design.

Commodus, A.D. 180.
Pertinax, 192.
Did. Julian, 193.
Sept. Severus, 193.
Caracalla, 211.
Elagabalus, 218.

Although the reign of Commodus was generally a time of repose for the Church, it produced one remarkable martyrdom—that of Apollonius, a Roman senator. He was accused of being a Christian by one of his slaves; the informer was put to death

[a] Tzschirner, 351.
[b] Philosophumena, b. ix. p. 288. Baron. 182. 5; Tillem. Emp. ii. 481; Burton, ii. 192.
[c] Baron. 124. 4; Fleury, v. 47; Gibbon, i. 153-4; Gieseler, I. i. 258.

by having his legs broken; Apollonius, after having read a defence of his faith before the senate, was beheaded.[d] The case is celebrated as illustrating the supposed condition of the Christians—legally liable to the punishment of death for their belief, yet protected by an enactment which appointed the same penalty for their accusers. It labours, however, under several difficulties; even if the circumstances be admitted as true, there remains a question whether the informer was punished for molesting a Christian, or for violating the duty of slave to master.[e]

The only special edict of this period which had reference to the Church[f] was that by which Severus, in the year 202, forbade that any of his subjects should become Jews or Christians.[g] This emperor, in the beginning of his reign, had favoured the Church, in consequence, it is said, of a cure which he himself had experienced from having been anointed with oil by a Christian named Torpacion;[h] he kept his deliverer near him, and allowed some persons of rank and authority to profess the Gospel.[i] But the laws were still in an unsatisfactory state; the treatment of the Christians still depended on the will of individual governors; nay, those governors who were favourably disposed found it impossible to protect them when accused.[k] Before any new edict had appeared, severe persecutions were carried on in various parts of the empire. The rescript of Trajan, which forbade inquiry to be made after the Christians, was neglected; the mob still called for their blood in the amphitheatres; many were tortured, with a view to make them discover their faith; some were burnt; some were condemned to the mines and to banishment; even the graves of the dead were violated.[l] In these times a custom arose of *purchasing* toleration. It was sanctioned by many bishops, who alleged the scriptural example of Jason (Acts xvii. 9);[m] and the money was paid, not only by way of occasional bribes to accusers

[d] Euseb. v. 21 (who, however, does not state that the accuser was the slave of Apollonius, although his words have been so misunderstood). Hieron. De Viris Illustr. 42.

[e] See Neander, i. 163; Gieseler, I. i. 176.

[f] The Christians may, however, also have suffered under the law against clubs (see above, p. 10), which was renewed by Severus. Neander, i. 166; Gieseler, I. i. 258; Burton, ii. 240.

[g] Fleury, v. 36; Neander, i. 166.

[h] Tertull. ad Scapulam, 4; Baron. 195. 4; Tillem. iii. 114; Mosh. 253; Neander, i. 165; Milman, ii. 205. Some have supposed that Severus was the governor under whom the martyrdoms of Lyons took place; but there is no good ground for this.

[i] His son Caracalla is said to have been "brought up on Christian milk," which probably means that he had a Christian nurse. Tillem. Emp. iii. 108; Mosh. 253; Milman, ii. 205.

[k] Mosh. 254.

[l] Tertull. Apol. 12, 30; Baron. 201. 30-3; Tillem. iii. 119; Mosh. 254.

[m] Baron. 205. 17.

or soldiers, but as a rent or tax, like that levied on the followers of some disreputable callings for leave to carry on their business.[n] The effect was, on the whole, unfavourable to the quiet of the Church; unscrupulous governors soon learnt the expedient of putting to death a few of the poorer Christians within their jurisdictions, by way of alarming the richer brethren and extorting money from them.[o] The severe Marcionites and the enthusiastic Montanists disdained the compromise to which believers in general submitted; they classed together the practice of paying for safety, and that of flight in persecution, as alike unworthy of their profession.[p]

Perhaps the extravagances of Montanism may have contributed to provoke the edict of Severus,[q] as well as the cause which is more commonly assigned for it—the refusal of the Christians to share in the rejoicings which welcomed his triumphant return to Rome.[r] That refusal was really grounded on a religious objection to the heathen rites and indecencies which were mixed with such celebrations; for, whatever might have been the private feelings of Christians during the late contest for the empire, they had abstained from taking part with any of the competitors; nor is it recorded that there were any Christians among those adherents of Niger and Albinus who suffered from the vengeance of Severus.[s]

Although the new edict did not expressly forbid Christians to exercise their religion, but only to increase their numbers by proselytism,[t] it served to stimulate their enemies to persecution. This seems, however, to have been confined to Egypt and Proconsular Africa.[u] Among its victims at Alexandria was Leonides, father of Origen.

Of the African martyrs, Perpetua and her companions are the most celebrated. The acts of their martyrdom[x] embody a narrative written by Perpetua herself. She was a catechumen, noble and wealthy, of the age of twenty-two, married, and with an infant

[n] Neander, i. 168; Milman, ii. 205.

[o] Mosh. 453.

[p] Baron. 205. 19; Fleury, v. 36; Kaye on Tertullian, 140. "Sicut fuga redemptio gratuita est," says Tertullian (De Fugâ, c. 12), "ita redemptio nummaria fuga est."

[q] As is suggested by Gieseler, I. i. 257.

[r] Baron. 200. 4; Tillem. iii. 118.

[s] Tertul. Apol. 35; Kaye on Tertullian, 121; Neander's Antignosticus, 53-4; Tillem. iii. 115; Milman, ii. 206.

[t] Mosh. 455. Neander points out (i. 167) that a great difference *may* have been made in the operation of the edict between Jews—professors of an ancient national religion—and Christians, who might all have been considered as proselytes. But, without some proof that it actually *was* so, we may hesitate to admit the distinction. It must have been known that in very many cases Christianity was, although not a national or legalised, yet an inherited religion; and, as it had existed at Rome in the days of Nero, it could no longer be regarded as a novelty in the year 202.

[u] Neander, i. 167; Milman, ii. 208.

[x] Printed in the third volume of Migne's Patrologia; also in Olshausen's Monumenta. The date is variously fixed from 203 to 206. Tillem. iii. 138.

at her breast. Her father was a heathen; her husband does not appear in the story, and it is supposed that he may have been dead.[y] After her arrest she was visited by her father, who urged her to disavow her faith. She asked him whether a vessel which stood near could be called by any other than its proper name; he answered that it could not. "Neither," said she, "can I call myself other than what I am—a Christian." The father was violently enraged, and it seemed as if he would have done her some bodily harm; he departed, however, and did not return for some days.

During the interval Perpetua was baptized, with her companions Revocatus, Felicitas, Saturninus, and Secundulus; the Spirit, she says, moved her to pray at her baptism for the power of endurance. They were then removed to a prison; for hitherto their confinement had not been strict. Perpetua suffered from the heat, the darkness, the crowd, and the insults of the soldiers, but most of all from anxiety for her infant. Two deacons, by giving money to the gaolers, procured leave for the prisoners to spend some hours of each day in a more open part of the prison. There Perpetua's child was brought to her by her mother and brother; and after a time she was able to keep him wholly with her; whereupon she felt herself relieved from all uneasiness, so that, she says, "the prison all at once became like a palace to me, and I would rather have been there than anywhere else."

Her brother, a catechumen, now told her that she might venture to pray for a vision, for the purpose of ascertaining how the imprisonment was to end.[z] She prayed accordingly, and saw a ladder of gold, reaching up to heaven, so narrow that only one person at a time could ascend its steps. Around it were swords, lances, and hooks, ready to pierce and tear the flesh of such as should attempt to climb without due caution; while a great dragon lay at the foot, endeavouring to deter from the ascent. Saturus—an eminent Christian, who afterwards surrendered himself, and became the companion of the sufferers—was the first to go up the ladder, and, on reaching the top, invited Perpetua to follow. By the name of Christ she quelled the dragon, and when she had put her foot on the first step of the ladder, she trod on his head. Above, she found herself in a spacious garden, where she saw a shepherd, with white hair, milking his ewes, with thousands

[y] Tillem. iii. 139.

[z] "This," says Dean Milman, "is the language of Montanism; but the vision is exactly that which might haunt the slumbers of the Christian in a high state of religious enthusiasm; it showed merely the familiar images of the faith, arranging themselves into form." (ii. 219.)

of persons in white garments around him. He welcomed her, and gave her a morsel of cheese, which she received with joined hands and ate, while the white-robed company said Amen. The sound awoke her, but a sweet taste still remained in her mouth. The vision was interpreted as a warning that the prisoners must no longer have hope in this world.

Hearing that they were about to be examined, Perpetua's father again visited her. He called her not *Daughter* but *Lady* (Domina); he kissed her hands, threw himself at her feet, and implored her,—by the remembrance of his long care for her, and of the preference which he had shown her above his other children,—by the grief of her family,—by pity for her child, who could not live without her—to spare him and all her kindred the sorrow and shame which would follow from her persisting in her profession. She felt deeply for the old man, but could only reply that all was in God's hands.

The day of trial came. The prisoners were conveyed to the forum,[a] and, as Perpetua was brought forward, her father appeared immediately below her, with her infant in his arms, beseeching her to have compassion on the child. The procurator endeavoured to move her by consideration for her offspring, and for her parent's grey hairs; but she stedfastly refused to sacrifice. The procurator then ordered her father—who probably disturbed the proceedings by his importunities—to be dislodged from his place, and beaten with rods; Perpetua declares that she felt the blows as if they had been inflicted on herself. The accused were condemned to the beasts, and returned to prison rejoicing.

A few days later, as Perpetua was praying, she found herself naming her brother Dinocrates, who had died at the age of seven. As she had not thought of him, she felt this as an intimation that she should pray for him. He appeared as if coming forth from a dark place,—pale, dirty, showing in his face the cancer which had caused his death, thirsty, but unable to reach some water which he wished to drink. She persevered in prayer for him, and at length was comforted by a vision in which the place around him was light, his person and dress clean, the sore in his face healed into a scar, and the water within his reach. He drank, and went away as if to play; "then," says Perpetua, "I understood that he was translated from punishment."[b]

[a] It is a question whether the scene of the story was Carthage or Tuburbium.

[b] "This," says Dean Milman, "is evidently a kind of purgatory" (ii. 221); and the passage is used in argument by Romish controversialists. Some persons in early times, assuming that Dinocrates was unbaptised, inferred that persons so

The narrative goes on to relate another visit of the agonised father, and visions of triumph by which Perpetua was animated for the endurance of her sufferings. Saturus also had a vision of the heavenly glory, moulded on the representations of the Apocalypse; and this was made the means of conveying some admonitions to the bishop, Optatus.

The martyrs were kept for the birthday of Geta, who had been associated by his father as a colleague in the empire. Secundulus died in prison. Felicitas, a married woman of servile condition, was in the eighth month of her pregnancy, and both she and her companions feared that her death might be deferred on this account. They therefore joined in prayer; and three days before that of the celebration, Felicitas gave birth to a child, which was adopted by a Christian woman. An attendant of the prison, hearing the cries which she uttered in the pangs of travail, said to her, "If you cannot bear this, what will you do when exposed to the beasts?" She answered, "It is I that bear my present sufferings; but then there will be One within me to suffer for me, because I too shall suffer for Him."

The gaoler, Pudens, was converted by the behaviour of his prisoners. On the eve of their suffering they were regaled according to custom with the "Free Supper"—a meal at which condemned persons were allowed to behave with all manner of licence.[c] The martyrs, instead of indulging in the usual disorders, converted it into the likeness of a Christian lovefeast. Saturnus sternly rebuked the people who pressed to look at them. "Mark our faces well," he said, "that you may know us again in the day of judgment."

When led forth into the amphitheatre, the martyrs wore a joyful look. According to a custom which seems to have been peculiar to Carthage, and derived from the times when human sacrifices were offered under its old Phœnician religion,[d] the men were to be clad in scarlet like the priests of Saturn, and the women in yellow as the priestesses of Ceres. They refused to submit, saying that they suffered in order to be exempt from such compliances, and the justice of the objection was admitted. Perpetua sang psalms; Saturus and others denounced God's vengeance on the procurator and the crowd.

The men were exposed to lions, bears, and leopards; the women

dying might be benefited by the prayers of the survivors; but St. Augustine argues that Dinocrates must have been baptised, and that his sufferings were on account of sins afterwards committed. Ruinart, ap. Migne, Patrolog. iii. 38.

[c] Tillem. iii. 153-4.

[d] Neander, i. 172.

were tossed by a furious cow. Perpetua appeared as if in a trance, insensible to the pain; on recovering her consciousness, she asked when she was to be exposed, and could hardly be convinced that that part of her sufferings was over. Instead of allowing the victims to be privately despatched, as was usual, the spectators demanded that they should be led forth to death; they bade farewell to each other with the kiss of peace, and walked into the midst of the amphitheatre, where their earthly trials were soon ended. The gladiator who was to kill Perpetua misdirected his sword, whereupon she with her own hand guided it to a mortal part. "Perhaps," says the writer of the Acts, "so great a woman—one who was feared by the unclean spirit—could not have been put to death except by her own will."

The narrative, which has been here abridged, bears throughout the stamp of circumstantial truth. Grounds have been found, both in the incidents and in the tone, for an opinion that the martyrs and their historian were Montanists; while the reception of the Acts by the ancient Church tells strongly on the other side. We may, therefore, either suppose that the Montanistic opinions had not produced a formal rupture in the Church of Carthage at the time when the Acts were written;[e] or we may refer the peculiarities of the story, not to Montanistic principles, but to that natural temperament which rendered Africa a soil especially favourable for the reception of Montanism.[f]

The first subject to be noticed in the internal history of the Church is a violent dispute which arose from a revival of the Paschal question. The difference of observance as to the time of Easter between the Churches of Asia Minor and those of other countries has already been mentioned, as also the compromise which was agreed on between Polycarp, as representative of the Asiatics, and Anicetus bishop of Rome.[g] It would seem that for some time after that agreement, Asiatics sojourning at Rome were allowed to follow the usage of their own country; until Soter, who held the see from 168 to 173, required them to conform to the local custom, but without considering Quartodecimanism as a bar to communion with other Churches.[h]

[e] This is the solution offered by Gieseler, who considers the Montanism unquestionable. (I. i. 290.)

[f] See on the question Tillem. iii. 138; Ruinart, ap. Migne, iii. 13; Schröckh, iii. 316: Milman, ii. 216. The Romish writers are concerned to maintain the catholicity of Perpetua and Felicitas, because they are commemorated in the canon of the mass.

[g] P. 56.

[h] Tillem. iii. 103. Neander (i. 414) says that he has given up his former opinion that Soter made a change.

His second successor, Victor, adopted a different policy.[1] One Blastus, an Asiatic, who had repaired to Rome, insisted on the observance of the quartodeciman practice; and about the same time it became suspicious as a token of Montanism, with which, indeed, Blastus appears to have been infected.[k] These circumstances might very reasonably have induced Victor to use his influence for the establishment of uniformity throughout the whole Church; but he erred grievously in the manner of his attempt. Councils were held, apparently by his desire, in several countries—Palestine, Pontus, Osrhoëne, Greece, and Gaul. All these gave evidence that the practice of their own Churches agreed with that of the Roman, and were favourable to the wishes of Victor.[l] The Asiatics, however, in their Council, refused to depart from their traditional rule. Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, a man of eminent place and high personal authority,[m] wrote to Victor in behalf of his brethren; he refers to the Apostles St. Peter and St. John, with other venerable names which had adorned the Church of Asia. These, he says, had all sanctioned the quartodeciman usage, and he declares himself resolved to abide by it, as apostolical in its origin, and nowhere condemned in Scripture, without fearing Victor's threats of breaking off communion with him.[n]

On this, Victor, in an imperious letter, cut off the Asiatics from the communion of Rome; and he endeavoured to procure a like condemnation of them from the other branches of the universal Church.[o] In this, however, he was disappointed. The idea of excluding so large a body from Christian communion shocked the general feeling; many bishops sharply remonstrated with Victor, and exhorted him to desist.[p]

Of those who attempted to mediate in the dispute, the most prominent was Irenæus, bishop of Lyons. He was a native of Asia Minor, and in his youth had known the revered St. Polycarp, of whom in one of his writings[q] he has preserved some interesting recollections. Having joined the missionary Church of Lyons, he was chosen by the martyrs under Marcus Aurelius to be the

[1] The controversy is dated from 196 to 198. Tillem. iii. 104; Gieseler, I. i. 293; Burton, ii. 215; Clinton, A.D. 197.

[k] The Asiatic Montanists were Quartodecimans, although it does not appear that the sect observed the same practice elsewhere. Baron. 198. 15-6; Gieseler, I. i. 292; Beaven on Irenæus, 23-5, 45.

[l] Euseb. v. 23.

[m] Tillem. iii. 107.

[n] Euseb. v. 24; Routh, Rel. Sac. ii. 11-16.

[o] Tillem. iii. 108; Mosh. 445-7; Schröckh, iii. 240; Routh, ii. 44; Burton, ii. 218.

[p] Euseb. v. 24.

[q] The epistle to Florinus. Beaven on Iren. 3, 25-6.

bearer of a letter to the bishop of Rome, in which they endeavoured to allay the heats of the Montanistic controversy; and it appears that in his absence he was elected bishop in the room of Pothinus.[r] His reputation for learning and ability had been confirmed by the great work which is the chief source of information as to the Gnostic heresies; and, connected as he was with both the east and the west,—a Quartodeciman by early association, but a follower of the Roman usage in his own Church,[s]—he was well qualified to exert himself with effect in the character of a peacemaker.[t] He wrote in the name of his Church, exhorting Victor to moderation, referring to the conduct of Anicetus and other bishops of Rome, and urging that such a question ought not to be made a ground for a breach of communion.[u]

Peace was at length restored. The Asiatics, in a circular letter, cleared themselves from all suspicion of heretical tendencies, and were allowed to retain their usage until the time of the Council of Nicæa.[v]

It is hardly necessary to observe that the attempt[x] to press this affair into the service of the later papal claims is singularly unfortunate. The arrogance and violence of Victor are, indeed, undeniable; but his pretensions were far short of those set up by his successors. The assembling of the councils, although it took place at his request, was the free act of the local bishops;[y] he was unceremoniously rebuked for his measures; there is no token of deference to him as a superior; and his designs were utterly foiled.[z]

On proceeding to examine the heresies of this period, we find them different in character from those which we have hitherto met with. The fundamental question of Gnosticism was that as to the origin of evil; the error consisted in attempting to solve this by theories which were chiefly derived from some other source than the Christian revelation. But the newer heresies come more

[r] Tillem. iii. 81-3; Beaven, 11-5.

[s] This has been regarded as a proof that the Gospel was planted in the south of France before the arrival of Pothinus from Asia. (Burton, ii. 217.) But it is possible that Asiatic missionaries, on settling in a western country, may have adopted the common practice of the West, although they were the first to occupy their particular ground.

[t] Euseb. v. 24, who notices the agreement between the name of Irenæus (*Peaceful*) and his labours in the cause of peace.

[u] Euseb. v. 24; Routh, ii. 39, seqq.; Neander, i. 415; Beaven, 44, seqq.

[v] Tillem. iii. 111; Mosh. 445; Beaven, 49.

[x] Baronius, A.D. 198; Tillemont candidly says that the cardinal's assertions would be hard to prove. (iii. 108.)

[y] See Tillem. iii. 104.

[z] Basnage, vii. 5, 6 (t. i. 361); Schröckh, iii. 242; Planck, i. 119; Burton, ii. 219; Beaven, 50, seqq.

within the sphere of Christian ideas. On the one hand, there is the practical, ascetic, enthusiastic sect of Montanus; on the other, speculation takes the form of an endeavour to investigate and define the Scriptural doctrines as to the Saviour and the Godhead.

The origin of Montanism was earlier than the time at which we have arrived. By one writer[a] it is placed as far back as A.D. 126; by Eusebius[b] in 172, which is perhaps the latest date assigned for it; by others, about 150.[c] The founder was a native of Mysia; he had been a heathen, and probably a priest of Cybele.[d] Soon after his conversion he began to fall into fits of ecstacy, and to utter ravings which were dignified with the name of prophecy. Two women of wealth and station, Maximilla and Priscilla, forsook their husbands, and became prophetesses in connexion with him.[e] The utterances aimed at the introduction of a more rigid system than that which had before prevailed in the Church. They added to the established fasts, both in number and in severity; they classed second marriages as equal in guilt with adultery; they proscribed military service and secular life in general; they denounced alike profane learning, the vanities of female dress, and amusements of every kind; they laid down severe precepts as to penance—declaring that the Church had no power to remit sin after baptism, although they claimed such power for the Montanistic prophets; and that some sins excluded for ever from the communion of the saints on earth, although it was not denied that the mercy of God might be extended to them.[f]

The progress of the sect did not depend on the character or abilities of the founder, who seems to have been a man of weak and disordered mind.[g] In the region of its birth it was congenial to the character of the people, as appears from the prevalence of the wild worship of Bacchus and Cybele among the Phrygians in earlier times.[h] Persecution tended to stimulate the imagination of the prophets, to exasperate them to fierceness, and to win a ready reception for their oracles.[i] And on penetrating into other countries, Montanism found multitudes prepared for it by tempers

[a] Baratier.

[b] Tillemont agrees with him (ii. 666-7). So Clinton, A.D. 173.

[c] Mosh. 412; Schröckh, iii. 61; Burton, ii. 155; Gieseler, I. i. 196; Neander, ii. 206.

[d] This is inferred from his being styled an eunuch. (Gieseler, I. ii. 196.) Schwegler, one of the new Tübingen school, supposes him to be mythical! (Ibid.)

[e] Tillem. ii. 419-20.

[f] Tillem. ii. 433; Mosh. 414-420; Schröckh, iii. 66; Kaye on Tertullian, 394-5; Neander, ii. 218; Gieseler, I. i. 197.

[g] Mosh. 410-2; Kaye, 30.

[h] Neander, ii. 204; Gieseler, I. i. 195; Milman, ii. 213.

[i] Neander, ii. 206; Gieseler, I. i. 195. Parallels may be found in the cases of the Scotch Covenanters and of the French Camisards.

of mind which had before existed, so that its work was nothing more than to draw these out into exercise.[k] It was attractive to the more rigid feelings by holding out the idea of a life stricter than that of ordinary Christians; to weakness, by offering the guidance of precise rules where the Gospel had contented itself with laying down general principles; to enthusiasm and the love of excitement, by its pretensions to prophetical gifts; to pride, by professing to realize the pure and spotless mystical Church in an exactly defined visible communion, and by encouraging the members of this body to regard themselves as spiritual (*spiritales*), and all other Christians as carnal (*carnales, psychici*).[l]

Montanus has been charged with styling himself the Paraclete, and even with claiming to be the Almighty Father.[m] The latter charge is founded on the circumstance that he delivered his oracles in the person of the Father, of whom, however, he only pretended to be the organ. Nor did he really assert himself to be the Holy Ghost, or Paraclete; but he taught that the promise of the Comforter was not limited to the Apostles; that, having been imperfectly performed in them, it was now more fully realised in himself and his associates.[n] The progress of revelation was illustrated by the development of man; Judaism had been as infancy; the dispensation of the New Testament, as youth; that of the Paraclete was maturity.[o] The new revelation, however, was limited to the advancement of institutions and discipline; it did not interfere with the traditional faith of Christians, but confirmed it.[p]

The Montanists held that the mind, under the prophetic influence, was to be merely passive, while the Spirit swept over it "as the plectrum over the lyre."[q] This comparison had been applied by Justin Martyr to the inspiration of the Scripture prophets;[r] but the idea was now combated by the opponents of Montanism, some of whom maintained that the prophets of Scripture not only retained their human consciousness, but clearly

[k] Neander, Antignost. 6; Ch. Hist. ii. 200, 204.

[l] Neander, ii. 219-20.

[m] Epiphanius ap. Tillem. ii. 483.

[n] Tillem. ii. 431; Mosh. 413; Kaye on Tertull. 21-6; Neander, ii. 210; Milman, ii. 214.

[o] Tertull. de Virg. velandis, c. 1.

[p] Neander, ii. 210-1; Gieseler, I. i. 197. The prophetesses had visions which were alleged as confirming the doctrine of the resurrection in opposition to the Gnostics. Mosh. 415.

[q] Although in many points—as in that mentioned in the preceding note—Montanism irresistibly reminds us of the modern magnetic pretensions, the Chevalier Bunsen's conjecture, that Montanus meant by this to speak of *himself* (as the Paraclete) performing magnetic operations, appears too ingenious.

[r] Gieseler, i. 196.

understood the fulfilment of what they foretold.[t] Soon after the origin of the sect, some bishops wished to try the effect of exorcism on the prophetesses; but the Montanists would not allow the experiment.[u]

In the west, Montanism was at first well received. It engaged the attention of the Lyonese martyrs during their imprisonment, and they wrote both to the Asiatic Churches, and to Eleutherius, bishop of Rome,[x]—not recognising the pretensions of the sect, but advising that it should be gently dealt with.[y] It benefited by the extravagance of some opponents, who, in their zeal to oppose the inferences drawn from St. John's writings, both as to the promise of the Comforter and as to the millennial kingdom, denied the authority of that Apostle.[z] And the impression made by this in the west was increased by the circumstance that the Montanists were condemned by the Asiatic Church at the very time when it was embroiled with the Roman on the Paschal controversy.[a] Victor was on the point of formally recognising them,[b] when an Asiatic named Praxeas, armed with the authority of a confessor, arrived at Rome, and, by his reports as to the character of the party, induced the bishop to change his opinion, and excommunicate them.[c]

The Montanists loudly complained of it as a wrong that they were excluded from the Church while they wished to remain in communion with it. Their complaint, however, is only an instance of the usual inability of partisans to view their own case fairly. By the rigour of its discipline, by the contempt with which its professors looked down on the great body of Christians, by enforcing its peculiarities under the sanction of a pretended revelation, Montanism had before virtually excommunicated the Church; and we cannot doubt that, if tolerated, it would not have been content with anything short of supremacy.[d] Moreover, it

[t] Tillem. ii. 420; Mosh. 421; Neander, ii. 202, 214. See John Smith's "Select Discourses," 213-4, ed. Lond. 1821, and Newman in St. Athanasius against the Arians, p. 467, note i.

[u] Euseb. v. 16, 18.

[x] Sup. p. 69.

[y] Tillem. ii. 668.

[z] Gieseler, I. i. 199-201. These were styled *Alogi*—a name of double meaning—signifying their rejection of the writings in which the *Logos* is mentioned, and also that they were *without reason*.

[a] Tillem. ii. 424.

[b] It is generally supposed that Victor was the bishop of Rome of whom this is related by Tertullian (adv. Prax. c. 1). See Gieseler, I. i. 286-7, who gives 192 as the date. Neander, however, places the incident under Anicetus (ii. 206); and Bishop Pearson, who is followed by Dr. Beaven (12-3), connects it with the application of the Lyonese martyrs to Eleutherius. See Wordsworth's 'St Hippolytus,' 131.

[c] Tillem. ii. 425; Gieseler, I. i. 287.

[d] Mosh. 415, 419, 420, 422-3 Schröckh, iii. 70; Neander, ii. 220.

was strongly opposed in spirit to the regular authority of the Church. The ordinary offices it disparaged as merely *psychic;* bishops were inferior to prophets; and prophets were distinguished, not by outward ordination, but by spiritual gifts and graces, so that they might belong to any order.[e] Nor can we wonder if the attitude which the Montanists assumed towards the state had a share in inducing the more peaceable Christians to disconnect themselves from them; for their prophecies in great part consisted of matter which, by the Roman law, amounted to treason,—denunciations of calamity, and exultation over the approaching downfall of the persecuting empire.[f]

On his ejection from the Church, Montanus organised a body of preachers, who were maintained by the oblations of his followers.[g] Notwithstanding the professed austerity of the sect, its opponents broadly charge these teachers with hypocrisy, covetousness, and luxury.[h] The order of bishops was only the third in the Montanistic hierarchy—patriarchs and *cenones*[i] being superior to it. The patriarch resided at Pepuza, a small town or village in Phrygia, to which the sectaries gave the mystical name of Jerusalem, as believing that it would be the seat of the millennial kingdom, which was a chief subject of their hopes.[k] Hence they derived the names of Pepuzians and Cataphrygians.

It is said, although not without doubt, by one ancient writer that both Montanus and Maximilla ended their lives by hanging themselves, about forty years after the origin of their sect.[l] If this were true, it would rather prove that they were the victims of a diseased melancholy than warrant the conclusions against their morality which have been drawn from it.[m] Although Maximilla had declared that no prophetess would arise after her, we find that other females of excitable temperament pretended to the prophetic character. The case of one, who is spoken of by Tertullian as falling into trances, in which she was consulted for revelations as to the unseen world, and for medical prescriptions, bears a remarkable likeness to some narratives of our own day.[n]

The stern spirit of the sect animated its members to court per-

[e] Neander, ii. 212; Guericke, i. 292.
[f] Mosh. 411, 423; Schröckh, iii. 67; Neander, ii. 206; Gieseler, I. i. 197.
[g] Kaye on Tertull. 15.
[h] Apollonius ap. Euseb. v. 18; Tillem. ii. 426-8.
[i] Hieron. Ep. xli. 3 (t. i. 476). Neither the editors of St. Jerome nor the historians profess to explain this word.
[k] Tillem. ii. 435, 438; Mosh. 411.
[l] Anon. ap. Euseb. v. 16; also in Routh, ii. 188; Comp. Tillem. ii. 427, 447.
[m] Schröckh, iii. 61, 67.
[n] Tert. De Anima, c. 9; Tillem. ii. 428; Neander, ii. 208, 215; Gieseler, I. i. 197; Colquhoun's Isis Revelata, ed. 2. ii. 22.

secution.[o] Their zeal for martyrdom was nourished by the doctrine that the souls of martyrs would enter at once into the enjoyment of their full blessedness, whereas those of other righteous men would not receive their consummation until the end of the world. The Montanists were, however, preserved by their rigid views on the subject of penance from admitting the abuses which arose elsewhere as to the privilege of martyrs in granting indulgences.[p]

Although the sect and its subdivisions continued to flourish for a time, and some remains of it existed even in the sixth century,[q] the chief success of Montanism was gained in a different way—by infusing much of its character into the Church.[r] It is probably to its congeniality with the spirit which afterwards became dominant in the west that Montanism owes the privilege which it alone, of the early heresies, possesses—that of being allowed to descend to us in the representations of one of its advocates.[s]

Tertullian was perhaps the most eminent man whom the Church had seen since the days of the apostles. Of his character we have a full and distinct impression from the evidence of his own works; but the facts of his life are very obscure.[t] He was a native of Carthage, son of a centurion, and is supposed to have been born about A.D. 160.[u] He was originally a heathen, and, as such, partook in the prevailing vices of his countrymen.[x] That he had followed the profession of an advocate appears probable, no less from his style of argument than from his acquaintance with law, and from his use of forensic terms.[y] In addition to his legal learning, he shows a knowledge of physic and natural philosophy, with extensive reading in poetry and general literature;[z] and he was master of the Greek language to such a degree as to compose treatises in it.[a]

After his conversion he became a presbyter of the Church,

[o] Baron. 205. 14; Tillem. ii. 428-33.

[p] Neander, ii. 219. See below, p. 108.

[q] Tillem. ii. 444; Mosh. 415.

[r] The most distinguished late champion of Romanism does not hesitate to describe Montanism as an anticipation of the mediæval system. (Newman on Development, 350-1.) Mr. Archer Butler remarks that this writer "censures Tertullian solely, it would seem, for having arrived at perfection too soon—for having ambitiously presumed to be a mediæval saint before his time; perfect excellence in the tenth century being palpable heresy in the second." (Letters on Development, p. 82. Comp. Neander, ii. 213, and Antignost. 113; Gieseler, i. 290; Rettberg, Cyprianus, 17.)

[s] Daillé De Usu Patrum, pp. 5-6, ed. Genev. 1656. Tertullian's treatise on prophetic extacy is, however, lost. (Kaye, 6-7.)

[t] Kaye on Tertullian, 12, 37-8.

[u] Tillem. iii. 196.

[x] Tillem. iii. 199; Neander, Antignost. 9; Pusey, in Oxford transl. of Tert. vol. i. Introd. p. ii.

[y] Tillem. iii. 198; Neand. Antign. 8-9.

[z] Kaye, 68.

[a] Ibid. 61.

and resided both at Carthage and at Rome.[b] His lapse into Montanism took place in middle life.[c] St. Jerome[d] ascribes it to the jealousy and the slights which he met with at the hands of the Roman clergy; but, although it is very possible that Tertullian may have been treated by these in a manner which exasperated his impatient temper,[e] the assigned motive has been generally discredited, and is, indeed, quite needless in order to account for his having joined a party whose opinions and practice accorded so well with his natural bent.[f] We must be prepared to see frequently in the course of our history men of high gifts forsake the orthodox communion—led astray either by a restless spirit of speculation, or by a desire to realize the vision of a spotless Church in a manner which Holy Scripture appears to represent as unattainable.[g]

Not only are the dates of the events in Tertullian's life, and of his writings, uncertain, but it is impossible to decide whether certain of his treatises were written before or after his defection. On the one hand, the subject of a work belonging to his Montanistic period may be such as to allow no room for displaying the peculiarities of his sect; on the other hand, a severity of tone, which seems like a token of Montanism, may be merely the result of the writer's temperament, or characteristic of the more rigid party *within* the Church.[h] The genius of Tertullian is gloomy and saturnine; the spirit of the Gospel appears in him strongly tinged by the nature of the man.[i] He has a remarkable power of forcible argument and condensed expression; subtlety, acuteness, and depth; a wit alike pungent and delicate, an ardour which carries him over all obstacles, and almost hurries the reader along with him; but his mind is merely that of an advocate, wholly wanting in calmness, solidity, and the power of dispassionate judgment. His language is rude and uncouth, obscured by antiquated[k] and newly-coined words, harsh constructions, and perplexing

[b] Tillem. iii. 198; 654-5. See Kaye, 10.

[c] Dr. Pusey dates his conversion in 196, and his lapse in 201. (Tert. Oxf. Transl. p. ii.) Cave's dates are respectively 185 and 199. Hist. Lit. i. 56-7.

[d] De VV. Illustr. c. 53.

[e] Kaye, 33-4. See Cave, Hist. Lit. i. 57.

[f] Baron. 201. 7; Tillem. iii. 215; Neander, Ch. Hist. ii. 444; Antign. 11, 14

[g] See Vincent. Lirin. Commonit. 17-8. Dr. Pusey, while he blames Tertullian for his secession, appears to rest the defence of the Church on somewhat ideal grounds, vii. seqq.

[h] Kaye, 40-1.

[i] Neand. Antign. 9-10.

[k] Neander quotes the high authority of Niebuhr for the opinion that Tertullian's provincialisms are not (as has sometimes been said) Punic, but purely Latin archaisms. Antignost. 13.

allusions. His style, both of thought and of expression, is marked by tumour and exaggeration.[l]

Tertullian's Apology was almost certainly composed before his lapse,[m] and is the masterpiece of the class to which it belongs.[n] In it he urges with his characteristic force, and with all the freshness of novelty, most of the topics which had been advanced by the earlier apologists; he adds many new arguments both in favour of the Gospel and in refutation of Paganism; and he supplies to readers of later times much curious information as to the history and circumstances of the Church. He felt himself entitled to insist on the progress of Christianity as an argument in its favour. "We are a people of yesterday," he says, "and yet we have filled every place belonging to you—cities, islands, castles, towns, assemblies, your very camp, your tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum! We leave you your temples only. We can count your armies; our numbers in a single province will be greater."[o] The manner in which he meets the charges of disloyalty against his brethren is especially remarkable. He appeals to the fact (already noticed) that no Christians had been found among the partizans of the emperor's defeated rivals; and he states as a reason why Christians were bound to pray for the continuance of the empire a belief that *it* was the obstacle which St. Paul had spoken of as "letting" the appearance of Antichrist.[p] In a later apologetic writing, the Address to Scapula,[q] Tertullian again insists on the loyalty of Christians; but he declares that the blood of the saints cannot be shed without drawing down vengeance. His tone is full of scorn and defiance; he exults in the calamities and portents of the time, as signs and foretastes of the ruin which was about to fall on the persecutors.[r]

On joining the Montanists, Tertullian embraced their doctrine in its full rigour. The contempt of a *spiritalis* for the *psychic* communion which he had forsaken is uttered with all the vehemence of his character, and all his power of expression.[s] Although he himself was or had been married, he is violent against matri-

[l] Dupin, i. 104; Tillem. iii. 196; Mosh. 222-3; Schröckh, iii. 322; Neander, ii. 443; Pusey, Introd. ix.

[m] It is generally referred to A.D. 197 or 198. (Tillem. iii. 661; Gieseler, i. 257; Pusey, i. 1.) Some, however, place it after the edict of Severus—as in 204-5. (Kaye, 40; Pagi in Baron. ii. 393). Allix dates it as late as 217 (Kaye, 48.)

[n] Tzschirner, 385.

[o] C. 37. Oxf. Transl. i. 78.

[p] C. 32 (2 Thessal. ii. 7).

[q] This is of the Montanistic period and was written in the beginning of Caracalla's reign, when persecution had not yet ceased (about 211). Tillem. iii. 227, 667; Clinton, A.D. 211.

[r] Milman, ii. 215; Neand. Antign. 130-1.

[s] Baron. 216. 1-6.

mony; to marry two wives in succession he regards as no less an offence than marriage with two at once; he would exclude *digamists* from the Church, without hope of reconciliation, although he does not deny that God may possibly accept their sincere repentance.[t] His views as to penance are of the severest kind; he denies that the Church can remit deadly sin after baptism, but asserts the power of absolution for the prophets of his sect.[u] He altogether condemns military service, as inconsistent with Christian duty, and inseparably mixed up with heathen observances. One of his treatises was written in justification of a soldier who had been put to death for refusing to wear a garland on the occasion of a donative distributed in honour of the emperor.[x] In the tract *De Spectaculis*[y] he proscribes all attendance at public amusements, and fortifies his denunciations with tales of judgments inflicted on persons who had been present at them.[z] He regards flight in persecution as even worse than the abjuration of Christ in the midst of tortures; he thinks that a Christian ought to provoke persecution.[a]

Bitter as Tertullian became in his tone towards the communion which he had forsaken, he yet did not, like too many in similar circumstances, devote himself exclusively to the work of injuring it. He continued to be the champion of the Gospel against Paganism and Judaism; in treatises against Marcion, Valentinus, Hermogenes, Praxeas, and other heretics, he maintained the common cause of his sect and of the Church. It has been said that in his last years he became the head of a distinct party; but perhaps the existence of a body of "Tertullianists" at a later time may be better explained by supposing that the Montanists of Africa took their name from the most distinguished of their local chiefs rather than from the Phrygian heresiarch.[b] These sectaries were eventually recovered to the Church by St. Augustine.[c]

The extravagances which have lately been vented in connexion with the term *Development* must not be allowed to prejudice us

[t] Tillem. iii. 218; Kaye, 374.

[u] Tillem. iii. 219; Kaye, 237-8.

[x] Tillem. iii. 228. That Gibbon is wrong in referring this treatise to the period before Tertullian became a Montanist, see Kaye, 55. By some it has been placed as late as the reign of Maximin. Such acts as that of this soldier were condemned by the Church. Baron. 201. 17; Bingham, XIV. iv. 8.

[y] Dr. Pusey assigns this to the time before the author's lapse, and supposes it written on the celebration of Severus' victory over Albinus, A.D. 198 (Oxf. Transl. i. 187). Others, as Tillemont (iii. 210), refer it to the secular games, A.D. 204.

[z] Kaye, xvi.; Neand. Antign. 33.

[a] Tillem. iii. 212, 219, 230; Fleury, v. 36.

[b] Neander, ii. 445.

[c] Tillem. iii. 233; xiii. 277.

against admitting that the doctrine of the Church on the highest subjects has undergone a process for which perhaps no more appropriate name could be found.[d] This development was rendered necessary by the circumstances of the case; its effect was to bring out into a distinct and scientific form truths which had before been not the less really held, although the minds of men had not been exercised in precisely defining them. Thus we can imagine, for example, that the cardinal verities of our Blessed Lord's Godhead and manhood may have been believed by Christians from the beginning, but that it may have been the work of a later time to attain to the full consciousness of such a belief, to investigate what is the proper meaning of Godhead and what of manhood, and what are the conditions of their union in the one person of the Saviour.[e] Where principles of truth have been given, it is a legitimate task for the mind enlightened and sanctified by the promised gifts of the Comforter to draw the proper inferences from them.[f] When an opinion new in expression was proposed, it was for Christians to ask themselves more distinctly than before what their belief on the subject had been—whether it agreed or disagreed with that which was now presented to them; to compare their impressions with those of their brethren; and in concert with these to admit the doctrine as sound, or to reject it as contrary to the faith in which they had been trained. Thus it was that the fulness of truth was drawn forth by the assaults of error; that that which had been a feeling and a conviction came by degrees to be stated in exact and formal dogmas.[g] Hence we can understand that the early Christian writers might use much loose and imperfect language on the highest points; that they might even have a defective apprehension of the details of doctrine;[h] that they might employ terms which the Church afterwards condemned, and might scruple at some which the Church afterwards sanctioned; and yet that their belief was sound in itself, faithfully preserving the tradition of the Apostles, and identical with the creed of the later Church.[i] Nor is it any real disparagement to the earliest believers after the Apostolic age to say that on such matters they were less informed than those who came after them. Their work was not to invest-

[d] See Butler's Letters against Newman, pp. 69, 70, 219-22, 241, seqq., 316. Wilberforce on the Incarnation, ed. 3, pp. 118, seqq.

[e] Dorner, Lehre von der Person Christi, i. 65, 122.

[f] Dorner, i. 108; Butler, 55-6. Comp. Evagr. i. 11.

[g] Vinc. Lirin. 23; Dorner, i. 110.

[h] Möhler's Athanasius, i. 57; Wilberforce, 150.

[i] Philalethes Cantabrigiensis (Bishop Kaye) in British Magazine, iv. 405-6; Dorner, i. 449.

gate, but to act. Their worship and their whole Christian life implied the true faith; their writings are penetrated by the conviction of it;[k] but as the men who had known the Apostles or their immediate disciples passed away, a necessity arose of relying less on apostolic tradition, and having recourse in a greater degree to the apostolic writings. By the help of these the faith was now to be tested, confirmed, and systematised.[l]

In the last years of the second century the difficulty of reconciling the fundamental doctrine of the Divine Unity (*Monarchia*) with that of the Threefold Name gave rise to two different forms of heresy.[m] In the one, the monarchia was rescued by denying the Godhead of the Second and Third Persons; in the other, the names of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were explained as merely denoting three different manifestations or aspects of one and the same Divine Person.

The leader in the former error was Theodotus, a native of Byzantium, who, although by trade a currier, is described as a man of learning and accomplishment.[n] He denied Christ in a time of persecution, when the brethren who had been arrested with him suffered martyrdom.[o] He then repaired to Rome, where at first he was well received; and when the history of his lapse became known, he excused himself by saying that he had denied not God, but man. Thus he was led into his heresy, which seems to have admitted the miraculous conception of our Lord, but regarded Him as nothing more than a man guided by a Divine influence.[p]

Similar opinions were soon after professed by Artemon, who appears to have been unconnected with Theodotus, but was popularly classed with him.[q] Artemon pretended that his doctrine was not only scriptural but primitive—that it had been held in the Church of Rome until the time of Zephyrinus, whose episcopate began in the year 202. It was not difficult to refute such a pretence by a reference to Scripture, to the hymns and liturgical forms of the Church, to the writings of the earlier fathers,

[k] Dorner, i. 275.

[l] Dorner, i. 132, 409; Wilberforce, 120.

[m] Novatian. De Trin. c. 30, and Origen on Joh. ii. 2 (both in Gieseler, I. i. 295); Neander, ii. 293; Dorner, i. 497.

[n] Baron. 196. 1-3; Tillem. iii. 68; Mosh. 430.

[o] Tillem. iii. 69.

[p] Cave, Hist. Lit. i. 53-4; Schröckh, iii. 172; Gieseler, i. 296; Neander, ii. 293; Dorner, i. 503-4. The mere humanity had been before maintained by the Ebionites (sup. p. 32); but Theodotus was the first *Gentile* heresiarch who held this tenet.

[q] Baron. 196. 4; Tillem. iii. 69, 617; Gieseler, i. 297.

and to the fact that on account of a like doctrine Theodotus had been excommunicated by Victor.[r] It is a curious and significant circumstance that the Artemonites are described as students of mathematics and the Aristotelian philosophy rather than of the Scriptures, which they treated in a very arbitrary way, each of their more noted teachers having a copy peculiar to himself.[s]

The other tendency which has been mentioned—that which regarded the names of the Three Divine Persons as merely designating various aspects or operations of the one Deity[t]—would appear to have existed as early as the days of Justin Martyr;[u] but it now for the first time found a distinct utterance in Praxeas. This person was an Asiatic, and, unlike Theodotus, had acquired by his constancy in persecution a degree of credit which was perhaps beyond his deserts, and was dangerous to the balance of his mind.[x] We have already seen that he arrived at Rome when Victor or some other bishop was on the point of recognising the Montanists, and that, by the information which his experience in Asia enabled him to give, backed by the influence which attached to the character of a confessor, he persuaded the bishop to reject them.[y] But this good service to the faith was soon followed by the publication of his heresy, which he professed to ground on a few texts—compelling the rest of Holy Scripture to bend to

[r] Euseb. v. 28; Baron. 196. 8; Tillem. iii. 78-100; Dorner, i. 508. These grounds were alleged by the writer of the 'Little Labyrinth,' whom Chev. Bunsen and Dr. Wordsworth identify with the author of the 'Philosophumena,' and with St. Hippolytus. Neander (ii. 298) had conjectured that Zephyrinus might have found himself obliged to guard against Artemonism by some new formula; but the Philosophumena afford another explanation—that Zephyrinus inclined to the opposite heresy of Noëtus. Thus we may understand why the writer of the Labyrinth contented himself with arguments which did not require him to vindicate, or in any way notice, Zephyrinus. (Bunsen's 'Hippolytus,' i. 244-7; Wordsworth's 'Hippolytus,' 135-7.) Dr. Routh was the first to conjecture that Hippolytus was the author of the Labyrinth. (Wordsw. 161.)

[s] 'Labyrinth,' ap. Euseb. v. 28; also in Routh, ii. 133. This writer tells a story of one Natalius, who, having acquired high repute as a confessor, was persuaded by the offer of a large stipend to give lustre to the sect of Artemonites, by becoming a bishop among them. He was repeatedly warned against this in dreams, but disregarded them; until at length he had a vision of angels, who inflicted a severe beating on him; and after awaking he found the marks of it. On showing these, and professing deep contrition, he was with some difficulty readmitted into the Church. See Neander, ii. 298.

[t] Neander, ii. 293.

[u] He indicates its existence in his Dial. c. Tryph. 128. Dorner, i. 518.

[x] Tertull. adv. Prax. 1.

[y] Sup. p. 72; Tert. adv. Prax. 1. From the fact that both Theodotus and Praxeas at first met with a favourable reception at Rome, Neander (ii. 296) shows that the Catholic doctrine as to the *Logos*, from which these heretics varied on different sides, must have been that which previously existed in the Church, instead of being, as Baur supposes, devised by way of a compromise between them.

these.[a] The sequel of his story is somewhat indistinct; it would seem that, after having been refuted at Rome, he passed over to Carthage. It is said that he was there drawn into a recantation; but perhaps this may have been no more than a disavowal of some tenets or inferences which were wrongly imputed to him.[b] He afterwards again maintained his heresy; when Tertullian, who is supposed to have been its chief opponent in the earlier stages,[c] wrote the work against him which is the chief source of information on the subject.[d]

It appears, from late discoveries, that two other teachers of the same kind, who have usually been placed somewhat later, belong to the period embraced in this chapter—Noëtus and Sabellius.[e] The common account of Noëtus hardly extends beyond the statements that he was of Ephesus or Smyrna; that, on venting his doctrines, he was questioned and excommunicated by the clergy of some Asiatic city; and that he died shortly after.[f] Of Sabellius, personally, nothing was known except that he was a presbyter of the Libyan Pentapolis.[g] But the book which has been published as 'Origen's Philosophumena,'[h] and which appears to be really the work of St. Hippolytus, bishop of Porto, at the mouth of the Tiber,[i] makes important additions to our information. It is there stated that Epigonus, a disciple of Noëtus, repaired to Rome, and made a proselyte of one Cleomenes, who opened a school of Noëtianism;[k] that Cleomenes won over

[a] Tert. adv. Prax. 20.

[b] Neand. ii. 302; Mosh. 425; Tillem. iii. 75.

[c] He says that Praxeas was refuted at Rome, "*per quem Deus voluit*," which seems to mean himself. (Adv. Prax. 1. Comp. Tillem. iii. 201; Kaye, 494.)

[d] Tertullian is equally displeased with Praxeas for his good and for his evil:—"Duo negotia diaboli Praxeas Romæ procuravit; prophetiam expulit et hæresin intulit; Paracletum fugavit et Patrem crucifixit." (c. i.)

[e] Noëtus is usually placed about 235, and Sabellius about 257 (256-270, according to Mr. Clinton, ii. 422). As to Sabellius there had before been a suspicion of error. See below, p. 119. Tillemont would have placed Noëtus about A.D. 200, but for the vague authority of Epiphanius, which he attempts to meet by proposing 220 as a compromise. (ii. 238.)

[f] Tillem. iv. 237; Mosh. 682.

[g] Tillem. iv. 239.

[h] Oxford, 1851; edited by M. Emmanuel Miller, of Paris, from a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale; one of a number brought from a convent on Mount Athos in 1842.

[i] See vol. i. of 'Hippolytus and his Age,' by C. C. J. Bunsen, D.C.L., Lond. 1852; and Dr. Wordsworth's 'St. Hippolytus and his Age,' Lond. 1853. Dr. Wordsworth (p. 58) speaks as if Archdeacon Churton, in his preface to Pearson's 'Vindiciæ Ignatianæ,' dated "vii Kal. Feb. 1852;" had been the first to ascribe the book to St Hippolytus, as the Chevalier Bunsen's book did not appear until October in that year. But the inquiry as to the authorship, with the name of Hippolytus, is advertised in a newspaper of July 9, 1851, although the plan was greatly enlarged before the publication of the book.

[k] It had usually been said, after Theodoret, that Noëtus was the pupil of Cleomenes, and he of Epigonus; but on comparing the passages (Wordsw. 314) it appears that Theodoret is mistaken. See Bunsen, i. 114.

Callistus, who had great influence with the bishop, Zephyrinus (A.D. 202-218); that the bishop, "an illiterate and covetous man," was bribed into licensing Cleomenes as a teacher, and at length himself became his convert; that Callistus endeavoured, by a crafty policy, to hold the balance between the heretics and the orthodox; that, after succeeding Zephyrinus in the see[l] (A.D. 218), he cast off Sabellius, whom he had before misled; and that he founded a new party of *Callistians*—combining laxity of discipline and morals with heretical doctrine.[m] According to this account, then, it appears that both Sabellius and some followers of Noëtus were teaching at Rome in the early years of the third century.

The kind of error which was common to Praxeas,[n] Noëtus, and Sabellius, was capable of various forms. Thus, it might be held that the one Godhead dwelt in the man Jesus in such a way as to justify the name *Patripassian*, given to Praxeas by his opponents, who argued that, if there were no distinction of persons, the Father must be the same who suffered on the cross;[o] or that the names of the Three Persons denote so many energies, emanating from the one Monad, and again to be absorbed into Him after the fulfilment of their work.[p] Noëtus was more refined than Praxeas, and Sabellius than Noëtus. Sabellius maintained that God is in Himself the Monad; that when revealed, He is *extended* into the Trinity. He acknowledged three *persons*, but used the word in a sense which may be termed merely dramatic—as meaning *characters*, assumed or represented. He illustrated his idea by comparison with the three elements of man—body, soul, and spirit; and with the threefold combination in the sun, of shape or substance, light, and heat.[q]

It does not appear that Praxeas was able to found a sect. Theodoret mentions Callistus as the successor of Noëtus;[r] and this person, of whose earlier life a very discreditable account is given in the Philosophumena, is now, by means of that work,

[l] See Wordsworth, 84-91.

[m] Philosophumena, lib. ix.; Wordsw. 226-275.

[n] It is very remarkable that St. Hippolytus, in his view of all the heresies, makes no mention of Praxeas.

[o] Tillem. iii. 75; Mosh. 428-9; Neander, ii. 295.

[p] See Mosh. 688-699; note from Schlegel, in Mosh. i. 366; Newman on Arianism, 128, seqq.; Gieseler, I. i. 299-300; Dorner, i. 696, seqq.

[q] Mosh. 691-3; Schröckh, iv. 168; Neander, ii. 318-320; Dorner, i. 703. Dorner says (i. 807) that Sabellianism was "Docetism raised to a higher power" (*i.e.*, it transferred to the Divinity that notion of *appearance* which Docetism connected with the Saviour's human body).

[r] Redepenning, Origenes, ii. 95, referring to Theod. Hær. iii. 3. (Comp. Wordsworth, 133.)

identified with a canonized bishop of Rome. But, although the heresy, thus supported, flourished for a time, the Noëtians or Callistians soon became extinct. Sabellians are mentioned by the Council of Constantinople, which rejected their baptism (A.D. 381), and the sect is said to have lasted into the fifth century.[s] It was, however, never numerous; and the significance of Sabellius' name is not as the founder of a separate body, but as indicating one of the tendencies into which speculation has run when exercised on the mystery of the Godhead.[t]

In this period we find that Christianity and heathen philosophy, in preparing for a continuation of their struggle, adopt something of each other's armour; and Alexandria is the chief seat, both of philosophical Christianity and of the reformed paganism. The intellectual character of this city has been already touched on in connexion with the origin of Gnosticism.[u] If the Gospel were to make its way on such ground, it was necessary that it should be presented in a shape attractive to men of learning and cultivation.[x] The Catechetical School of Alexandria is said by some writers to have existed even from the time of St. Mark. If so, it was probably at first nothing more than an institution for the teaching of catechumens, or proselytes who were preparing for baptism. But about the middle of the second century it assumed a different character, and became a seminary for the training of clergy, and for completing the instruction of the most highly educated converts.[y] The mastership was held by a succession of distinguished men, of whom the first that can be named with certainty was Pantænus. He was a convert from the Stoic philosophy,[z] and is described by his pupil Clement[a] as superior to all his contem-

[s] Schröckh, iv. 168.

[t] Hermogenes, another heretic of the period, may be noticed in a note. He was a painter by profession, and a countryman of Tertullian, who was excited to wrath against him, no less by the practical opposition of Hermogenes to the Montanistic rigour, in the exercise of his art, and in marrying twice or oftener, than by the heterodoxy of his speculations. (Tillem. iii. 65; Neand. ii. 276.) Hermogenes, like the Gnostics, referred the origin of evil to *matter*. On this he argued, that if matter were of God it would be like Him—perfect and holy; since, therefore, it is otherwise, it cannot be of God, but must be co-eternal with Him, although subject to his power; and out of it He framed the universe, including the souls as well as the bodies of men. It would seem that Hermogenes did not found a sect, and died in the communion of the Church (Mosh. 432); and, since Tertullian does not charge him with any other errors than those which have been mentioned, some other early writers may perhaps be mistaken in saying that he believed our Lord to have left His body in the sun. Mosh. 434-5; Neand. ii. 280.

[u] Sup. p. 24.

[x] Gieseler, I. i. 312.

[y] Bingham, III. x. 5; Mosh. 273; Schröckh, iii. 187; Gieseler, I. i. 312; Neander, ii. 227.

[z] Euseb. v 10. As to Athenagoras, see above, p. 60.

[a] Baron. 185. 3; Tillem. iii. 171.

poraries. St. Jerome[b] tells us that he composed many commentaries on Scripture, but did still greater service to the Church by his oral teaching. He is also celebrated as having undertaken[c] a missionary journey into India,—a name which has in this case been variously interpreted as meaning Hindostan, Arabia, and Ethiopia or Abyssinia.[d] Although the order of the events in his life is uncertain, it appears most likely that Pantænus presided over the Catechetical School before this expedition, and that he resumed the mastership on his return.[e]

His successor was Clement—usually styled after the place of his residence, although he was probably a native of Athens.[f] Clement had become a convert to the faith after reaching manhood, and had then travelled through various countries in search of wisdom, until at length he found satisfaction in the teaching of Pantænus.[g] After having presided over the school for some years, he was driven from his post by the persecution of Severus. Of his after life it is only known that he sojourned in Cappadocia and at Jerusalem; but he is supposed to have returned to Alexandria, and to have died there about the year 220.[h]

By these men a new system of thought was introduced into the Church. The earlier Christians, for the most part, had viewed all heathen philosophy through the medium of the dislike occasioned by its opposition to the Gospel; a large party of them had referred its origin to the devil, or to the angels who had fallen through their love for the "daughters of men."[i] Clement, however, claims for philosophy a far different source. It is, he says, the gift of God; it had been given to the Greeks, even as the Law was to the Jews, and for like purposes; it had been necessary for their justification before Christ came, and was still to be regarded as a preparative for the Gospel; and, if rightly understood, was compatible with it.[k] And by *philosophy*, he declares,

[b] De VV. Illustr. 36.

[c] Tillem. (iii. 173) dates it about 189; Gieseler (I. i. 161), about 180. Clinton (A.D. 190.) says that it was "not before" that year.

[d] See Mosh. 206-7, who, with Neander (i. 111-2) and Gieseler, understands Arabia to be meant; and, since it is stated (Euseb. v. 10) that Pantænus found a Gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew letters, which had been left by the Apostle St. Bartholomew, Mosheim supposes that those who invited him must have been Jewish Christians.

[e] See note on St. Jerome, De VV. Illustr. c. 38 (t. i. p. 653); Cave, Hist. Lit. i. 51.

[f] Baron. 196. 22; Cave, Hist. Lit. i. 54; Tillem. iii. 181.

[g] Euseb. v. 11; Kaye, 113; Neander, ii. 454.

[h] Tillem. iii. 183; Gieseler, i. 314.

[i] Mosh. 278-9; Kaye, 119; Neander, ii. 227. Tertullian expresses himself very strongly as to the incompatibility of philosophy with Christian faith. Gieseler, I. i. 345.

[k] Mosh. 275; Kaye, 116, 237-8, 428; Gieseler, I. i. 317. See Keble, 'Tracts for the Times,' lxxxix. 77-8.

was not here meant the system of any sect in particular, "but the *eclectic*, which takes whatsoever is well said by each of the sects."[l] He maintains that all learning may be sanctified and turned to good; that the cultivation of it is necessary in order to the confutation of false philosophy.[m] He labours to identify the doctrines of philosophy with those of Scripture, and to derive the wisdom of the Greeks from the sacred oracles of the Hebrews.[n]

In these opinions there was much that savoured of Gnosticism; but the more orthodox Alexandrian school differed from the Gnostics by denying the alleged opposition between faith and knowledge, and maintaining that faith must lie under all Christian knowledge, in every stage of the spiritual and intellectual progress. The work of Christian philosophy was to unfold to knowledge the meaning of the truths which had been embraced by faith;[o] faith receives its doctrines from tradition, and knowledge must be able to prove them from Scripture.[p] The term *Gnostic* was adopted by the Alexandrians to denote the highest Christian character. Of Clement's three chief extant works—which form a series rising one above another—while the first is addressed to persons without the Church, and the second contains moral instruction for converts, the third, entitled *Stromata* (Tapestry-work), is intended to portray the character of the perfect Gnostic, and, by supplying instruction which might satisfy the highest desires of the intellect, to preserve from the "knowledge falsely so called" of such teachers as Basilides and Valentinus.[q]

The combination of philosophy with the Gospel led, however, to some very questionable results. In Clement's own hands—especially if we may trust the accounts which are given of a lost work entitled *Hypotyposes*—it appears to have sometimes gone beyond the bounds of orthodoxy; and, when taken up by Origen and others, it became yet more decidedly dangerous.[r]

The most lasting of the evils which this school introduced into the Church was its licence of figurative interpretation in explaining Holy Scripture. For this Alexandria was a congenial soil; there it had been employed on the Old Testament to an immoderate extent by Philo; and the epistle which is ascribed to St. Barnabas, and in which this method is perhaps carried as far as in any

[l] Kaye, 118; Gieseler, i. 318; Newman on Arianism, 91-92, 98.
[m] Mosh. 278-9.
[n] Ibid. 303; Kaye, 126-7.
[o] Neander, ii. 228; Gieseler, I. i. 319.
[p] Neander, ii. 231.
[q] Tillem. iii. 186; Neander, ii. 227, 445; Kaye, 110, 229.
[r] Mosh. 274; Neander, ii. 245; Gieseler, I. i. 322. On Clement's almost *docetic* language see Neander, ii. 370; Hagenbach, i. 169; Redepenning's Origenes, i. 442.

Christian writing, was probably the work of an Alexandrian convert from Judaism. But whereas the figurative interpretation had hitherto been an unregulated practice, it was now reduced to method. Scripture, it was said, had three senses—the historical, the moral, and the mystical; and the first of these was treated as if it were merely subservient to the others.[s] There was something in the system attractive at once to ingenuity of speculation and to a pious feeling of the depth of God's Word; but the effect too commonly was, that, instead of seeking for the real sense of each passage, men set themselves to discover some fanciful analogy to ideas which they had derived from other parts of Scripture, or from altogether different sources. The historical sense was lost sight of; the moral was perverted;[t] nor can an unprejudiced reader open any work in which this kind of interpretation is followed without feeling how utterly unlike it is, in its general character, to those Scriptural instances of figurative interpretation which its advocates allege as precedents for it. The facilities which it afforded for pretending to prove anything whatever from Scripture must no doubt have contributed to render it popular, both in the Church and among sectaries. In our own time, while an unhappy attempt has been made to revive it in the English Church, it has been turned to a very different account by the German school which would resolve the Scripture narrative into a series of fables. These writers claim Origen and his brother allegorists as their own forerunners; for why (they ask) should such violence have been done to Scripture in the way of allegorical interpretation, but that the fathers felt its literal sense to be absurd, revolting, and incredible?[u]

In common with some heathen sects, with the school of Philo, and with the Gnostics, the Alexandrians professed to possess a higher and more mysterious knowledge of religious things, derived from tradition, and concealed from those who were not worthy to

[s] Mosh. 629, seqq.; Gieseler, I. i. 332.

[t] Surely no censure can be too strong for a method which produced such comments as the following on St. Matth. i. 6:—"Mystically, David is Christ. Urias, i.e. *God is my light*, is the devil, who says, *I will be like the Highest* (Is. xiv. 14). To him the Church was married, when Christ on the throne of the Majesty of His Father loved her, and, having made her beautiful, united her to himself in wedlock. Or Urias is the Jewish nation, who through the Law boasted of their light. From them Christ took away the Law, having taught it to speak of Himself. Bersabee is the '*well of satiety*,' that is, the abundance of spiritual grace." (Gloss. quoted in the Catena Aurea, i. 28.) And this sort of matter has been considered so precious for the unlearned members of the English Church as to deserve translation from the Latin, and publication at Oxford, in the year 1841!

[u] See the Introduction to Strauss' Leben Jesu.

receive it.[x] By the system which is styled the *Discipline of the Secret*[y] was not meant that concealment of the higher doctrines and rites which was practised towards the heathen, and was in part continued towards those converts who were in training for baptism; but, as appears from the hints given by Clement, the matters which it held in reserve were philosophical explanations of Christian doctrine, and precepts for the formation of the perfect Gnostic.[z] He compares the discipline to withholding a knife from children out of fear lest they should cut themselves.[a] This method is supposed to have originated not long before the time of Clement, and it was impossible that it should last. While we admit a legitimate use of discretion in communicating religious knowledge, we cannot but see that in this kind of reserve there were great dangers; and in the hands of the Alexandrians it undoubtedly led to a system of equivocation towards the uninitiated which was injurious to truth and morality.[b]

The opposition on the side of heathen philosophy which has been mentioned was through the Neoplatonic school—founded at Alexandria in the reign of Severus, by Ammonius, who, from having been a porter in early life, was styled *Saccas*, or the *Sack-carrier*.[c] Although his doctrine professed to be a continuation of Platonism, it was mixed with tenets from other Grecian systems, and also contained a strong Egyptian element.[d] It is especially remarkable for the new views which it opened on the subject of heathen religion. Hitherto Platonists had been content to maintain the popular system outwardly, while they taught a more refined doctrine to their disciples; but now paganism was to be itself reformed; it was to be explained as a scheme of purer and deeper character, so that either the way might be paved for a combination with the Gospel, or a position might be gained for effectively resisting its advances.[e] The Neoplatonists admitted

[x] Kaye on Clement, 362; on Tertullian, 31-3, 234-5; Gieseler, I. i. 319.

[y] Gieseler, I. i. 354, states that this term appears to have been first used by G. T. Meier, in a book published A.D. 1679.

[z] Mosh. 303, seqq.; Kaye on Clem. 362. The idea of some Romish controversialists, that the later peculiarities of their system had been preserved in the early Church by the *Disciplina Arcani*, appears to be now abandoned in favour of the "Development" theory. See Bingham, X. x. 1; Schröckh, iv 373; Philalethes Cantabrigiensis (Bp. Kaye), in British Magazine, iv. 402-3; Archer Butler on Development, 12. On the difference between Clement's system of reserve and that of the fourth century, see Gieseler, I. i. 355.

[a] Tillem. iii. 184; Gieseler, i. 320.

[b] Gieseler, i. 319-20.

[c] Tillem. iii. 279.

[d] Mosh. 293.

[e] Gieseler, i. 250-4. Neander (i. 46-7) well shows how Platonism prepared for the Gospel, and yet became its bitter enemy.

that Christianity contained great truths, but asserted that in it these were obscured by barbarism, and that the old traditionary religion, if freed from popular corruptions and rightly understood, would be found to exhibit them in a purer form.[f] Christ Himself was classed with sages and Theurgists of the first rank; it was said that his object had been to reform religion; that his own views had agreed with those of the Neoplatonists, but that his followers had corrupted his system by spurious additions—among which were the doctrines of his Godhead and mediation, and the prohibition of worshipping the gods.[g] Neoplatonism had much in common with some forms of Gnosticism; it aimed at uniting the wisdom of all ages and of all nations in one comprehensive scheme; and in order to effect the union it had recourse to many strange evasions and forced constructions.[h] It laid down the doctrine of one Supreme God, and recognised the Platonic Trinity, consisting of the Supreme, his Intelligence, and his Soul. In subordination to these, it held the existence of many inferior gods and demons, the ministers of the Supreme; and it represented the vulgar polytheism as a corruption of this truth.[i] The practical precepts of the sect were severe; an ascetic life was required in order to emancipation from the bonds of sense, to the acquisition of power over spirits, and to union with the Deity.[k]

Ammonius was originally a Christian; and it has been maintained by some that, notwithstanding the character of his oral and secret teaching, he remained to the end in outward communion with the Church.[l] It is, however, more commonly believed that he openly lapsed into heathenism. Among his pupils were both Christians and pagans; of the former, Origen was the most eminent; of the latter he may be said to have founded a dynasty, which included Plotinus, Porphyry, and Jamblichus.[m] It may be easily understood that a system so comprehensive as Neoplatonism

[f] Gieseler, I. i. 254.

[g] Mosh. 293; Gieseler, I. i. 254.

[h] Mosh. 283; Tzschirner, 424; Gieseler, I. ii. 251.

[i] Mosh. 284, 292; Tzschirner, 431; Gieseler, I. i. 251-2.

[k] Mosh. 289; Tzschirner, 436; Gieseler, I. i. 257.

[l] Porphyry is contradicted by Eusebius (vi. 19), for stating that Ammonius, after becoming a philosopher, forsook Christianity. But, although Baronius (234. 5), Tillemont (iii. 279), *Bayle* (art. *Ammonius*), and Cave (i. 72), adhere to Eusebius, while Dr. Newman is inclined to agree with them (Arians, 113), and although Mosheim, after having maintained the contrary, came over to the same opinion (281-2), it is generally supposed that Eusebius was mistaken, and confounded Saccas with another Ammonius. Brucker, ii. 207-9; Schröckh, iii. 290; Heinichen, not. in Euseb. t. ii. 202; Burton, ii. 293; Neander, ii. 464; Gieseler, I. i. 251.

[m] Tillem. iii. 283-4; Mosh. 281; Gieseler, I. i. 251. Plotinus, however, settled at Rome; and there was no eminent teacher of the sect at Alexandria after the founder's death. Newman on Arianism, 119.

had strong attractions for persons perplexed by the controversies of Christians with pagans, of orthodox with heterodox, and of philosophical sects with each other. It soon almost superseded every other form of heathen philosophy; it lasted until the sixth century; and in it the Gospel found the most subtle and the most formidable of its adversaries.[n] But the very refinement of the system unfitted it for obtaining a hold on the mass of mankind; and the living conviction of the truth of the old religions was gone for ever.[o]

[n] Mosh. 281; Schröckh, iii. 297; Gieseler, I. i. 256.

[o] Tzschirner, 473-4; Milman, ii. 239; Rettberg, Cyprianus, 4-5.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM ALEXANDER SEVERUS TO VALERIAN.

A.D. 222–260.

ELAGABALUS was succeeded by his cousin Alexander Severus, a youth of sixteen. The reign of this emperor was A.D. 222. favourable to the Christians; he was throughout life under the influence of his mother, Mammæa, who, notwithstanding her acknowledged vices of avarice and ambition, is described both by heathen writers and by Eusebius as a "very religious" woman.[a] She has sometimes been represented as a Christian,[b] but her interest in the Gospel appears to have really not extended beyond a slight inquiry into its doctrines and a favourable opinion of its professors.

Alexander himself was of a religious disposition. He had many Christians in his household.[c] In appointing to civil offices he adopted a rule observed by the Church in ordinations—that the names of candidates should be publicly exhibited, and that an opportunity of objecting to them should be allowed.[d] He frequently used the Christian maxim of "doing to others as we would that they should do to us," and caused it to be inscribed on the walls of his palace, and of other public buildings.[e] When a piece of land, which had been regarded as common, was taken by a Christian congregation as a site for a church, and the company of victuallers at Rome set up a rival claim, he adjudged it to the Christians, on the ground that any kind of religious use would be better than the conversion of it into a tavern.[f] Nay, it is said that he thought of himself erecting a temple to Christ.[g]

[a] Mosheim, 462.

[b] Tillemont (Emp. iii. 279) vainly tries to believe this.

[c] Tillem. Emp. iii. 185.

[d] Baron. 224. 1; Tillem. Emp. iii. 198; Mosh. 466.

[e] "Quod a quibusdam sive Judæis sive Christianis audierat. . . . *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.*" (Lamprid. c. 51.) In this *negative* form the maxim is found not only in the Talmud, but (as Gibbon, v. 287, observes) in Isocrates. The Christian maxim, however, is *positive*—a very important difference. See Guizot, note on Gibbon, in loc., and Tholuck, Ausleg. der Bergpredigt, ed. 3, p. 436. We may ask, then,—(1) Is Lampridius right in saying that Alexander used the negative form? (2) If so, did he derive it from a Christian source?

[f] Gieseler, I. i. 259.

[g] Baron. 224. 3; Tillem. Emp. iii. 185.

Such circumstances, however, are far from proving him a Christian. His religion was eclectic; he had in his oratory images, not only of Roman gods, including such of his predecessors as had been deified, but of Isis and Serapis, of Orpheus, Abraham, and Apollonius of Tyana; and with these was joined the image of the Saviour. It is evident, therefore, that Alexander did not regard Christianity as the one true religion, but as one of many forms, all acceptable to the Deity, all containing somewhat of truth, and differing only in outward circumstances; that he revered its Founder, not as Divine, but as one worthy to be ranked among the chief sages who had enlightened and benefited mankind.[h] Nor, although the Christians were, on the whole, practically tolerated in this reign, was anything done towards the establishment of a formal and legal toleration; indeed there were some instances of persecution and martyrdom, and it was probably under Alexander that the celebrated lawyer Ulpian, in his book on the duties of proconsuls, made an elaborate digest of the laws against the profession of the Gospel.[i]

The estimable but somewhat weak Alexander was murdered in 235; and the Christians suffered from his successor, Maximin the Thracian, for the favour which they had lately enjoyed. The barbarian emperor's motives for persecution were wholly independent of religion; for of that, in any form, he was utterly regardless—melting down for his own uses the plate and even the images of temples. His rage was directed against such Christians only as had been connected with the court—among whom Origen was especially noted. But about the same time earthquakes in several provinces afforded a pretext for popular risings; and in his tumultuary way churches were burnt, and many Christians were put to death.[k]

The reign of Gordian (A.D. 238-244) and that of Philip (A.D. 244-249) were friendly to the Church. Origen, writing under the latter, says that God had given the Christians the free exercise of their religion, and anticipates the conversion of the empire;[l]—a new idea, remarkably opposed to the tone of the earlier Christian writers, who had always regarded the Roman power as incurably hostile and persecuting,—as an oppression

[h] Baron. 224. 2; Tillem. Emp. iii. 185; Mosh. 465; Schröckh, iv. 7; Milman, ii. 230-1.

[i] Fleury, v. 49; Mosh. 461, 467; Neander, i. 174. Gieseler places Ulpian's digest under Caracalla. (I. i. 258.)

[k] Baron. 237. 4-7; Tillem. Emp. iii. 271, 281; Mosh. 468-470; Gibbon, i. 182-3, 571; Neander, i. 175.

[l] Adv. Cels. vii. 26, quoted by Neander, i. 176.

from which there could be no hope of deliverance except through the coming of the end.

During this reign Rome completed the thousandth year from its foundation, and it has been dwelt on as a remarkable circumstance that the event took place under a Christian emperor. The great games with which it was celebrated, however, were purely heathen in character; and, although it seems to be true that both Philip and his wife received letters from Origen, there is little reason for supposing that the emperor's guilty life was combined with a belief of the Gospel. The story of his having been excluded from the Easter festivities, by Babylas, bishop of Antioch, until he had submitted to penance for his sins, is for the most part rejected by recent writers.[m] Towards the end of the reign there was a persecution at Alexandria.[n]

A.D. 248.

The reign of Decius is remarkable in Church history for the first *general* persecution. This emperor regarded the Christian religion as dangerous, and resolved to attempt its extirpation.[o] His edicts are lost; but the details of the persecution exhibit a departure from the system which had been usually observed by enemies of the Church since the days of Trajan. The authorities sought out Christians; the legal order as to accusations was neglected; accusers ran no risk; and popular clamour was admitted instead of formal information.[p]

A.D. 249-251.

The long enjoyment of peace had told unfavourably on the Church. Cyprian[q] in the West and Origen in the East speak of the secular spirit which had crept in—of the pride, the luxury, the covetousness of the higher clergy; of the careless and irreligious lives of the people.[r] And on the coming of the trial the effects of the general relaxation were sadly displayed. When, in obedience to the emperor's edict, the Christians were summoned to appear and offer sacrifice, crowds of them rushed to the forum in every city—some induced by fear of confiscation, some by a wish

[m] See Pagi in Baron. iii. 588-9; Bayle, art. *Babylas*, note C; Schröckh, iv. 13; Burton, ii. 215; Neander, i. 176; Clinton, ii. 51-3. But Tillemont (Emp. iii. 300-3, 401-2) is doubtful; Mosheim (476) takes the opposite side; and Niebuhr (Lectures, ed. Schmitz, iii. 320-1) does not altogether reject the idea of Philip's having been a Christian, or even the account of his penance; but suggests that he may have been a catechumen until just before his death, and may then have been baptized.

[n] This is generally said to have been instigated by a *poet and soothsayer*. But Pearson points out that the words in Eus. vi. 41, *μάντις καὶ ποιητὴς*, are to be connected with *κακῶν*, and mean, "malorum vates et auctor." (Annales Cyprianici, p. 11, in Fell's Cyprian, Oxf. 1683.)

[o] Mosh. 478; Gieseler, I. i. 260; Rettberg's Cyprianus, Götting. 1831, p. 7.

[p] Mosh. 481.

[q] De Lapsis, 5-6.

[r] Baron. 253. 8-9; Mosh. 482; Tillem. iii. 306.

to retain offices in the public service, some by dread of tortures, some by the entreaties of friends and kindred.[s] It seemed, says St. Cyprian, as if they had long been eager to find an opportunity of disowning their faith.[t]

The persecution was especially directed against the bishops and clergy. Among its victims were Fabian of Rome, Babylas of Antioch, and Alexander of Jerusalem; the last two died in prison. In the lives of other eminent men—as Cyprian, Origen, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Dionysius of Alexandria—the period is marked by exile or other sufferings.[u] The chief object, however, was not to inflict death on the Christians, but to force them to a recantation: with this view they were subjected to tortures, imprisonment, and want of food; and under such trials the constancy of many gave way.[x] Many withdrew into voluntary banishment. Among these was Paul, a young man of Alexandria, who took up his abode in the desert of the Thebaid, and is celebrated as the first Christian hermit.[y]

The violence of the persecution did not last above a year; and in the end of 251 Decius was killed in battle with the Goths.[z]

The short reign of Gallus passed away without any other injury to the Christians than that the populace of some provinces were excited by the ravages of a plague to commit such outrages against them as were usual on the occurrence of public calamities.[a] A.D. 251-3.

Dionysius of Alexandria[b] describes Valerian as having in the beginning of his reign been more favourable to the Church than even those among his predecessors who had been reputed Christians—words which are supposed to designate Alexander, and either Philip or Mammæa.[c] But in his fifth year the emperor changed his policy, at the instigation of Macrianus, his chief adviser, who is said to have been connected with Egyptian magicians.[d] At first it was thought that the religion might be suppressed by removing the teachers and forbidding its professors to hold assemblies for worship, or to resort to the cemeteries.[e] Finding, however, that these measures had no decided effect, Valerian A.D. 253-260.

[s] Euseb. vi. 41; Tillem. iii. 314-8.
[t] De Lapsis, 8.
[u] Baron. 253; Fleury, v. 27; Neander, i. 185.
[x] Tillem. iii. 312; Mosh. 481.
[y] It is, however, questioned whether Paul was the first to introduce among Christians that idea of a solitary and contemplative life which had been common in other religions. Mosh. 669. See below, c. viii.
[z] Gibbon, i. 264.
[a] Tillem. Emp. iii. 385. The plague altogether lasted fifteen years. Pagi in Baron. iii. 23
[b] Ap. Euseb. vii. 10.
[c] See Clinton, ii. 51.
[d] Mosh. 552; Gibbon, i. 572.
[e] Mosh. 551-3.

issued a second edict, in which it was ordered that the clergy should be put to death; that senators and knights should be deprived of their dignities and property, and, if they persisted in the faith, should be capitally punished; and that women of rank should suffer confiscation of property and should be banished:[f] but even this edict took no notice of the great mass of Christians in inferior stations. The attempt to check the progress of the Gospel was utterly ineffectual. The late calamities of the Church had purified and strengthened it; there were now few instances of apostacy such as those which had been so common under Decius.[g] The faith and patience of the martyrs animated their surviving brethren, and impressed many of the heathen; bishops, driven from their flocks, were followed by multitudes of believers; and in the places of their exile they found opportunities for spreading the doctrine of Christ among people to whom it was before unknown.[h]

Dionysius of Alexandria[i] applies to Valerian the Apocalyptic description of the beast to whom was given "a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies," with "power to continue forty and two months" (Rev. xiii. 5). After having lasted three years and a half, the persecution was ended by the capture and death of the emperor in Persia—a calamity and disgrace without example in the Roman annals. Among the martyrs of this reign were Xystus, bishop of Rome, with his deacon, Laurence; and Cyprian, bishop of Carthage.

A.D. 260.

Of the eminent men of this period, those who most especially require to be here noticed are Origen, Cyprian, and Dionysius of Alexandria.

I. Origen was born at Alexandria about the year 185.[k] His father, Leonides, who was a Christian,[l] and by profession a teacher of rhetoric, carefully conducted his education both in general literature and in religion. The boy daily learnt by heart a portion of the Scriptures, and thus laid the foundation of his extraordinary biblical knowledge, and also that reverence for the

[f] Mosh. 554; Schröckh, iv. 224-5; Neander, i. 192.
[g] Schröckh, iv. 232.
[h] Mosh. 556.
[i] Ap. Euseb. vii. 10.
[k] Tillem. iii. 497; Clinton, A.D. 185; Redepenning's 'Origenes,' Bonn, 1846, i. 44.
[l] From the name *Origen—Son of Or*, or *Horus*—it has been inferred that Leonides was not converted until after the birth of his son. But innumerable instances prove that the early Christians did not proscribe names derived from heathen deities. Redepenning, i. 45.

sacred writings which controlled him in all the wanderings of his speculations.[m] The tendency of his mind was early shown in the questions which he put to his father as to the meaning of Scripture—endeavouring to get at a sense beyond that which lay on the surface. Leonides, although himself no enemy to the deeper system of interpretation, discouraged such inquiries as unsuitable to his son's years; but his heart was filled with joy and thankfulness on account of the rare gifts which appeared in the boy.[n] At the catechetical school, then under the mastership of Clement, Origen formed a friendship with Alexander, afterwards bishop of Jerusalem, which was influential on his after history.[o]

The persecution of Severus was particularly violent at Alexandria, and Leonides was one of the victims. Origen was eager for martyrdom, and was saved only through the precaution of his mother, who, by hiding his clothes, prevented him from going forth to expose himself to danger.[p] He wrote, however, to his father, who was then in prison, exhorting him not to be shaken in his constancy by a regard for his wife and family.[q]

As the death of Leonides was accompanied by the seizure of his property, the widow with her seven children fell into deep distress. A wealthy Christian lady kindly received Origen, who was the eldest of the seven, into her house: but in this asylum he was annoyed by the presence of a Gnostic teacher, Paul of Antioch, whom his benefactress had adopted and intended to make her heir. Origen could not avoid some intercourse with this man, but he steadily refused to attend any of his lectures, although Paul's eloquence attracted even many of the orthodox.[r]

The catechetical school had been broken up by the persecution. Clement, as we have seen,[s] had left Alexandria—not out of any unworthy regard for his personal safety, but in compliance with his view of Christian duty. In these circumstances, Origen, whose extraordinary abilities and precocious learning were already noted, received applications from some educated heathens who wished to be instructed in Christian doctrine; and thus, at the age of eighteen, he found himself drawn to assume the office of a public teacher. The bishop, Demetrius, soon after formally appointed him to the mastership of the catechetical school.

[m] Redep. i. 50.

[n] Euseb. vi. 2; Tillem. iii. 498-9; Neander, ii. 457; Redep. i. 47, 54.

[o] Eus. vi. 6; Tillem. iii. 496; Redep. i. 55-6, 434-6.

[p] In maturer years he saw the error of such zeal. A Christian, he says, ought to meet danger, but not to seek it. Neander, ii. 459.

[q] Euseb. vi. 2.

[r] Euseb. vi. 2; Redep. i. 188.

[s] P. 84.

Among his earliest pupils were two brothers, Heraclas, eventually bishop of Alexandria, and Plutarch.[t]

The persecution was renewed with increased violence on the arrival of a new governor. Plutarch and others of Origen's pupils suffered martyrdom. Their master stood by them to encourage them: he himself did not escape without having been severely treated by the populace.[u]

Wishing to be exempt from the necessity of taking any payment for his lessons, in obedience to the text, "Freely ye have received, freely give," he sold a valuable collection of his own manuscripts for an allowance of four oboli a-day, and on this scanty income he contrived to live. He endeavoured to realise to the letter the Gospel precepts of poverty. He had but one coat, which was too thin to protect him against the cold of winter; he walked barefoot; he contented himself with such food as was absolutely necessary, abstaining from flesh and wine; he spent the greater part of the night in study; and when he slept, it was on the bare floor. By these austerities were sown the seeds of ailments which afflicted him throughout his life.[x]

Among those who resorted to his lectures were many young females. The intercourse with such pupils exposed him both to temptations and to the risk of slander; and from a wish to avoid these evils he acted literally on our Lord's words, that some "have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake" (Matth. xix. 12). Although he endeavoured to conceal the act, it came to the knowledge of Demetrius; and the bishop, at the time, commended his zeal and resolution, and encouraged him to continue his labours in the catechetical school.[y]

His fame as a teacher increased. In addition to his theological instructions, he lectured in *grammar*—a term which then included most of the branches of general literature. Jews, heathens, and Gnostics frequented his school, and many of them were led through the pursuit of secular learning to embrace the faith of the Gospel.[z] The requirements of his position induced him to seek after a fuller acquaintance with heathen philosophy than that which he had gained from Clement; and for this purpose he became a hearer of Ammonius Saccas.[a] It has been inferred, from the circumstances which have been mentioned as to Origen's conduct

[t] Euseb. vi. 3; Tillem. iii. 501; Redep. i. 191.
[u] Eus. vi. 3-4; Redep. i. 192-3.
[x] Euseb. vi. 3; Tillem. iii. 502; Redep. i. 196-202.
[y] Euseb. vi. 8; Tillem. iii. 506: Redep. i. 202.
[z] Euseb. vi.-8.
[a] Neander. ii. 465. Tillemont (iii. 517) places this after Origen's visit to Rome; Clinton, in 206.

in early life, that he was then addicted to an extremely literal interpretation of the Scriptures—a system very opposite to that which he pursued in maturer years; and the supposed change has been ascribed to the influence of Ammonius. But the truth would rather appear to be, that in both his earlier and his later phases he was animated by the same spirit. The actions which his judgment afterwards condemned as carnal were prompted by a desire to emancipate himself from the flesh; and that which he really derived from Ammonius was a development and enlargement of his views—not a contradiction of his former principles.[b]

The peace which the Church enjoyed during the reign of Caracalla induced Origen to visit Rome, where the Church was then under the government of Zephyrinus.[c] A.D. 211. After a short stay in the imperial city he returned to Alexandria, and resumed his catechetical office. He now devolved the instruction of the less advanced pupils on Heraclas, and reserved his own labours for those who were to be led into the full depths of his system of interpretation.[d] It appears to have been soon after his return from Rome that he entered on the study of Hebrew—a language then commonly neglected by the learned men of the Alexandrian school, but attractive to Origen, not only as generally useful towards the understanding of the Old Testament, but especially on account of the mysteries involved in scriptural names.[e]

The massacre under Caracalla drove him for a time from Alexandria. He visited the holy places of Palestine, where he was received with honour by his old fellow-student A.D. 215. Alexander bishop of Jerusalem, and by Theoctistus bishop of Cæsarea; and, although a layman, he was desired by these prelates to preach in their churches. Demetrius of Alexandria remonstrated against this, but Alexander and Theoctistus justified it by precedents which showed that laymen had been permitted to preach in the presence of bishops, and with their sanction. Demetrius summoned Origen to return to his duties in the catechetical school, and the deacons who conveyed the letter were charged to conduct him back.[f]

Among Origen's chief friends and admirers was a man of

[b] Redep. i. 213-8, 231, 457-8.

[c] Hieron. de Vv. Illustr. 54; Tillem. iii. 510; Redep. i. 350, 362. It is to this visit that the composition of the *Philosophumena* was referred by the editor, M. Miller, who supposed them to be the work of Origen.

[d] Tillem. iii. 510; Redep. i. 363-5.

[e] Redep. i. 366.

[f] Euseb. vi. 19; Tillem. iii. 522-3; Mosh 673; Redep. i. 371. For the Alexandrian massacre, see Gibbon, i. 144.

fortune named Ambrose, who had been converted by him from some form of Gnostic heresy, and afterwards became a deacon. Ambrose urged his teacher to engage in the illustration of Scripture, and supplied him with the funds necessary for forming a collection of MSS., and employing a large body of amanuenses and transcribers.[g] Among the results of this munificence were the first regular commentaries on the sacred books,—for the earlier expositions had been confined to particular texts or sections;[h] and besides these, a work which entitles Origen to rank as the father of biblical criticism. The original object of his undertaking was polemical,—to ascertain the true text of the Septuagint, and to vindicate that version against the Jews, who, since the adoption and general use of it by Christians, had disparaged it as inferior to later translations.[i] For this purpose Origen exhibited in parallel columns,—(1) the original Hebrew text; (2) the same in Greek letters; (3) the version by Aquila; (4) the Septuagint, edited from an elaborate collection of manuscripts; (5) the version of Symmachus; and (6) that of Theodotion. From its six columns the whole work was called *Hexapla*, and, from the addition of two imperfect versions in certain parts, it also had the name of *Octapla*. This gigantic labour appears to have been begun at Alexandria; it extended over eight-and-twenty years, and was completed only a short time before Origen's death.[k] The original manuscript is supposed to have perished in the destruction of the library of Cæsarea by the Arabs, A.D. 653. It had never been transcribed as a whole; but separate copies of the various columns had been made, and that of the Septuagint became a standard.[l]

In consequence of the reputation which Origen had attained, applications for instruction and advice were made to him from distant quarters. Thus, before his first visit to Palestine, he had been invited by a military chief in Arabia—most probably a Roman governor, although some writers[m] suppose him to have been the head of a nomad tribe—to teach his people the Christian faith, and had complied with the invitation.[n] At a later time Mammæa, the mother of Alexander Severus, summoned him to Antioch, and conferred with him on religious subjects.[o] In like manner he was

[g] Euseb. vi. 23; Cave, i. 85; Neander, ii. 466-8; Redep. i. 370-4.
[h] Redep. i. 379.
[i] Redep. i. 374; Tzschirner, 511-2.
[k] Redep. i. 374; ii. 158.
[l] Redep. ii. 177.
[m] As Mosheim, 448.
[n] Euseb. vi. 19; Neander, i. 112; Redep. i. 370; Clinton, A.D. 215.
[o] Euseb. vi. 21. By some writers the date is placed in 217 or 218; by others, after Alexander's accession, about 223. See Pagi in Baron. ii. 293; Tillem. iii. 523-4, 763; Schröckh, iv. 32; Burton, ii. 273, 282; Redep. i. 372. Mr. Clinton's date is 226.

requested, in the year 228, to visit Greece, for the confutation of some heresies which were disturbing the Church of that country.[p] He set out, bearing with him letters of commendation from his bishop, according to the practice of the time, and took his way through Palestine, where, at the age of forty-three, he was ordained presbyter, by his friends Alexander and Theoctistus. In explanation of this it has been supposed that the bishops wished him to address their flocks, as on his former visit; that Origen reminded them of the objections then made by Demetrius; that on this they offered to ordain him; and that he accepted the offer, in the belief that Demetrius, although determined not to raise him to the presbyterate like his predecessors Pantænus and Clement, would allow him to rank among the Alexandrian presbyters, if the order were conferred on him elsewhere by bishops of eminent position and character.[q] After successfully accomplishing his business in Greece, Origen returned to Alexandria in 230; but in the mean time his ordination had given rise to much dispute. Demetrius, on hearing of it, remonstrated vehemently with Alexander and Theoctistus, apprising them of the rash act of Origen's youthful zeal, which, by a canon[r] perhaps even then extant, was pronounced a bar to ordination. The information was new to the bishops, for Origen had said nothing of the impediment. If the canon existed, it is possible he may have been unacquainted with it; or he may have supposed himself really exempt from its operation, since its object unquestionably was to check the fanatical spirit which prompted such acts, whereas he had long passed through the stage at which he had anything in common with that spirit.[s] The proceedings of Demetrius have been attributed to envy of Origen's genius and fame;[t] it is, however, not impossible that he may have acted from conscientious motives, although his conduct was marked by an unjustifiable violence and harshness. He had been glad to retain Origen's services as a teacher, but refused to acknowledge him as a presbyter.

In addition to the irregularity of his ordination, Origen had rendered himself obnoxious by some of his speculations. Finding

[p] Pagi in Baron. ii. 485; Redep. i. 406-8; Clinton, A.D. 228.

[q] Euseb. vi. 23; Mosh. 674-5; Tillem. iii. 526; Redep. i. 406-8. That the presbyterate, and even the episcopate, were then sometimes given to persons who had not passed through the lower grades, see Routh, Rel. Sac. iii. 73-4.

[r] Canon. Apostol. xxii. See Beveridge, Cod. Can. II. iv. 2. The first Nicene Canon was afterwards directed against such practices.

[s] Tillem. iii. 506, 526-7; Mosh. 674; Neand. ii. 470; Redep. i. 452.

[t] Hieron. de Viris Illustr. c. 54; Cave, i. 74; Neander, ii. 470.

his position at Alexandria uneasy, he withdrew to Cæsarea.[u] Demetrius assembled two synods against him, and by these Origen was deprived of his office in the catechetical school, his orders were annulled, and he was excommunicated as a heretic.[x]

A.D. 231. The result of the synods was communicated to the Churches of other countries. By the rules of Catholic communion the decisions of one Church, in such matters, were usually received by the rest, without inquiry into the merits of the case; and thus the sentence against Origen was ratified at Rome and elsewhere, except in those Churches which had especially felt his personal influence,—in Palestine, Phœnice, Arabia, and Achaia.[y]

A.D. 233. Demetrius died soon after, and was succeeded in the see by Heraclas: but no attempt was made by the new bishop to remove the condemnation of his former teacher and colleague.[z]

At Cæsarea, under the patronage of Theoctistus and Alexander, Origen found not only a refuge, but an opening for a distinguished career. As there was no institution like the Alexandrian school, he took the position of an independent philosophical teacher, and his instructions were sought, not only by Christians, but by many heathens.[a] Among these the most celebrated were two brothers, natives of Pontus, who had been led to visit Palestine by family circumstances—Theodore and Athenodore. They became hearers of Origen in philosophy and literature, and were gradually led by him to the faith. Both eventually became bishops. Theodore, who at his baptism had taken the name of Gregory, was bishop of Neocæsarea, in Pontus. It is said that at entering on his diocese he found in it only seventeen Christians, and that at his death he left in it only seventeen heathens—a statement which may be taken as expressing in an exaggerated form a really signal course of successful labour. He afterwards

[u] Walch, vii. 396-7. Eusebius gives no warrant for the statement of Tillemont, iii. 534, Mosheim, 677, and others, that his withdrawal was secret. (Redep. i. 411.) The story, told by Epiphanius, of his having been obliged to withdraw in consequence of having offered incense to idols, is generally rejected—although Pagi, Pétau, and Huet maintain it. See Tillem. iii. 534, 766; Dupin, i. 146; Mosh. 610; Schröckh, iv. 35; Burton, ii. 298; Redep. i. 411.

[x] Tillem. iii. 534; Mosh. 680; Neander, ii. 471-2; Gieseler, I. i. 314. Although it is incorrect to say, with some, that Origen was *banished* from Alexandria, inasmuch as the Church had no power of inflicting that penalty, it was yet, for a person of his character, involved in exclusion from communion. Mosh. 678-80; Neand. ii. 471; Redep. i. 411.

[y] Tillem. iii. 535; Neander, ii. 473; Redep. i. 413.

[z] Tillem. iii. 538; Dupin, i. 123; Redep. i. 413.

[a] Euseb. vi. 27; Tillem. iii. 536; Redep. ii. 9.

became the subject of many marvellous tales, from which he received the name of *Thaumaturgus*, or *miracle-worker*.[b]

The persecution of Maximin forced Origen to take refuge in Cappadocia[c] with Firmilian bishop of Cæsarea, who had been one of his hearers; and when it reached that country he found an asylum in the house of Juliana, a rich Christian virgin, where he discovered an important addition to his materials for the Hexapla—his protectress having inherited the library of Symmachus, an Ebionite translator of the Old Testament.[d] A.D. 236.

On the death of Maximin, about two years later, Origen returned to Cæsarea. It was probably after this[e] that he was invited to be present at a synod held in Arabia on account of Beryllus bishop of Bostra, who, although seemingly unconnected with the schools of Praxeas and Noëtus, had arrived at a doctrine similar to theirs — that in the unity of the Godhead there is no distinction of Persons; that the Son had no personality before his incarnation. The synod condemned the doctrine, but could not convince Beryllus; Origen, however, succeeded in proving to him the unsoundness of his view, and received the thanks of both parties.[f] On another occasion he was summoned to combat the opinion of an Arabian sect which held that the soul as well as the body is dissolved at death, and will be restored to being at the resurrection.[g]

In the persecution under Decius, Origen lost his steadfast friend Alexander of Jerusalem, and was himself imprisoned and cruelly tortured. This treatment told severely on a frame worn out by age, study, and sickness, and he died at Tyre about the seventieth year of his age.[h]

The great object of this eminent teacher was to harmonize Christianity with philosophy. He sought to combine in a Chris-

[b] Baronius, 233-253; Cave, i. 93-4; Tillem. iv. 316, seqq.; Fleury, v-vii; Mosh. 603; Redep. ii. 13; Neander, ii. 491; Newman on Miracles, 126-132.

[c] Hieron. de Viris Illustr. c. 54. There is, however, some doubt as to this. See Tillem. iii. 538, 770; Neander, ii. 476.

[d] Fleury, vi. 3; Redep. ii. 14.

[e] Redepenning places the affair of Beryllus about 244 (ii. 79).

[f] Euseb. vi. 33; Hieron. de Viris Illustr. 60; Tillem. iii. 771; Mosh. 699; Neander, ii. 314-7; Giesceler, I. i. 298; Redep. ii. 91-101; Dorner, i. 551; Wilberforce on the Incarnation, 151-2.

[g] So Eusebius states, vi. 37; see Mosheim, 718. Redepenning (ii. 105) points out the difficulties of such a theory, and supposes that Eusebius is mistaken—that these heretics were really *psychopannychites*—maintaining the *sleep* of the soul.

[h] Eus. vi. 39; vii. 1. There is a story of his having lapsed in the persecution, which, although questioned by Baronius (259. 117-123), and generally rejected, is believed by Pagi, in Baron. ii. 603-9. His death is placed in 253 by Tillemont, iii. 548, and Clinton; in 254 by Neander, ii. 481, and Redepenning, ii. 266; in 256 by Pagi in Baron iii. 38.

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tian scheme the fragmentary truths scattered throughout other systems; to establish the Gospel in a form which should not present obstacles to the conversion of Jews, of Gnostics, and of cultivated heathens; and his errors arose from a too eager pursuit of this idea.[l]

His principles of interpreting Scripture have been already mentioned by anticipation.[k] It was from him that the Alexandrian method received its completion. He distinguished in Scripture a threefold sense—the literal, the moral, and the mystical—answering respectively to the body, soul, and spirit in man.[l] As at the marriage of Cana some waterpots contained two firkins and some three, so (he taught) Scripture in "every jot and tittle" has the moral and the mystical senses, and in parts it has the literal also.[m] Much of the letter was thus rejected, as being impossible, or unworthy of God;[n] other parts were said to be a mixture of truth and fable; but such passages, both in the Old and in the New Testament, were, according to Origen, set by the Holy Spirit as stumbling-blocks in the way, that the reader might be incited to penetrate beyond the letter.[o] It was (he said) through a carnal understanding of the letter that the Jews were led to crucify our Lord, and still to continue in their unbelief.[p] Those who would insist on the letter were like the Philistines who filled up with earth the wells which Abraham's servants had digged. (Genes. xxvi.) The mystical interpreter was, like Isaac, to open the wells.[q] In justice to Origen, we must remember that the literal interpretation, as understood in his day, was something very different from the grammatical and historical exposition of modern times. It made no attempt to get over difficulties or to harmonize seeming discrepancies. It extended also to the interpretation of prophecy; to get rid of it was therefore an object with a view to the controversies with Jews and Montanists.[r]

The letter was allowed to be sufficient for the unlearned; but although in this opinion Origen resembled some of the Gnostic

[l] Tillem. iii. 594; Mosh. 620, 635; Tzschirner, 371-3; Dorner, i. 635.

[k] Sup. pp. 85-6.

[l] Mosh. 619-20, 629, 638; Redep. i. 300.

[m] Mosh. 644; Redep. i. 304.

[n] It is argued in 'Tracts for the Times,' No. 89, pp. 60, seqq., that Origen has been misinterpreted in many places where he seems to deny the truth of the Scriptural narrative. But if so, the charge against him is very little mitigated, since he wrote in a style which would suggest to ordinary minds the idea of his rejecting the letter, and which is only to be rescued by such extremely ingenious constructions as those in the Tract.

[o] Dupin, i. 140; Mosh. 633, 644-5, 650-1; Tzschirner, 500; Neander, ii. 262-3; Möhler, Einheit d. Kirche, 284, ed. 2; Redep. i. 295, 304.

[p] Mosh. 653; Redep. i. 302-3.

[q] Mosh. 631.

[r] Gieseler, I. i. 331; Redep. i. 300.

teachers, he was utterly opposed to their contempt for the less instructed brethren, and to their representation of whole *classes* of men as hopelessly shut out from the higher grades of understanding. Every one, he held, was bound to advance according to his means and opportunities. The literal sense might be understood by any attentive reader; the moral required higher intelligence; the mystical was only to be apprehended through the grace of the Holy Spirit, which was to be obtained by prayer; nor did Origen himself pretend to possess this in such a degree as would entitle him to claim any authority for his interpretations. Whereas Clement had spoken with fear of divulging his mystical interpretations, and had given them as traditional, Origen's are offered merely as his own, and his only fear is lest they should be wrong.[s] Of the mystical sense, he held that there were two kinds—the *allegorical*, where the Old Testament prefigured the history of Christ and his Church; and the *anagogical*, where the narrative typified the things of a higher world. For, as St. Paul speaks of a "Jerusalem which is above" (Galat. iv. 26), Origen held the existence of a spiritual world in which everything of this earth has its antitype. And thus passages of Scripture which in their letter were fictitious, were to be regarded as shadowing realities of the higher world which earthly things could not sufficiently typify.[t]

These principles of interpretation were not laid down without cautions and safeguards as to their application; and in Origen himself they were controlled by a faithful, devout, and dutiful spirit. But it is evident that they tend to no less an evil than the subversion of all belief in the historical truth of Scripture.[u]

There is a difficulty in ascertaining Origen's opinions on many points—not only from the obscurity of the subjects which he treats, but also because his remaining writings are for the most part preserved only in translations which are known to be unfaithful. Even in his own lifetime he had to complain of falsifications by heretics, and of misrepresentation by indiscreet admirers.[x]

His soundness as to the highest of Christian doctrines has been much questioned; indeed, the Arians claimed him as a forerunner

[s] Dupin, i. 140; Mosh. 633, 639, 645, 650-1; 653; Schröckh, iv. 15-17; Neander, ii. 252-3, 262-3; Tzschirner, 500, 504; Redep. i. 295, 302-3, 315-8, 336, 383.

[t] Mosh. 640-3; Redep. i. 290, 306-8, 313; ii. 343.

[u] Neander, ii. 264, 269.

[x] Baron. 233. 8-9; Tillem. iii. 537 584; Mosh. 609.

of their heresy. But St. Athanasius spoke of him with respect, explained his language, and vindicated him from misrepresentation. Bishop Bull, too, defends his orthodoxy; but even after the somewhat large postulate that he may be judged only by his treatise against Celsus[y]—as being the most matured offspring of his mind, and the only one of his works which is not probably corrupted—our great theologian finds much exercise for his learning and ingenuity in drawing forth a Catholic sense from passages of questionable appearance.[z]

To Origen is due the invention of a term which, as happily expressing the traditional belief, has been adopted into the language of the Church—the *Eternal Generation* of the Logos.[a] He illustrated the mode of this by a comparison with the emission of brightness from light. It was not, he said, a thing which had taken place once for all, but is ever continued in the "everlasting now" of the Divine existence.[b]

His views as to the creation were very singular. Rejecting the Gnostic impiety of supposing matter independent of God, he maintained, that, as creation is an attribute of the Godhead, the work of creation from nothing must have been eternal. The object of this theory was to reconcile the Mosaic account with the Platonic notion that the world had eternally emanated from God.[c] There had (he taught) been multitudes of worlds before the present, and there would yet be multitudes after its end—the nearness of which he supposed to be indicated by the fact of our Lord's having already appeared in the flesh.[d] The number of souls originally created was final; there had been no additions to it, but the same souls had continually re-appeared in an endless variety of forms.[e] All were at first perfect, and were endued with freedom of will. By abuse of this they contracted a guilt which required purgation; hence the worlds were created, that the beings who had sinned might be awakened to a sense of their estrangement from God

[y] The work of Celsus (already mentioned, p. 59) had for nearly a century kept its place as the chief of those written against the Gospel. Origen's answer to it was composed at the instance of his friend Ambrose, during the reign of Philip, when the improved position of the Christians rendered it desirable that their cause should be maintained more fully and methodically than in the occasional Apologies of earlier writers. Tzschirner, 375; Redep. ii. 131.

[z] Bull, Def. Fid. Nic. lib. ii. c. 9; Tillem. iii. 589; Fleury, v. 34; Mosh. 633; Gieseler, I. i. 324-6; Redep. ii. 44.

[a] Dorner, i. 647; Wilberforce on the Incarnation, 149.

[b] Dorner, i. 644-6, 648; Redep. ii. 301.

[c] Mosh. 613; Neander, ii. 281; Redep. ii. 292; Gieseler, I. i. 322.

[d] Redep. ii. 293, 400.

[e] Neander, ii. 284-5.

and to a craving after blessedness—that they might be purified through conflict for restoration to their first estate.[f] The disobedient souls were treated according to the measure of their offence. Those which had least sinned became angels, living in the planets, and occupied in works of ministry for men. The worst of all became devils. For such as were confined in bodies of flesh, the whole complication of their being and circumstances was arranged in proportion as they had sinned more or less grievously. Some, however, were plunged deeper than the degree of their guilt had deserved, in order that they might help in the instruction and deliverance of their fellows;[g] and thus Origen supposes that the death of a righteous man may have an atoning effect for others.[h] He divided mankind into carnal, psychical, and spiritual, but did not, like the Gnostics, suppose that each man was immovably fixed in a particular class.[i] He allowed Adam to be a historical person—the first of the sinful spirits who was embodied in flesh; but he regarded the history of the Fall as an allegory.[k] One soul only there was which had not sinned. This, by continual contemplation of the Divine Logos, had become united to Him or absorbed in Him; and thus it had made the way for that union of Godhead with a gross human body which but for such a medium would have been impossible.[l] As the Gospel was adapted to men of every kind, so our Lord's appearance while on earth varied according to the characters of those who beheld Him.[m]

Origen's views of the atonement are difficult to understand, and no less so to reconcile with orthodox belief. He considers the Saviour's earthly death as representing something which is *spiritually* repeated in the higher world, and which has its effect towards the deliverance of the angels. On the necessity of grace, his doctrine is described as unsound; he allows, however, that in order to become, or to remain good, grace is necessary, as well as free-will.[n]

All punishment, he holds, is merely corrective and remedial. At the end of the world all mankind will have to pass through a fire. The purged spirits will enter into paradise, a place of train-

[f] Mosh. 663; Neander, ii. 356-9.
[g] Mosh. 613-4, 663; Neander, ii. 356-362; Gieseler, I. i. 322; Redep. i. 344-5; ii. 23, 113, 338.
[h] Mosh. 626-7; Hagenbach, i. 175.
[i] Neander, ii. 364-7; Gieseler, I. i. 329.
[k] Neander, ii. 363; Hagenb. i. 156.
[l] Mosh. 624-5; Neander, ii. 377-381; Gieseler, I. i. 329; Redep. ii. 383-7; Dorner, i. 680.
[m] Origen professed to derive this notion from tradition. Neander, ii. 254-5, 372-4; Redep. ii. 392-3.
[n] Dupin, i. 138; Mosh. 626, 666; Neander, ii. 368, 386; Redep. ii. 400-3.

ing for the consummation; the wicked will remain in the "fire," which, however, is not described as material, but as a mental misery. But their condition is not without hope, although thousands of years may elapse before their suffering shall have wrought its due effect on them.[o] On the other hand, those who are admitted into bliss may abuse their free-will, as in the beginning, and may consequently be doomed to a renewal of their sojourn in the flesh.[p] At the final consummation the soul will dwell in a glorified organ, of which the germ is in the present body. Its pleasures will be purely spiritual; even Satan himself will be turned from evil to good, and will not be excluded from salvation. "God will be all in all."[q]

The reputation of Origen has had vehement assailants and earnest defenders.[r] Certain propositions ascribed to him were condemned, and an anathema was attached to his name, by a synod held at Constantinople in the sixth century;[s] and it may perhaps be thought that the mischief of any particular errors in doctrine is far exceeded by that of the perverse method of interpreting Scripture, which owed to him its completeness and its popularity. But with whatever abatements on the ground of his errors—however strong may be our sense of the evil which his system produced, or was fitted to produce in the hands of others—we must think of Origen himself as a man who not only devoted all the energies of his mind, during a long life, to what he conceived to be the truth, but believed his views of truth to be consistent with the traditional faith of the Church. His peculiar opinions arose (as has been already said), from a wish to overcome the supposed incompatibility of philosophy with the Gospel; he desired in all things to hold fast the foundation of essential Christian doctrine; he proposed his own speculations with modesty, and claimed for them no higher character than that of probable conjectures.[t] His piety is as unquestioned as the greatness of his genius and the depth of his learning; he suffered much for the Gospel, and may, indeed,

[o] Dupin, i. 138; Mosh. 663; Gieseler, I. i. 323, 331; Hagenbach, i. 247-8; Redep. ii. 114, 404-7, 446-7.

[p] Dupin, i. 139; Mosh. 615; Gieseler, i. 323; Hagenb. i. 139.

[q] Redep. ii. 201, 354, 452; Gieseler, I. i. 331. It is said that in his later writings Origen disavowed the opinion as to the salvation of the devil, although it seems to be involved in the consistency of his system. He was anxious to keep some of his doctrines from the vulgar; *e.g.* that of the non-eternity of punishment; and for this purpose he sanctioned equivocation or even falsehood. Gieseler, I. i. 320; Redep. ii. 317.

[r] Bull, Def. Fid. Nic. II. i. 1.

[s] A local synod, in 544, not (as was long believed) the fifth General Council, A.D. 553. Gieseler, I. ii. 368, 372; Neander, iv. 481-2. See book II. c. 12.

[t] Mosh. 607, 628-9; Dorner, i. 637; Redep. ii. 115.

almost be reckoned as a martyr. While he lived he was the chief opponent of heresy in all its varieties; the multitude of converts whom he brought over to the Church from heathenism, Judaism, and corrupted forms of Christianity, is a noble testimony no less to his earnestness and love than to his controversial ability. We may well say with the candid Tillemont,[u] that such a man might hold heretical opinions, but could not be a heretic, since he was utterly free from that spirit which constitutes the guilt of heresy.

II. As the name of Origen is famous in the history of doctrine, that of Cyprian is no less so in connexion with the government and discipline of the Church. This father was born at Carthage or in its neighbourhood about the year 200.[x] After having been distinguished as a teacher of rhetoric, he embraced Christianity in mature age.[y] His life had not been free from the usual impurities of heathen morals;[z] but perhaps the abhorrence with which he spoke of it when viewing it by the light of the Gospel may give an exaggerated idea of the degree in which he had been stained by them.[a] On his conversion, and probably while yet a catechumen, he sold some gardens which he possessed near Carthage, and devoted the price, with a large portion of his other property, to the relief of the poor.[b] His deacon and biographer Pontius tells us that these gardens, which included a villa, were afterwards restored to him "by the indulgence of God,"—most probably through the instrumentality of his friends.[c] At his baptism he added to his old name Thascius that of Cæcilius, after a presbyter who had influenced his conversion.[d] He was rapidly promoted to

[u] iii. 495-8. 595; comp. Newman on Arianism, 108-110.

[x] Rettberg, 'Thascius Cæcilius Cyprianus, Bischof von Carthago,' Götting. 1831.

[y] A.D. 245, according to Maran, 'Vita S. Cypr.' in Migne's edition, 79-80; 246, according to Bishop Pearson, 'Annales Cyprianici,' 6.

[z] It has been said that he practised magic as a means towards gratifying his passions. Then it was shown that this statement applied to a Cyprian bishop of Antioch, who is said to have been martyred under Diocletian (Tillem. v. 329, seqq.). But there can be little doubt that this Syrian (the Cyprian of Calderon's 'Magico Prodigioso') is a fabulous person—a legendary reflection of the great African martyr. (See Maran, 75-6; Schröckh, iv. 236; vii. 95; Rettberg, 25-9.) It is a curious circumstance that the Anglican calendar commemorates St. Cyprian on a wrong day. Before the Reformation, the celebration of the English St. Edith excluded that of SS. Cornelius and Cyprian on September 16, but the *eastern* Cyprian was celebrated on September 26. The name of Cyprian, without any designation, was attached to the latter day in the calendar of 1551; and the title "Archbishop" was added in 1662. See Daniel, Codex Liturgicus, iii. 338-9. Lips. 1851.

[a] Neander, i. 309; Rettb. 25.

[b] Pontius 'de Vita et Passione S. Cypr.' c. 3; Tillem. iv. 49; Rettb. 37-8.

[c] C. 15; Neander, i. 310.

[d] Pontius, c. 5.

the offices of deacon and presbyter;[e] and, on a vacancy in the see of Carthage, A.D. 248, he was elected bishop by the general desire of the people—his signal merit being regarded as a warrant for dispensing with the apostolical warning against such promotions of recent converts (1 Tim. iii. 5). The elevation was against his own wish, as he greatly dreaded the responsibility of such a charge.[f] Five presbyters opposed his election; and, notwithstanding his attempts to conciliate them, they continued to regard him with a settled ill-feeling.

The first two years of his episcopate were spent in earnest endeavours to correct abuses and disorders which he found prevailing among his flock.[g] These labours were interrupted by the persecution under Decius. The bishop was especially aimed at; the heathen populace clamoured that he should be thrown to the lions; Cyprian—not from fear, but in consequence (as he states) of a heavenly warning, and from a conviction that such a course was most for the benefit of his Church—withdrew to a retreat at no great distance, where he remained about fourteen months. His property was confiscated.[h]

Feb. 250–April 251.

The unworthy behaviour of Christians in this persecution has already been mentioned.[i] Besides those who actually sacrificed, multitudes, by a payment to the magistrates, obtained certificates of having obeyed the emperor's commands; and many of these, who were called *Libellatics*, persuaded themselves, by a rude sort of casuistry, that they had done nothing wrong.[k] An abuse of the estimation in which martyrs and confessors were held contributed to the evil. From a natural feeling of respect for those who shed their blood for the faith, martyrs had been allowed, perhaps as early as the middle of the second century, to recommend for favourable consideration the cases of persons under ecclesiastical censure. This was originally the extent of their privilege, and the practice had been that the deacons should visit the martyrs in prison, for the purpose of suggesting caution in the distribution of their favours.[l] But abuses had grown up in the course of years, and some daring novelties of this kind were now introduced at Car-

[e] Pearson, 8. Some writers, however—as Bingham, II. x. 7—suppose him to have been raised to the episcopate *per saltum*.

[f] Pontius, 7; Pearson, 9; Maran, 79-80.

[g] Tillem. iv. 57; Rettberg, 45-52.

[h] Pontius, 7; Cyp. Epp. 16, 20, ed. Fell.; Tillem. iv. 63; Schröckh, iv. 238-9; Neander, i. 185; Milman, ii. 248. Perhaps St. Cyprian's words need not mean that he had any other divine warning than the text Matt. x. 23. See notes by Newman in St. Cyp. Treatises, pp. viii, 159, Oxf. 1839.

[i] P. 92.

[k] Mosh. 485; Neander, i. 182.

[l] Cyp. Ep. 15; Tillem. iv. 69-70; Mosh. 489-491.

thage.[m] One Lucian, inflated by the reputation which he had gained as a confessor, professed that a martyr named Paul had bequeathed to him the right of granting readmission to communion. Tickets were made out in such a form as to be available, not only for the person named in them, but for an indefinite number of others.[n] Indulgences of this kind were distributed without limit, and even became a matter of traffic. The ignorant holders insisted on immediate restoration to full communion; some bishops yielded to their importunity;[o] and Lucian, in the name of all the confessors, wrote an insolent letter to Cyprian, telling him that they had granted reconciliation to all the lapsed, and desiring him to convey the information to other bishops.[p]

Cyprian from his retreat kept up a constant communication with his Church, and endeavoured to check these disorders—at the same time showing an anxious desire to avoid interference with such privileges as might reasonably be supposed to belong to martyrs and confessors. He allowed that such of the lapsed as had letters might be admitted to reconciliation, if in danger of death; but he directed that the rest should be reserved for an examination of their cases after his return to Carthage, and that in the mean time they should be exhorted to patience.[q]

Soon after Easter, 251, the bishop returned to Carthage, and held a council on the subject of the lapsed. It was agreed that the Libellatics who had been penitent should be forthwith admitted to communion, and that those who had sacrificed should be allowed to hope for admission after a longer period of penance.[r] The latter class received a further indulgence in the following year, when, in the prospect of a renewed persecution, a synod under Cyprian resolved to grant immediate reconciliation to all who had shown themselves duly penitent.[s]

The opposition of five presbyters to Cyprian's election has been mentioned. It is uncertain whether Novatus was one of these;[t] but he had become noted for his insubordination and irregularities. Cyprian tells us that he had robbed widows and orphans, and had embezzled the funds of the Church; that he had kicked his wife

[m] The 25th Canon of the Council of Eliberis (305?) and the 9th of the Council of Arles (314) are directed against some abuses which then continued to be made of letters from confessors.

[n] "Communicet ille . . . . . cum suis." Cyp. Ep. 15.

[o] Cyp. Epp. 20, 22, &c.; Tillem. iv. 77-9; Mosh. 49[illegible].

[p] Ep. 23.

[q] Tillem. iv. 69-71, 75-6; Mosh. 497; Neander, i. 186.

[r] Tillem. iv. 96-7.

[s] Ep. 54.

[t] Pearson and Mosheim (508-9) suppose that he was not; Tillemont (iv. 613), Neander (i. 313), and Rettberg (103-5), that he was.

while pregnant, so as to cause the death of the child; that he had allowed his father to starve in the street,[u] and had refused even to bury him; and that for these and other offences he was about to be brought to trial, when the outbreak of the persecution under Decius put a stop to the proceedings. Novatus entered into a connexion with Felicissimus, a man of wealth, but of indifferent character, and, either by usurping the episcopal functions, or (as is more likely) by means of some bishop, advanced him to the order of deacon.[x] These two, in conjunction with others of the clergy, took a line of strong opposition to Cyprian; they incited the lapsed against him; they disputed with his commissioners as to the distribution of the Church-funds; and at length, about a year after the bishop's return,[y] Felicissimus proceeded so far as to set up one of the malcontent presbyters, Fortunatus, as a rival in the see of Carthage—the consecration being performed by five bishops, who had all been deprived for heresy or lapse.[z] Novatus, in the mean time, had crossed the Mediterranean to Rome.

May, 252.

Fabian, bishop of Rome, was martyred in January, 250, and the see remained vacant until June in the following year, when Cornelius was elected.[a] During this interval some letters were exchanged between Cyprian and the Roman clergy, who had been led by reports to think unfavourably of his withdrawal from his city, but afterwards came to understand him better, and agreed with him in the course to be pursued towards the lapsed. Among these clergy Novatian was eminent for eloquence and learning. He had received a philosophical education, although it is perhaps a mistake to infer from some of Cyprian's expressions that he was professedly a Stoic.[b] His temper was morose and gloomy. He had at one time been vexed by a devil—for so the early Christians accounted for appearances which were probably like those of a diseased melancholy. After this he had received clinical baptism,[c] and on his recovery had neglected to seek the completion of the baptismal gift by imposition of the bishop's hands. Notwithstanding these irregularities, Fabian, from a wish to secure for the Church the services of so able a man, had admitted him to the priesthood—

[u] "In vico." Ep. 49. Some render the words "in a village."

[x] Pearson, 25; Tillem. iv. 95; Bingham, II. iii. 7; Mosh. 498-9, 503; Walch, ii. 297.

[y] Pearson, 35.

[z] Tillem. iv. 113; Schröckh, iv. 299.

[a] Pearson, 17, 28.

[b] Walch, ii. 194; Schröckh, iv. 302: Neander, i. 333.

[c] *i. e.* baptism on a sick bed—which was regarded with disfavour on account of the unworthy motives which commonly influenced the receivers in deferring their baptism until they might suppose themselves beyond the risk of forfeiting the grace of the sacrament by relapsing into sin. See chap. viii.

having with difficulty overcome the reluctance which was shown by all the clergy and by a large portion of the laity; for both clergy and people had then a voice in the nomination of persons to be ordained.[d] In the time of the persecution, when urged to take a share in ministering to his suffering brethren, Novatian is said to have answered that he "had no mind to be any longer a presbyter, and was attached to a different philosophy"—words which seem to indicate that he preferred a recluse ascetic life to the active labours of his office.[e]

During the vacancy of the see Novatian had great influence at Rome. Cyprian states that he was the writer of a letter in which the Roman clergy allowed that the lapsed might be reconciled to the Church if in danger of death;[f] but after the election of Cornelius he formed a schism, on principles incompatible with any such concession. He held that, although the penitent lapsed might be admitted to the Divine mercy, and therefore ought to be exhorted to repentance, yet the Church had no power to grant them absolution, and must for ever exclude them from communion; that a Church which communicated with such offenders forfeited its Christian character and privileges.[g] He had before protested that he did not desire the bishopric, and we need not suppose his protest insincere. His severe and unsocial temperament inclined him to a life of seclusion; but when the schism was formed, he allowed himself to be set up as its head,[h] and was consecrated by three bishops of obscure sees, who had been drawn to Rome on false pretences, and laid their hands on him in the evening, after a meal.[i] The moving spirit in these proceedings was the Carthaginian Novatus. Possibly he may have disagreed with his old ally Felicissimus as to the treatment of the lapsed; or he may

[d] Cornelius in Euseb. vi. 43; Tillem. iii. 437; Baluz. n. in Cypr. col. 317. Walch (ii. 197) supposes that it was not Fabian, but an earlier bishop, who ordained Novatian.

[e] Neander, i. 332. This seems to be a more probable construction of the words than that proposed by Mosheim, p. 516—that Novatian was disposed to leave the Church, which, according to Mosheim's view, he had entered without full conviction.

[f] Ep. 30; Cyp. Ep. 52.

[g] Tillem. iii. 472; Mosh. 524-5; Walch, ii. 253-5; Schröckh, iv. 311-2; Neander, i. 339-340, 344; Gieseler, I. i. 392-3. Neander—who seldom admits any fault in a schismatic or reputed heretic—tries to defend Novatian's consistency (i. 334). But, in truth, all the leading persons would seem to have somewhat altered their views in the course of these affairs. The agreement between Cyprian and Cornelius resulted from an abatement on the part of the African, and an opposite movement on the part of the Roman (Neand. i. 315; Rettberg, 113-6). And Novatian probably was led by Cornelius's previous character to take his election for a token of a policy more lax than that which the bishop actually followed, while his own opinions had in the mean time become more severe.

[h] Mosh. 513-4, 517; Neander, i. 336; Walch, ii. 231.

[i] Euseb. vi. 43.

have taken the part of laxity at Carthage and that of severity at Rome from no better motive than a wish by either means to oppose the authority of the regular bishops.[k]

Novatian sent notice of his consecration to the great Churches of Carthage, Antioch, and Alexandria. Fabius, of Antioch, was inclined to acknowledge him, but died soon after, without having taken any decided measures.[l] The letter to Dionysius of Alexandria appears to have been apologetic, representing that Novatian had been forced into his course; Dionysius replied that, if it were so, he ought to show his sincerity by withdrawing, and endeavouring to heal the breach.[m] At Carthage the schismatical envoys were repelled by a council which was sitting at the time of their arrival. One Maximus was afterwards set up as Novatianist bishop of Carthage, and intruders of the same kind were planted in other African dioceses.[n]

A large number of the Roman confessors had at first been engaged in the schism. These soon discovered their error; they formally acknowledged Cornelius as bishop, and returned to the unity of the Church.[o] Novatianism, however, continued to exist. The sentence of lifelong exclusion from communion, which had at first been applied only to those who had denied the faith, was afterwards extended to all who, after baptism, committed the greater sins. The Novatianists assumed the name of *Cathari* or *Puritans*. They rebaptised proselytes from the Church, considering its communion impure, and its ministrations consequently void. Some of them condemned second marriages as equally sinful with adultery.

As to the chief doctrines of the Gospel, the Novatianists were orthodox. Many of them suffered for the faith; and during the ascendency of Arianism, in the following century, the Novatianists were oppressed in common with the Catholics.[p] The Council of Nicæa attempted to heal the schism by conciliatory measures;[q] but the sect continued to exist in separation from the Church until after the middle of the fifth century.

A.D. 325.

[k] See Tillem. iii. 449; Mosh. 504, 511, 518; Walch, ii. 230; Rettberg, 107-111; Neander, i. 337; Gieseler, I. i. 392.

[l] Tillem. iii. 463.

[m] Euseb. vi. 45.

[n] Baron. 254. 83; Tillem. iii. 454; iv. 107-8.

[o] Ep. 46.

[p] Walch, ii. 277.

[q] Can. viii. enacts that Novatianist clergy shall, on professing adhesion to the discipline of the Church as to communion with digamists and the lapsed, be admitted by imposition of hands, and allowed to retain their rank; and it provides for cases of conflicting claims by ordering that employment should be provided for the Novatianist bishops as *chorepiscopi* (see chap. viii.) or as presbyters, unless the Catholic bishops should be pleased to share the episcopal

The last traces of it were in Phrygia, where it had combined with the remnant of the Montanists.[r]

The opposite movement at Carthage was altogether a failure. Felicissimus in vain endeavoured to get his bishop acknowledged at Rome. Most of the Lapsed, who had adhered to him in the hope of gaining easy readmission in a body to the Church, were shocked at the establishment of a formal schism, and sued for reconciliation on Cyprian's terms.[s] We hear nothing further of Felicissimus.

Stephen bishop of Rome, a man of violent and arrogant character, soon after his election, in 253, embroiled himself with some Asiatic bishops on a question as to the manner of admitting converts from heresy and schism into the Church. The question was one which had not occurred in the apostolic age; and having thus been left open by Scripture, it had been variously determined by different Churches. At Rome, proselytes were admitted by imposition of hands; in Asia, rebaptism had been practised; and for each method apostolical authority was pretended—in other words, each could plead immemorial local usage.[t] Synods held at Iconium and at Synnada, apparently in the reign of Alexander Severus, had established the rule of rebaptism throughout most Churches of Asia Minor. In Africa the same practice had been ratified by a synod held under Agrippinus bishop of Carthage, in the beginning of the century, but—chiefly, perhaps, from the absence of occasion—it seems to have fallen into disuse in the interval between Agrippinus and Cyprian.[u]

The origin of the disagreement between Stephen and the Asiatics is unknown; perhaps it may have been that some Orientals, residing at Rome, wished to introduce the practice of

title with them. Socrates tells (i. 10) a story of Acesius, a Novatianist bishop, who had been invited to attend the Council. Constantine asked him whether he assented to its creed and to its determination respecting the time of Easter; to which Acesius answered that both were in accordance with what he had always held as matter of apostolical tradition. Constantine then asked why he remained separate from the Church; on which the bishop stated the rigid notions of his sect as to the forgiveness of sins. The emperor rejoined by desiring him to "take a ladder, and go up to heaven by himself."

[r] Tillem. iii. 472-4, 475, 477, 482-3, 493; Mosh. 520, 522; Walch, ii. 262-3; Schröckh, ii. 312; Gieseler, I. i. 392-4. Socrates, who is favourable to the Novatianists (although probably not himself a member of the sect), complains that at Rome and Alexandria they were oppressed by the Catholic bishops in the beginning of the fifth century—having until then flourished, at Rome especially. vii. 7, 11.

[s] Tillem. iv. 114.

[t] Tillem. iv. 140; Mosh. 543-4; Walch, ii. 315.

[u] Mosh. 536-7; Walch, ii. 318; Tillem. iv. 143. On the whole question, see a learned note by Fell in Cyp. p. 243; reprinted by Routh, Reliq. Sac. iii. 210-6; and by Migne, Patrol. iii. 1073-7.

their Churches there.[x] Neither is it exactly known what Stephen's own opinion was; whether his words—that converts "from *whatsoever* heresy"[y] should be received by imposition of hands—are to be understood absolutely, or with limitations agreeable to the Church's later judgment.[z] It seems, however, to be certain that he was engaged in controversy with the Asiatics before the difference with Cyprian arose. He wrote to them on the subject of their practice, and they refused to abandon it.[a]

Cyprian was drawn into the controversy by a question of some Numidian and Mauritanian bishops, who had probably been led to suspect the propriety of rebaptism by seeing that the Novatianists used it in the case of proselytes from the Church.[b] He replied, that converts must be baptised, unless they had received the regular baptism of the Church before falling into heresy or schism; in which case imposition of hands would suffice.[c] He argued that there could be only one Church, one faith, one baptism; that, as we confess in the creed "life everlasting, and the forgiveness of sins through the Holy Church,"[d] there can be no forgiveness without the Church; that the water cannot be sanctified unto cleansing by one who is himself unclean;[e] and—since the claim of prescription could not be advanced in Africa as in the East—he maintained that "reason ought to prevail over custom."[f] The principle was affirmed by three Carthaginian councils, the last of which was held in September, 256; but, although they disclaimed all intention of laying down a rule for other Churches, Stephen refused to see the envoys who had been sent to him after the second council,[g] charged his flock to withhold all hospitality from them, denounced Cyprian in outrageous language,[h] and broke off communion with the Africans,[i] as he had before done

[x] Mosh. 538.

[y] Cyp. Ep. 73.

[z] See Pearson, 54; Cave, i. 93; Tillem. iv. 136, 626-7; Pagi in Baron. iii. 64; Thomassin, ap. Migne, Patrolog. iii. 1250, seqq.; Dupin, i. 152; Mosh. 547; Walch, ii. 334-345; Schröckh, iv. 338-9; Rettberg, 160-5; Neander, i. 445-7.

[a] See Maran, in Migne, Patrol. iv. 153-4; Mosh. 540; Walch, ii. 349; Schröckh, iv. 324; Rettb. 170-1; Neander, i. 441.

[b] Tillem. iv. 146-7. Ep. 71.

[c] Conc. Carth. de Bapt. I. (Ep. 70.)

[d] Ibid.; Tillem. iv. 139; Mosh. 534-5; Walch, ii. 332-3.

[e] Ep. 71, § 2.

[f] That this mission was after the second Council—not, as some suppose, after the third—see Walch, ii. 361.

[g] Firmil. ad Cypr. last section:—"Non pudet Stephanum .... Cyprianum pseudochristum et pseudapostolum et dolosum operarium dicere."

[h] This appears to be certain, although some Romanists, unwilling to allow that a pope can have taken such a step against so eminent a saint as Cyprian, argue that Stephen went no further than threatening. See Baron. 258. 50; Pagi in Baron. iii. 64; Tillem. iv. 156; Mosh. 538, 543; Rettb. 172, 184-6; Walch, ii. 363.

with the Asiatics. Such a proceeding, however, on the part of a bishop of Rome in the third century, did not, like the excommunications of popes in later times, imply a claim of authority to separate from the body of Christ, or to deprive of the means of grace; it was merely an exercise of the power which every bishop had to suspend religious intercourse with communities or persons whom he supposed to be in error.[k]

Cyprian, finding himself thus cut off from communion with the great Church of the West, resolved to open a correspondence with the Asiatics who were in the same condition.[l] He therefore sent a letter, with a report of his proceedings, to Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia (who has already been mentioned as a friend of Origen). Firmilian's answer deals very freely with Stephen's character and conduct—so much so, that the first editors to whom it became known suppressed it on account of its bearing against the later pretensions of Rome, and that other Romanists have since justified the suppression, and have regretted that such a document had been allowed to see the light.[m]

The sequel is not distinctly recorded. The death of Stephen, early in the year 257,[n] contributed towards a peaceful settlement of the dispute. Dionysius of Alexandria, whose own opinions probably inclined to the Roman view,[o] exerted himself as a mediator by writing both to Stephen and to his successor in the see of Rome;[p] and from the mention of this latter prelate, Xystus, by Cyprian's contemporary biographer, as a "good and *peacemaking* priest,"[q] it is inferred that the controversy was laid to rest for the time by an understanding that every Church should be left to its own judgment in the matter. The question was afterwards decided against St. Cyprian's views (or rather, perhaps, by a middle course between them and those of Stephen) in the eighth canon of the Council of Arles, which ordered that, if the schismatical baptism had been administered in the name of the Trinity, converts should be admitted to the Church by imposition of hands.[r] A.D. 314.

[k] Mosh. 447, 538. Compare the reasoning of Tillemont as to something which took place at the Council of Ephesus, xiv. 412.

[l] Mosh. 543-4.

[m] See Baluze's note at the beginning of the Epistle. Some Romanists (Missori, Molkenbuhr, &c.) have endeavoured to deny its genuineness. See Gieseler, I. i. 396, and the article mentioned in the Preface to this volume.

[n] Pearson, 60.

[o] Neander thinks the contrary, i. 443. Comp. Walch, ii. 372-3.

[p] Euseb. vii. 5; Tillem. iv. 142-3, 160; Rettb. 193-4.

[q] Pontius, c. 14; comp. Gieseler, I. i. 397; Tillem. iv. 160-1.

[r] Hardouin, i. 265. The same principle was involved in the recognition of Novatianist orders by the 8th Nicene Canon. See Tillem. iv. 160, 632; Dupin, i. 152; Pagi in Baron. iii. 574-7; Rettberg, 194; Gieseler, I. i. 397.

When the persecution under Valerian reached Africa, Cyprian was carried before the proconsul, Paternus.[s] He avowed himself a Christian and a bishop; he added that Christians served one only God, and that they prayed daily for themselves, for all mankind, and for the safety of the emperors. On being questioned as to the names of his clergy, he said that the laws of the state condemned informers; that ecclesiastical discipline forbade the clergy to offer themselves for punishment; but that, if sought for, they might be found in their places. As he stedfastly refused to sacrifice, he was banished to Curubis, about forty miles from Carthage, which Pontius, who accompanied him, describes as a pleasant abode.[t] On the night after his arrival there, a vision announced to him that he was to be put to death next day,—the event proved that the delay of a day was to be interpreted as signifying a year. During his stay at Curubis he received frequent visits from his friends. He also sent relief to many of his brethren who had been carried away to labour in the mines of Mauritania and Numidia, and were treated with great barbarity; and he exchanged with these, and other confessors, letters of sympathy and exhortation.[u]

On the arrival of a new proconsul, Galerius, Cyprian was recalled from banishment, and was ordered to remain at his gardens near Carthage. Valerian's second and more severe edict[x] had now been issued, and the bishop was resolved to suffer the worst. He feared, however, during a temporary absence of the proconsul at Utica, lest he should be carried to that city, instead of being sacrificed in the sight of his own people; he therefore concealed himself for a time, but, on the return of Galerius to Carthage, he reappeared at his gardens, and withstood all the entreaties of his friends who urged him to save himself by flight.

On the 13th of September, 258, he was carried to a place where the proconsul was, about four miles from Carthage. Many Christians watched all night around his lodging, and crowds

[s] The remaining part of the story is from Pontius and the proconsular Acts.

[t] Gibbon—whose zeal in extenuating the conduct of persecutors towards the Christians would be amusing, if it were not very disgusting—dwells much on the pleasantness of Curubis, and other such points in the story (i. 558-60). M. Guizot well remarks—"Setting aside all religious considerations, it is impossible not to be surprised at the kind of complaisance with which the historian here insists, in favour of the persecutors, on some mitigating circumstances allowed at the death of a man whose only crime was maintaining his own opinions with frankness and courage" (note, p. 560). Moreover, it is very clear, even from the narrative of Pontius, that the case of Cyprian was not what Gibbon professes to consider it—an average specimen of the treatment of the victims.

[u] Epp. 77, seqq.

[x] See p. 94.

attended at his trial the following day. The proconsul required him to sacrifice; he answered by desiring him to execute the emperor's orders. The proconsul reluctantly sentenced him to be beheaded, on which Cyprian said "Thanks be to God!" A cry arose from the Christian bystanders, "Let us go and be beheaded with him!" The sentence was immediately carried into effect.

It is said that Cyprian daily read some portion of Tertullian's works, and that he asked for the book by saying to his secretary, "Give me my master."[y] The influence of his great countryman on his mind is abundantly evident in his writings;[z] perhaps Tertullian's Montanism may have shared, as well as the general African character,[a] in producing his tendency to a belief in frequent supernatural visitations. But if Cyprian was inferior to his master in originality and genius, he was free from Tertullian's exaggeration and irregularity, and possessed talents for practical life of which the earlier writer gives no indication. The master was carried into schism; the scholar's great and ruling idea was that of unity in the visible Church. It was on this that his controversies turned. In his treatise on the subject he ransacks Scripture for types and arguments; he concludes that "he who has not the Church for his mother, cannot have God for his Father;" that the Church is as the ark of Noah, without which there was no deliverance from destruction; that for those who are separate from the visible Church neither miracles nor martyrdom can avail as evidences or as grounds of hope.[b] While we agree in his principles generally, it can hardly be doubted that he carries them out with a reasoning too precise for the nature of the subject; that he does not sufficiently consider the share which the character and circumstances of each individual, as well as his outward position and profession, have in determining his state before God; or the indications afforded by Scripture, that, besides the main broad system of the Divine government, there is also with the Almighty a regard to exceptions and peculiarities, which man indeed may not presume to forestall, but which we are yet bound to remember, as something real—now held in reserve and hereafter to be manifested.[c]

[y] Hieron. de Viris Illustr. c. 53.

[z] Tillem. iv. 51; Schröckh, iv. 245; Rettb. 17, 19, 30, 36, 218, 221; Neander, ii. 446. For Cyprian's obligations to Minucius Felix, see Le Nourry, in Migne's Patrologia, iii. 405-8.

[a] Neander, i. 329.

[b] Here, it will be observed, Cyprian opposed the tendency of his age to overvalue martyrdom.

[c] "By *accommodation* I mean the principle observable in God's merciful dispensations, of suiting Himself to the infirmities and errors of His creatures, by

It would, however, be an utter misunderstanding of Cyprian to suppose that in his views of unity he was influenced either by want of charity towards those whose schism he condemned; or by a wish to secure for himself, as bishop, a tyrannical domination over the minds of men. It was the tendency of the age to raise the episcopate, as conducive to strength, to union, regularity, and peace; but if Cyprian bore a part in promoting the exaltation of his order, it was the natural effect of his great character, not the object or the result of his ambition.[d] Now that Christianity had long been professed by multitudes as a religion derived by inheritance, not embraced from special conviction—now that time and freedom from persecution had produced a general deterioration in the community, so that the bishop could not reckon on unanimous support in his measures for the regulation of the Church—it was necessary for the general good that he should sometimes act by his own authority in a greater degree than the bishops of earlier times. Yet Cyprian was far from any attempt at establishing an autocracy; it was his practice, as well as his desire, to take no important step except in conjunction with his clergy and his people.[e]

On the other hand, the unity which Cyprian contemplated was utterly unlike that of later Rome. In his dealings with the Roman bishops he appears on terms of perfect equality with them. He writes to them and of them as merely his "brethren and colleagues." Far from acknowledging a superiority in them, he remonstrates with Cornelius for lowering the *common* dignity of the episcopate. He admonishes Stephen when negligent of his duty in one case; he declares his judgment null, and sets it aside, in another;[f] he treats the idea of a "bishop of bishops" as mon-

occasional variations of His own stated laws, without any repeal of those laws themselves. To begin from the highest ground. It is evident that all mercy is an accommodation of this kind; a suspension in particular cases of the execution of the laws of rigorous justice; those laws still preserving their supreme authority, and being virtually acknowledged in the very gratitude which hails their apparent supersession. . . . .

"With this striking example [of the Fall and the Redemption] impressed on your minds, and separating (as you may easily do) the principle involved in it from its details, consider first,—Is it unlikely that God should appoint a special organization of the means of grace in His Church? Secondly, *that, when that organization has been m[illegible]r less impaired, He should condescend t[illegible]ntinue His gifts in a manner accommoda[illegible]ed to the alteration.*"

"Nay, it is suppo[illegible]sable that the whole body of [irregula[illegible]r religious] systems, though human and [illegible] unauthorised, may be found to form *desi[illegible]gned members* in a vast scheme of divine moral government, *of which the Church itself is as yet but a part, though the no[illegible]blest part.*"—Archer Butler, Sermons, [illegible]Dubl. 1849, pp. 470, 472-3, 480-1.

[d] Schröckh, iv. [illegible]78; Neander, i. 268.

[e] Epp. 24, 33. [illegible] &c. See Möhler, 'Einheit in der Kir[illegible]che,' 198-202, ed. 2.

[f] Epp. 67-8, as t[illegible]o the affair of Marcian bishop of Arl[illegible]s, and that of the Spanish bishops Bas[illegible]lides and Martial.

strous—far as Stephen's understanding of such a title fell short of the more recent Roman pretensions. Even supposing all the passages in which he magnifies the Roman Church to be genuine—(and where words of this sort are wanting in some manuscripts there is an almost certain presumption against them, inasmuch as in the times to which the manuscripts belong there was no temptation to omit, but a strong inducement to insert such words)—still the dignity which he assigns to that Church, to its supposed Apostolic founder, and his successors, is only that of precedence among equals; it is rather purely symbolical than in any way practical; it is altogether unconnected with any idea of subjection to Rome as a higher authority entitled to interfere with other Churches or overrule their determinations.

III. Dionysius, of Alexandria, has been mentioned as having mediated between Rome, Carthage, and the Asiatics in the controversy as to rebaptism. This eminent man, after having been brought up as a heathen, was led to Christianity by a perusal of St. Paul's Epistles; he was a pupil of Origen, and succeeded Heraclas, first in the catechetical school (A.D. 232), and afterwards in the see of Alexandria (A.D. 248). He continued after his ordination to read the works of heathens and heretics; and a presbyter remonstrated with him on the danger of such studies. Dionysius was impressed by the remonstrance; but he was reassured by a vision or dream, in which he heard a voice saying to him "Read whatsoever may fall into thy hands; for thou art able to read with discernment, and to reject what is worthless; since it was even thus that thou wert first brought to the faith."[g]

Dionysius was not more admirable for his learning than for his wisdom and moderation. Two controversies in which he took part must be here particularly mentioned.

(1.) About the year 257, the Libyan Pentapolis, the native country of Sabellius, was greatly disturbed by his heresy.[h] The matter came under the official notice of the Egyptian primate, who combated the Sabellian errors both in conference and by writing;[i] but unhappily he used some expressions which gave a pretext for

[g] Tillem. iv. 244; Neander, ii. 483.

[h] This has been usually regarded as the first outbreak of Sabellianism; and it has in consequence been supposed that Novatian's work 'De Trinitate,' which mentions Sabellius (c. 12), must have been written after its author had left the Church. But Lumper argues (ap. Migne, Patrologia, iii. 872-3) that the circumstance which occurred in 257 was a movement of Sabellius' *followers*, and places the heresiarch himself under Alexander Severus—a view for which he mentions other authorities. We have seen (sup. p. 81) that a still earlier date ought to be given for the rise of the heresy.

[i] Tillem. iv. 239.

charging him with opinions resembling those afterwards broached by Arius—as if he had denied the Eternal Sonship. A complaint was carried to the bishop of Rome—not that any jurisdiction over Alexandria was supposed to belong to Rome, but because the matter was one of common concern; because in proportion to the eminence of a bishop's see it was his duty to investigate and act in such cases; and because the first of bishops was the person to whom complaints against the second were most naturally preferred.[k] The bishop of Rome—who was also named Dionysius—hereupon held a council, and requested an explanation; and Dionysius of Alexandria—disregarding all motives to jealousy for the sake of peace and unity—replied by a satisfactory vindication of his orthodoxy.[l]

(2.) The doctrine of Chiliasm or Millennarianism is styled in the first articles of the Reformed English Church "a Jewish dotage;"[m] but, although no doubt derived from Judaism, it must not be considered as indicative of a Jewish tendency. There was, indeed, in common with Judaism, the belief that the Messiah would reign personally on earth, that his kingdom would have Jerusalem for its seat, and that it would last a thousand years; but—(besides other important differences,—as that the Jewish millennium was expected to follow immediately on the Messiah's *first* appearance, whereas the Christians looked to His *second* coming)—the Christian Chiliasm showed no favour to the fleshly Israel, nor even to its holy city; for the new Jerusalem was to come down from heaven, and to take the place of the earthly—which was to perish.[n]

The chiliastic opinions were very early professed. Among their advocates is said to have been Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, a hearer of the Apostle St. John;[o] and by the end of the second century they appear to have become general in the Church.[p] They were attractive, as offering a ground of opposition to pagan Rome, and affording a near consolation in persecutions and trials.[q]

The doctrine was embraced by the Montanists with great ardour, and became a characteristic of their sect. This, indeed, con-

[k] See Schröckh, iv. 174; Routh, Rel. Sac. iii. 380.

[l] Tillem. iv. 279-283; Neander, ii. 356; Möhler, 'Athanasius,' i. 108; Newman on Arianism, 140; Dorner, i. 742-4; 748-752. See Bp. Bull, Def. Fid. Nic. ii. 11, who remarks (§ 7) that the excitement raised by the mere suspicion of Arianising proves how alien Arian doctrines were from the mind of Dionysius' age.

[m] Articles of Edw. VI. No. xli.

[n] Dorner, i. 241.

[o] Cave, Hist. Lit. i. 29.

[p] See Burton, B. L. note, 76; Pusey in Tertullian, i. 116-130.

[q] Tzschirner, 606.

tributed greatly to the decline of Chiliasm; for the orthodox were led to question it on account of its connexion with Montanism. The idealism and spiritualism of the Alexandrian school, which came into vigour about the same time, were strongly opposed to the literalism on which the chiliastic opinions rested. Moreover, the doctrine was found a hindrance to the conversion of Greeks and Romans, as being offensive to their national feelings. For such reasons it had for many years been sinking.[r]

The persecution of Decius may have tended to revive its popularity among those who felt the approach of suffering for the faith.[s] Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, had written a chiliastic book, entitled a 'Refutation of the Allegorists;' and about the year 254-5—Nepos himself being then dead—it was reported that his opinions had found many converts in the district of Arsinoë. Dionysius, on hearing of the matter, behaved with his characteristic prudence. He went to the spot, requested a conference with the party of Nepos, and spent three days in discussing the book with them—speaking of the author with great respect and affection. The result was, that, whereas a different course might have urged them into schism, he succeeded in convincing them, and was warmly thanked by their leader, Coracion. From this time Chiliasm—although it still had adherents, and in the next century found a champion in Apollinarius, of Laodicea[t]—was little heard of in the Eastern Church.[u]

[r] Mosh. 721; Neander, ii. 396; Tzschirner, 606.
[s] Gieseler, I. i. 334.
[t] For whom see Book ii. chap. iv., 91-2.
[u] Euseb. vii. 24; Baron. 411. 48; Neander, ii. 400; Gieseler, I. i. 334, ii. near the end.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM GALLIENUS TO THE EDICT OF TOLERATION BY CONSTANTINE.

A.D. 261–313.

GALLIENUS, when left sole emperor by the captivity of his father and colleague, put a stop to the persecution which A.D. 261-268. Valerian had commenced, and issued edicts by which the exiles were recalled, the cemeteries were restored to the Christians, and a free exercise of religion was granted.[a] Thus was Christianity for the first time acknowledged as a lawful religion; a benefit which, in so far as the frivolous and worthless prince was concerned, it probably owed to his indifference rather than to any better motive.

In this reign began a contest as to the see of Antioch, which lasted for several years. Paul, a native of Samosata, had been appointed bishop about A.D. 260. He enjoyed the protection of the celebrated queen of Palmyra, and was generally admired for his eloquence; but both his opinions and his manners gave scandal to many of the neighbouring clergy, and to the more discerning portion of his flock. Through the favour of Zenobia, as is supposed, he obtained a considerable civil office;[b] and he chose to be addressed by the title of *Ducenary* rather than by that of *Bishop*. In his public appearances he affected the state and pomp of a Roman magistrate; and he introduced much of this display even into his ecclesiastical functions. He erected a *tribunal* and railed off a *secretum* in his church; he used the gestures of secular orators in his preaching; he expected the hearers to receive his words with clapping of hands and waving of handkerchiefs, as if in a theatre; he discarded the old grave music of the Church, and introduced female singers into his choir; nay, it is said that he substituted hymns in celebration of

[a] Euseb. vii. 13; Gibbon, i. 572; Neander, i. 194-5.

[b] *Ducenarius*—an officer employed in the collection of the revenue, and so called from his salary of 200 sesterces—about 160*l*. Mosh. 704-6; Gibbon, i. 573; Neander, i. 331; Gieseler, I. i. 300.

himself for those which had been sung in honour of the Saviour, and that he caused himself to be extolled by the preachers of his party as an angel from heaven. He is charged with having enriched himself by taking bribes, not only in his civil office, but in his episcopal capacity of arbiter between the brethren. And he is further accused of luxurious living, and of indecent familiarity with young women—two of whom were his constant companions. [c]

It has been supposed that Paul's system of doctrine was framed with a view to the favour of his patroness, who is said by St. Athanasius to have been attached to Judaism. [d] His adversaries describe it as akin to that of Artemon. [e] He maintained that there was no distinction of persons in the Godhead; that the Logos and the Holy Ghost are *in* the Father in the same manner as the *reason* and the *spirit* are in man; that, when the Logos is said to have been from everlasting, nothing more than an ideal existence in the Divine foreknowledge is meant; that his *generation* means only a going forth to act; that Jesus was a mere man (although *perhaps* it was admitted that his birth was supernatural); that he is called Son of God, as having in a certain sense *become* such through the influence of the Divine Logos, which dwelt in him but without any personal union. [f]

A synod of bishops and clergy from Syria, Asia, and Arabia, assembled in 264, to consider the case of Paul. Among the members were Firmilian, Gregory of Neocæsarea, and his brother Athenodore. The venerable Dionysius of Alexandria excused himself on account of age and infirmity, but wrote strongly in condemnation of Paul's opinions. [g] The accused, however, succeeded in throwing a veil over his unsoundness. He satisfied his brethren by expressing himself in plausible terms, and by pro-

[c] These statements are taken from the letter of the council which deposed him (Euseb. vii. 30). As he objected to the Christian hymns on account of their having been *lately composed*, it has been inferred that he substituted the Old Testament Psalms (Mosh. 703; Neander, ii. 330-1). Mosheim sees in this a wish to please his patroness, but Neander thinks otherwise. The statement that Paul caused hymns to be sung in his own honour might almost seem incredible; yet, as Dr. Routh points out, St. Jerome's evidence (In Matth. xxi. 15) that it was usual to welcome bishops with shouts of Hosanna (Reliq. Sac. iii. 340; comp. Bingham, II. ix. 3) may serve to lessen the improbability. The sermons in praise of Paul were no doubt controversial—preached after the beginning of the contest (Mosh. 704). As to the *last* charge, Heinichen (Excursus 13 in Euseb.) strongly argues that, while the bishop's association with his female companions was imprudent, there is no reason to suppose that there was anything worse in it.

[d] Tillem. Emp. iii. 16; Mém. iv. 283; Mosh. 706.

[e] Eus. vii. 30.

[f] Tillem. iv. 291-3; Mosh. 702, 712-3; Neander, ii. 328-330; Gieseler, I. i. 301.

[g] Euseb. vii. 28. Dionysius died soon after this.

mising to abstain from everything that could be offensive.[h] The promise was not kept. Two more councils were held;[i] and at the last of these the subtleties which had imposed on
A.D. 269-270. less expert theologians were detected by the presbyter Malchion, who, having formerly been a distinguished sophist or rhetorician, was skilled in the intricacies of such disputation.[k] The bishop was deposed, and Domnus, son of his predecessor, was appointed to succeed him.

Paul, however, persisted in keeping his position. Relying on the protection of Zenobia, and probably supported by a large party among the Christians of Antioch, he retained the episcopal house, and the church which adjoined it.[l] The dispute as to the possession of these was referred to the emperor
A.D. 273-4. Aurelian, soon after his victory over Zenobia. Aurelian wisely abstained from intermeddling in a question of Christian doctrines and usages. He decided that the buildings should belong to that party which the bishops of Rome and of Italy should acknowledge as in communion with them; and their judgment in favour of Domnus was enforced by the civil power.[m]

Aurelian's impartial decision of this case was not, however, prompted by any favourable disposition towards the Gospel. He was deeply devoted to the Pagan system; especially to
A.D. 270-275. the worship of the Sun, of which his mother had been a priestess.[n] He regarded the Christians with contempt;[o] and, notwithstanding the restraints imposed on him by the measures of

[h] Euseb. vii. 28.

[i] Tillem. iv. 296-7; Clinton, 265; Baronius and Pagi (in Baron. iii. 178-9) allow only one council after the first.

[k] Euseb. vii. 29; Hieron. de Viris Illustr. 71; Mosh. 715. The council is generally supposed (although the fact has been questioned by Dr. Burton and others) to have condemned the term ὁμοούσιος (*consubstantial* or *co-essential*) —whether it were that Paul used it in a sense different from that in which the Nicene Council afterwards adopted it, or that he made it the foundation for heterodox inferences. See Bull, v. 92-98; Tillem. iv. 300-1; Schröckh, iv. 398; Routh, Rel. Sac. iii. 362-5; Burton, ii. 399; Newman on Arianism, 31, 209; Athanasius, Orations, &c. 141-7, and Newman's notes, pp. 147, 165-176.

[l] It seems most probable that *both* are included in the words τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἴκου (Euseb. vii. 30; Tillem. iv. 302; Fleury, viii. 8; Mosh. 713). Mosheim (716) and Gibbon (i. 574) suppose that the people took part with Paul because their right had been set aside in the appointment of Domnus to the see by authority of the Council alone, without asking their concurrence. But if it was so, surely the attachment of the people to the heretical bishop was more likely a cause than a consequence. Comp. Bingham, IV. ii. 12.

[m] Euseb. vii. 30; Mosh. 717-8; Burton, ii. 405; Neander, i. 196. The remarks of some Romanists—which may be exemplified by Rohrbacher's mention of the affair in his Table of Contents (vol. v.) "*Primauté du Siége de Rome reconnue par Aurélien*"—are palpably absurd. The eastern bishops, having been parties in the case, were disqualified for acting as umpires. Aurelian, therefore, referred it to another portion of the Church—naming as first the bishop of his own imperial city.

[n] Gibbon, i. 324.

[o] Ibid. i. 310; Mosh. 559.

Gallienus, he had issued an order for a persecution, in token of gratitude to the gods for his success in war, when, before the document could be generally circulated, he was assassinated in his camp.[p] A.D. 275.

It appears to have been during the reign of Aurelian, and probably about the year 270, that Manes began to publish his opinions in Persia.[q] As to the history of this earlier Mahomet, the Greek and the Oriental accounts differ widely from each other. The Greeks[r] trace the heresy to a Saracen merchant named Scythian, who, after having become rich by trading to India, settled at Alexandria, and devised a philosophical system of his own. At his death his manuscripts, with the rest of his property, fell to his servant Terebinthus, who, finding little acceptance in Egypt and Palestine, assumed the name of Buddas,[s] and went into Persia in quest of a more favourable field for spreading his doctrines. There, however, he was beaten in disputation by the priests of the national religion, and made no other convert than a widow with whom he lodged. One day, while engaged in incantations, he was thrown from a height by an angel or a demon.[t] The widow took possession of his wealth, bought a young slave named Cubricus or Corbicius, brought him up, and made him her heir. He took the name of *Mani*,[u] and appeared at the Persian court—carrying with him the riches, the manuscripts, and the opinions of Scythian. He undertook to cure a son of king Sapor of a dangerous sickness, and, having failed, was cast into prison.[x] Some of his disciples, whom he had sent out on missions, returned while he was in confinement, and reported that they had found

[p] Euseb. vii. 30; Pagi in Baron. iii. 186-8; Mosh. 358-360; Gibbon, i. 572-3, with Guizot's note; Neander, i. 196.

[q] See Gibbon, ii. 183; Clinton, *ann.* 261, 272. Manes was probably born about 240. Beausobre, i. 122; Burton, ii. 408.

[r] Socrates, i. 22.

[s] Beausobre (i. 54) says that this was merely a translation of his Greek name —*Boutam* or *Boutema* being Chaldean for the *terebinth*-tree.

[t] See Beausobre, i. 59.

[u] In allusion (it is said) to his eloquence—the word signifying in Persian *speech* or *discourse*. "Mais," says Tillemont (iv. 383), "Dieu permit que, cherchant un nom pour se relever parmi les Perses, il en choisit un qui dans le langage des Grecs marquait la fureur et la *manie* dont il était tourmenté. Soit pour éviter cette fâcheuse allusion, soit simplement pour donner à son nom une terminaison Grecque, ses sectateurs l'appelaient *Manichée*, et ils prétendaient signifier par ce nom qu'il *répandait* la *manne* d'une doctrine céleste." Another interpretation of the name represents it as meaning *comforter*. See Beausobre, i. 65-74.

[x] Mosheim suggests that this part of the story may have arisen from misunderstanding of a Persian allegory;—that the prince's disease was *ignorance*,—that Mani was employed as his *tutor*, and that by the pupil's death is meant his *perversion from the religion of Zoroaster!* Thus Mosheim would account for the favour shown to the heresiarch by Hormisdas, whom he supposes to have been the prince in question (739-740).

Christians the most impracticable of all with whom they had argued. On this Manes procured the Christian Scriptures, and adopted much from them into his system, styling himself *The Apostle of Christ*, and *The Paraclete*. He escaped from prison, and opened a communication with Marcellus, a distinguished and pious Christian of Cascar.[y] The bishop of the place, Archelaus, won over his envoy, and from him and others discovered the doctrines of the sect, and the history of its origin. He vanquished the heresiarch in conferences at Cascar and Diodoris; and Manes soon after again fell into the hands of the Persian king, by whose order he was flayed alive.[z]

A.D. 277.

According to the Oriental statements, on the other hand, Mani was a Persian, of the Magian or sacerdotal caste, and possessed an extraordinary variety of accomplishments.[a] He embraced Christianity, and is said by one authority[b] to have been a presbyter in the Church before he formed his peculiar scheme of doctrine. Sapor imprisoned him on account of his opinions; he escaped, travelled in India and China, and at length retired into a cave in Turkestan, telling his disciples that he was about to ascend into heaven, and that at the end of a year he would meet them again at a certain place.[c] He employed the interval in elaborating his system, and, on his reappearance, produced the book of a new revelation, adorned with symbolical pictures by his own hand.[d] After the death of Sapor he returned to the Persian court, where he was well received by Hormisdas, and made a convert of this prince. But within less than two years he lost his royal patron. The next king, Varanes, at first treated him with favour, but was soon gained over by his enemies; he invited him to dispute with the Magians, and, on their declaring Mani a heretic, caused him to be put to death,—whether by flaying, crucifixion, or sawing asunder, is uncertain[e] (A.D. 277).

A.D. 272.

[y] It is disputed whether this name means Cashgar or Carrhae. See Beausobre, i. 137 seqq., 191; Routh, Rel. Sac. v. 19, 20, 25.

[z] The chief source of this account is the report of the disputation between Archelaus and Manes, which may be found in Routh's Reliquiæ, vol. v. The genuineness of the book is much questioned, as by Beausobre (Hist. de Manichée et du Manichéisme, i. 129-154); Mosheim, 729 (who dates the composition about 330); Burton, ii. 410; Neander, ii 165; Milman, ii. 328.—I cannot pretend to more than a very slight acquaintance with Beausobre's voluminous work. Later writers are not more unanimous in acknowledging his erudition and ingenuity than in condemning his spirit of paradox, and in dissenting from his views. M. Matter says (somewhere in the 'Histoire du Gnosticisme') that his loquacity is even greater than his learning.

[a] Beausob. i. 157.

[b] See Mosh. 737.

[c] Beausobre, i. 187.

[d] Beausobre, i. 190.

[e] Beausobre, i. 205; Mosh. 733-740; Neander, ii. 167-170; Guericke, i. 284. It has seemed better to keep the two accounts distinct than to attempt, after

Manichæism in many points resembled some of the systems which have been described as Gnostic; the likeness, however, did not arise from any direct connexion, but from the Persian element which it had in common with Gnosticism.[f] Manes was not influenced either by Jewish traditions or by Greek philosophy; but, in addition to the Zoroastrian and the Christian sources, it has been supposed that, in the completion of his scheme, he drew largely from the doctrines of Buddhism, with which he might have become acquainted during his exile.[g]

The deliverance of Persia from the Parthian yoke by Artaxerxes had been followed by a reformation of the national religion.[h] The belief in one Supreme Being, A.D. 227. anterior to the opposite powers of Light and Darkness, or Good and Evil, had been established, and those who maintained the original and independent existence of Ormuzd and Ahriman had been persecuted.[i] This pure dualism, however, was taken up by Manes. He held that there were two principles eternally opposed to each other, presiding respectively over the realms of light and darkness. To the former the name of God properly belonged; the latter, although the Manichees admitted that in some sense he too might be styled God, was more rightly named *Demon* or *Matter* (ὕλη).[k] These powers were independent of each other; but God was the superior.[l] God consisted of pure light, infinitely more subtle than that of our world; the Demon had a gross material body.[m] Each realm was composed of five elements, which were peopled by beings of kindred natures. The inhabitants of the world of light lived in perfect love and harmony; those of the world of darkness were continually at strife among themselves.[n] In one of their wars the defeated party fled to the lofty mountains which bounded the two worlds, and thence they

Dean Milman's example (ii. 327), to harmonize them.

[f] Tillem. iv. 368; Schröckh, iv. 418; Neander, ii. 157-8. [illegible] if there be any truth in the derivation [illegible]e system from Scythian of Alexan[illegible], a connexion with Gnosticism is tr[illegible] Matter, iii. 73.

[g] See Neander, ii. [illegible] seqq.; Milman, ii. 322-5; and Pusey, Transl. of St. Augustine's Confess[illegible]s (Oxf. 1838), 314-5—all referring [illegible]Baur's 'Manich. Religionssystem.' A[illegible] Matter, iii. 77. The *Buddas* of the C[illegible] story is supposed to have origina[illegible]n a misunderstanding of some leg[illegible]d as to Buddha; the conjecture is favoured by the statement that he pretended to have been born of a virgin. (Neand. ii. 160; Milm. ii. 325). On the other hand, Gieseler (I. i. 304-5) refers to Schneckenburger as having disproved Baur's theory. Beausobre (i. 57) supposes that Terebinthus did not pretend to have been born of a virgin, but that the story of the eastern Buddha was wrongly transferred to him.

[h] Beausobre, i. 165.

[i] See Beausobre, i. 175; Gibbon, c. viii.; Milman, ii. 310-4; Gieseler, I. i. 304-5; Guericke, i. 284.

[k] Tillem. iv. 368; Beausobre, i. 179; Mosh. 755, 765; Neander, ii. 761; Milman, ii. 328; Pusey, 318; Ritter, v. 155.

[l] Mosh. 755, 774; Schröckh, iv. 410; Ritter, v. 156.

[m] Mosh. 757.

[n] Mosh. 759-760; Pusey, 318.

descried the realm of light, whose existence had before been unknown to them. On this discovery all the powers of darkness, laying aside their internal discords, united to invade the world of light.[o] God then produced from himself a being called *Mother of Life*, and from her one named *Primal Man*, whom he sent to combat, at the head of the five good elements, against the powers of evil.[p] The invaders, however, were prevailing, when, at the prayer of *Primal Man*, God sent forth *Living Spirit*, by whom they were driven out; although not until the *Demon* had devoured some portion of *Primal Man*. To this part, thus enchained in the bondage of matter, was given the name of *Jesus Patibilis*;[q] thenceforth it was the object of the Demon to detain the heavenly particles which he had absorbed, while God was bent on effecting their deliverance. With a view to their gradual emancipation, *Living Spirit*, by the command of God, framed our world out of materials in which the elements of light and darkness had become mixed during the late struggle.[r] The powers of darkness produced children, and their prince devoured these—thus concentrating in himself the particles of heavenly essence which were diffused through their bodies.[s] From these he formed man, after the image of the heavenly *Primal Man*. Adam was thus a microcosm, including in himself all the elements of both kingdoms, having a soul of light and one of darkness, with a body which was material, and therefore necessarily evil.[t] With a view of retaining him in bondage, his maker forbade him to eat of the tree of knowledge, but Christ or an angel, in the form of the serpent, instructed him —he ate and was enlightened.[u] God charged him to restrain, by means of his higher soul, the evil desires of his lower soul and of his body. The Demon produced Eve, and, although God put into her a portion of heavenly light, it was not strong enough to master her evil tendencies. She tempted Adam to sensual pleasure; he yielded and fell; the particles of heavenly light became yet further enthralled to matter; and, as the race of man continued, it deteriorated more and more from generation to generation.[x]

[o] Mosh. 788-9.

[p] Mosh. 791; Matter, iii. 81.

[q] See Mosh. 788-9, 796, 798-9; Neander, ii. 172-6; Matter, iii. 82. Mosheim says that St. Augustine, through ignorance, confounded the *Jesus patibilis* with the *Christ* of the system.

[r] Mosh. 811, 823.

[s] So, in the Hesiodic theogony, "when Metis [*Wisdom*, the first wife of Zeus] was on the point of being delivered of Athene, he swallowed her up, and her wisdom and sagacity thus became permanently identified with his own being." Grote, Hist. of Greece, ed. 2, i. 13.

[t] Till. iv. 368; Mosh. 178-182; Matter, iii. 85-6.

[u] Neander, ii. 183. This reversal of the parts of God and Satan in the Temptation has already come before us in Gnosticism, p. 2[illegible].

[x] Tillem. iv. 369; Mosh. 809, 811-2; Neander, ii. 183-6; Matter, iii. 87.

God had produced out of himself two beings of pure light—Christ and the Holy Spirit, whose office it was to help in the deliverance of mankind. Christ dwelt by his power in the sun, and by his wisdom in the moon—which were therefore to be worshipped, not as deities, but as *his* habitations; the Holy Spirit dwelt in the air.[y] The world was supported on the shoulders of a mighty angel, who, from his office, was called in Greek *Omophoros* (Bearer on Shoulders); and the frequent signs of impatience exhibited by this personage hastened the coming of Christ in human form. As the evil nature of matter rendered it unsuitable that the Saviour should have a material body, his humanity was represented by Manes after the docetic fashion.[z] He appeared suddenly among the Jews (for the earlier narrations in the Gospels were rejected). His acts and sufferings were only in appearance. The object of his mission was to give enlightenment—to teach men how to overcome their body and their evil soul; to deliver them from the blindness of Judaism and other false religions. No idea of atonement could enter into the system, since the divine soul was incapable of guilt, and the lower soul of salvation.

The particles of divine life which had been absorbed by the kingdom of matter—the *Jesus Patibilis*—were not in man only, but in the lower animals,[b] and in vegetables. From their abodes in sun and moon and air, Christ and the Spirit act in the work of disengaging these particles; it is by *their* operation that herbs burst forth from the ground, striving towards their kindred light, while the powers of darkness, whom the *Living Spirit*, after his victory, had fixed in the stars, thence exert baleful influences on the earth.[c] Animal and even vegetable life was therefore sacred for the Manicheans. The Elect might not even pluck a herb or a fruit with their own hands; when they ate bread it is said that they thus addressed it—"It was not I who reaped, or ground, or baked thee; may they who did so be reaped, and ground, and baked in their turn!"[d] While the Elect ate, the particles of

[y] Mosh. 775, 777-780, 785; Pusey, 335; Gieseler, I. i. 306.

[z] Beausobre, i. xxix.

[a] Mosh. 827-8, 830-1, 833, 840; Neand. ii. 186-7; Pusey, 322-7; Matter, iii. 88-90.

[b] Minute insects, h[illegible]r, were excepted, as being too sm[illegible]contain the celestial particles. (M[illegible]808.) Perhaps the practical inco[illegible]nience of respecting *such* lives may have had some share in producing this part of the creed. The Buddhist Lamas are forbidden to destroy vermin—a prohibition which is generally connected with the belief in the metempsychosis, although some of the more enlightened trace it to the inconsistency of all killing with the mildness of character which becomes "men of prayer." Huc, 'Voyage dans la Tartarie,' Paris, 1850, i. 236-7.

[c] Mosh. 823; Milman, ii. 333.

[d] Archel. Disp. c. Manete, ix. (ap. Routh, Reliq. Sac. vol. v. p. 60); S. Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. vi. 33; Tillem. iv. 369, 371; Mosh. 775, 786, 855-6, 871; Neander, ii. 176; Pusey, 332-7.

divine essence contained in their food were set free; thus, says St. Augustine, did Manes make man the saviour of Christ.[e]

By those who should obey the precepts of Christ and of Manes, the evil elements of their nature would at length be shaken off. Penitence atoned for sin, but the work of purgation could not be finished in this life. The sun and the moon were "two ships" for the conveyance of the elect souls to bliss; in the moon they were to undergo for fifteen days a cleansing by water, and the process was to be completed in the sun by fire; after which they would be received into the primal light. The less sanctified souls were to return to earth in other forms—some of them after undergoing intermediate tortures. Their new forms were to be such as would subject them to retribution for the misdeeds of their past life;[f] for example, those who had reaped, or ground, or baked, were themselves to become wheat, and to undergo the like.[g] And thus the purgation of souls was to be carried on in successive migrations, until they should become fitted to enter into the bliss of the Elect.[h] When this world should have completed its course, it would be burnt into an inert mass. Those souls which had chosen the service of evil would be chained to it; the powers of darkness would be for ever confined to their own dismal region.[i]

Manes represented the Old Testament as a work of the powers of darkness. Christ, he said, had left his revelation imperfect, promising to send the Paraclete for its completion; and St. Paul had spoken (1 Cor. xiii. 4) of the further knowledge which was thus to be given. The promise, according to Manes, was fulfilled in himself; but, in claiming to be the Paraclete, he did not imply the full blasphemy which such a pretension suggests to a Christian mind.[k] He rejected the Acts of the Apostles as opposed to his doctrine on this subject; he set aside such other portions of the New Testament as were inconsistent with his scheme. The sect relied on some apocryphal Gospels and other forgeries of a like kind; but their chief sources of belief were the writings of their founder.[l] They made it their especial boast that their opinions were agreeable to reason—that their converts were emancipated from the bondage of authority and faith.[m]

[e] "Christum, non jam salvatorem vestrum, sed a vobis salvandum," etc. Contra Faust. Manich. ii. 5. Comp. Pusey, 336-7.

[f] This was part of the Buddhist system. Lassen, 'Indische Alterthumskunde,' ii. 10.

[g] Archel. c. ix. in Routh, v. 61.

[h] Tillem. iv. 371; Mosh. 859-869; Neander, ii. 1[illegible]

[i] Mosh. 8[illegible] Neander, ii. 188; iii. 91.

[k] Beausobr[illegible] 264-7) denies that he made such a cl[illegible]m at all.

[l] Tillem. iv. 369; Mosh. 742-3, 746, 749-753, 825, 830-1; Neander, ii. 189; Gieseler, I. i. 308.

[m] Aug. de Util. Credendi, 2 (t. viii.

The Manichæans were divided into *Elect* and *Hearers*. The former class professed a high degree of ascetic sanctity. They were bound by the "three seals"—"of the mouth, of the hand, and of the bosom;"[n] they were to live in poverty, celibacy, and abstinence. They were not allowed to gather the fruits of the earth with their own hands; they were supported and served by the Hearers. These were not subject to such rigid rules; they were forbidden to kill animals, but were allowed to eat flesh[o] and to drink wine. At a later time, charges of hypocrisy and gross sensuality were freely brought against the Manichæans, notwithstanding their pale and mortified appearance; and the usual course of sectarian history gives countenance to the accusation.[p]

The Manichæan hierarchy consisted of a *Chief*, twelve *Masters*, and seventy-two bishops, with priests and deacons under them.[q] The worship of the sect was simple and naked, agreeably to its Persian origin; in many points it was studiously opposed to that of the Church—as in the rejection of Christian festivals, and in observing the Lord's Day as a fast. The anniversary of the heresiarch's death was the great festival of their year.[r] The Hearers were allowed to listen to the reading of Manes' writings, but did not receive any explanation of their meaning. The worship of the Elect was shrouded in mystery, which naturally gave rise to rumours of abominable rites. St. Augustine, after having been nine years a hearer, could only state that the Eucharist was celebrated among the Elect; of the manner of administration he had been unable to learn anything. Baptism is supposed to have been administered with oil; that with water was held indifferent, if it was not forbidden.[s]

Manichæism soon spread into the West. An edict of Diocletian attests its appearance in proconsular Africa within a few years after the founder's death.[t] This document condemns the doctrine, not as Christian, but as coming from the hostile kingdom of

col. 66); Tillem. iv. 372; Schröckh, xv. 227; Neander, ii. 189; Pusey, 326-7.

[n] Gieseler, I. i. 310; Guericke, i. 290. The seal of the *mouth* relates to words and to appetite; that of the *hand* implies the Oriental notion of an entire abstinence from active occupation. Ritter, v. 171-2.

[o] Among the Buddhists, it is unlawful for the Lamas to kill any animal; but they may freely eat of those which are killed by the "black men" or laity. (Huc i. 341.) Manes, it will be observed, carried the restriction lower.

[p] Tillem. iv. 374-5, 377; Mosh. 846, 899; Neander, ii. 190-1; Pusey, 331-2.

[q] Tillem. iv. 379; Neander, ii. 192.

[r] Tillem. iv. 373; Neander, ii. 194.

[s] Tillem. iv. 378; Bayle, art. *Manichéens*, note B; Mosh. 888; Neander, ii. 193; Milman, ii. 335; Gieseler, I. i. 300.

[t] Neander, ii. 195; Milman, ii. 359. Baronius dates it in 287; Neander (i. 199) and Guericke (i. 290) in 296. Gieseler (I. i. 311) gives 287 as the date, but with a mark of doubt.

Persia. It orders that the teachers and their books should be burnt; that the disciples should be sent to the mines, or, if persons of rank, should be banished; and that in either case their property should be seized. In St. Augustine's time the sect was numerous in Italy and in Africa; some of its secret members were even among the clergy of the Church.[u] Notwithstanding frequent and severe edicts of the Christian emperors, Manichæism continued to exist, and we shall have occasion to notice it hereafter among the heresies of the Middle Ages.[x]

The persecuting edict of Aurelian was revoked by his successor Tacitus; and for many years the Church was undisturbed by the secular power. In the reign of Diocletian it had attained an unexampled degree of prosperity. Its buildings began to display architectural splendour; they were furnished with sacred vessels of silver and gold. Converts flocked in from all ranks; even the wife of the emperor, and his daughter Valeria, married to Galerius, appear to have been among the number. Christians held high offices in the state, and in the imperial household. Provincial governments were intrusted to them, with a privilege of exemption from all such duties as might be inconsistent with their religion.[y] Along with these advances in secular prosperity, the contemporary historian[z] laments that there had been a decay of faith and love; that hypocrisy and ambition had crept in; that pastors and people alike were distracted by jealousies and dissensions. But it has been well observed that even these offences are a token of progress, since "it is the strongest proof of the firm hold of a party, whether religious or political, upon the public mind, when it may offend with impunity against its own primary principles. That which at one time is a sign of incurable weakness, or approaching dissolution, at another seems but the excess of healthful energy, and the evidence of unbroken vigour."[a]

It was in the year 284 that Diocletian assumed the purple. In 286 he associated with himself Maximian, as *Augustus;* and in 292 Galerius and Constantius were added to the number of princes, with the inferior title of *Cæsars.*[b] Disregarding the republican forms under which the imperial power had hitherto been veiled, Diocletian assumed the state of an eastern monarch. He removed his court from Rome to Nicomedia, on the Asiatic

[u] Tillem. iv. 402-4. See book II. chapters viii. and xi.
[x] Matter, iii. 95.
[y] Gibbon, i. 575.
[z] Euseb. viii. 1.
[a] Milman, ii. 261.
[b] Gibbon, i. 362-3.

shore of the Propontis. The ancient capital ceased to be the centre of government; the senate sank into neglect and insignificance.[c] In the partition of the empire, Diocletian reserved for himself Thrace, the Asiatic provinces, and Egypt; Maximian, whose residence was at Milan, had Italy and Africa; Galerius had Illyria and the countries on the Danube; Gaul, Spain, and Britain were assigned to Constantius.[d]

The priests and others whose interest it was to uphold the pagan system began to be alarmed lest they should lose their hold on the empire. Maximian and Galerius were, indeed, hostile to Christianity, yet it may have seemed possible that the latter might be influenced by his wife Valeria; while Diocletian was indifferent, and Constantius openly favoured the Christians.[e] Attempts were therefore made to work on the superstitious feelings of Diocletian by means of omens and oracles. On one occasion, when Apollo was consulted in his presence, the answer was given, not, as was usual, through the priest, but by the god himself in a hollow voice from the depths of the cave—that, on account of the *righteous* who were on the earth, the oracles were restrained from answering truly; and, in reply to the emperor's inquiries, the priests explained that the words pointed at the Christians.[f] At another time, when the emperor was with his army in the east, it was announced that the entrails of the victims did not exhibit the usual marks by which the future was signified. The sacrifice was several times repeated without any better result; and at last the chief soothsayer declared that the presence of profane persons—that is to say of Christians—was the cause of the phenomenon.[g]

It was in the army that Christians were most especially liable to be noted, and that the first attempts on their fidelity were made.[h] The story of the Theban Legion, although extravagantly fabulous, may possibly have some foundation of truth. The legion, it is said, consisted entirely of Christians, and was summoned from the east for the service of Maximian in Gaul. When near the place which has since been named after their leader, St. Maurice, the soldiers refused to march onwards for the persecution of their brethren in the faith. They were twice decimated; and as they still persisted in their refusal, the em-

[c] Gibbon, i. 388-9; Milman, ii. 262.
[d] Gibbon, i. 364.
[e] Mosh. 911-3; Gieseler, I. i. 578-9.
[f] Constantine, in Euseb. Vit. Const. ii. 50-1. Mosheim (914) supposes the word *righteous* to be used ironically, as meaning persons who pretended to especial righteousness.
[g] Tillem. v. 18; Mosh. 913-5; Gibbon, i. 577.
[h] Euseb. viii. 4; Gibbon, i. 578-9.

peror ordered his other troops to close around them; whereupon the devoted band laid down their arms and quietly submitted to martyrdom.[1] But, whatever persecutions or annoyances may have been experienced by Christian soldiers at an earlier time, there does not appear to have been any regular attempt to force their conscience before the year 298, when it was ordered that all persons in military service, or in public employment of any kind, should offer sacrifice to the gods.[k]

A.D. 303. Galerius, during a visit which he paid to Diocletian at Nicomedia, in the winter of 302-3, endeavoured to excite the elder emperor against the Christians. Diocletian for a time withstood his importunity—whether sincerely, or only with a wish to gain credit for a show of reluctance, is doubtful.[l] The advice of some lawyers and military officers was then called in—as is said to have been the emperor's custom when he wished to avoid the odium of any unpopular measure;[m] and a persecution was resolved on. On the 23rd of February - the great Roman festival of the *Terminalia*—an attack was made on the church of Nicomedia, which was situated on a height, and overlooked the palace. The heathen functionaries, on entering the building, found nothing to seize except the copies of the sacred books; they carried these out and burnt them, and in a few hours the church was entirely demolished.[n]

Next day the imperial edict was issued. It ordained that all who should refuse to sacrifice should lose their offices, their property, their rank, and civil privileges; that slaves persisting in the profession of the Gospel should be excluded from the hope of liberty;[o] that Christians of all ranks should be liable to torture; that all churches should be destroyed; that religious meetings should be suppressed; and that the Scriptures should be burnt. No sooner had the edict been publicly displayed than a Christian, who is described as a man of station,[p] tore it down, uttering at the same time words of insult against the emperors. He was roasted at a slow fire, and bore his sufferings with a stern composure which astonished and mortified his executioners.

[1] Baron. 297, 1, seqq.; Tillem. iv. 422; Schröckh, iv. 271-4; Burton, ii. 414; Gieseler, I. i. 263. The number of men in a legion was 6000 or 6600.

[k] Pagi in Baron. iii. 307; Burton, ii. 421; Neander, i. 203-4.

[l] Mosh. 920; Gibbon, i. 579-581.

[m] This is the statement of the writer 'De Mortibus Persecutorum,' commonly cited as Lactantius. See Mosh. 921.

[n] Gibbon, i. 581.

[o] This—agreeably to Ruffinus' translation—is the interpretation generally put on the words in Eusebius, viii. 2:—τοὺς ἐν οἰκετίαις ἐλευθερίας στερεῖσθαι. Tillem. v. 19-20; Mosh. 925; Neander, i. 205; Gieseler, I. i. 264.

[p] Euseb. viii. 5; Gibbon, i. 583.

Within a fortnight the palace of Nicomedia was twice discovered to be on fire. The cause is unknown;[q] but on the second occasion, at least,[r] the guilt was charged on the Christians. Diocletian was alarmed and incensed. He compelled his wife and daughter to sacrifice, and proceeded to administer the same test to the members of his household and to the inhabitants of the city. Some of the chamberlains were put to death, after having endured extreme tortures. Many other Christians also suffered martyrdom; among them was Anthimus, the bishop of Nicomedia.[s]

The edict was soon carried into execution throughout the empire. The churches were for the most part demolished; in some cases the furniture was carried out and burnt, and the buildings were shut up, or were converted to profane uses.[t] The attempt to exterminate the Scriptures was a new feature in this persecution. Many Christians suffered death for refusing to deliver them up; those who complied were branded by their brethren as *Traditors*—a term which we shall have occasion to notice hereafter.[u] As the officials were unable to distinguish the sacred books from other Christian writings, many documents perished, to the irreparable loss of ecclesiastical history.[x] In some cases, however, the destruction of these arose from the forbearance of the authorities, who disliked the task imposed on them, and were willing to accept any books that might be offered, without inquiring whether they were those which the Christians regarded as sacred. Thus, when Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, had withdrawn the copies of the Scriptures from his church, and had placed some heretical writings in their room, the proconsul Anulinus, on being informed of the pious fraud, refused to make any further search; and instances are recorded in which the magistrates even hinted to the Christians that a substitution of this kind would be admitted. Such forbearance was the more remarkable, if it is correct to suppose that negligence in execution of the edict was punishable even with death.[y] On the other hand,

[q] Some ascribe it to lightning; Lactantius, to the malice of Galerius, who wished to accuse the Christians. Tillemont (Hist. des Emp. iv. 45) and Mosheim (pp. 930-1) attempt to reconcile these statements by the very improbable supposition that the fire was partly caused by lightning and partly by human agency. Gibbon (i. 583-4) insinuates suspicions against the Christians; but his editor, Dean Milman, remarks that, "had it been done by a Christian, it would probably have been a fanatic, who would have avowed and gloried in it." (Comp. Hist. of Christianity, ii. 277.)

[r] See Mosh. 931.

[s] Euseb. viii. 6; Mosh. 928, 932.

[t] Gibbon, i. 585-6.

[u] Tillem. v. 27; Mosh. 916; Neander, i. 208-9. See book II. c. i.

[x] Mosh. 924.

[y] As Mosheim (923) infers from some words of St. Augustine.

there were governors who gladly seized the opportunity of venting their enmity against the Church, and exceeded the imperial orders.[z]

Some troubles in Armenia and Syria, which were falsely attributed to the Christians, afforded a pretext for a second edict, which directed that their teachers should be arrested. Eusebius tells us that in consequence of this the prisons were filled with bishops and clergy, so that there was no room for the malefactors by whom they were commonly occupied. A third edict directed that the prisoners should be required to sacrifice, and, in case of refusal, should be exposed to a variety of tortures; and a fourth extended this order to Christians of every class.[a]

All these edicts appeared before the end of 303. On the first of May in the following year, Diocletian abdicated the empire; Maximian, unwillingly submitting to his colleague's influence, at the same time resigned his power, which he afterwards for a time resumed.[b]

The condition of the Christians throughout the empire varied according to the character of its several rulers. Constantius, while he held the subordinate dignity of Cæsar, destroyed the churches in his dominions, out of deference to the authority of the elder emperors; but he protected Christians, and retained many of them in his court.[c] On his elevation to the rank of Augustus, he befriended them more openly;[d] and in this he was followed still more decidedly by his son Constantine, from the time of his accession in 306.[e]

A.D. 304.

Galerius carried on the persecution zealously, until, in the year 311, having found his cruelty utterly ineffectual towards the suppression of the Gospel, and feeling himself sinking under a loathsome and excruciating disease, he issued, in his own name, and in those of Licinius and Constantine, an edict by which Christians were allowed to exercise their religion, and to rebuild their churches, provided that they refrained from doing anything against the discipline of the state; and he concluded with the remarkable request that they would offer up prayers for his safety.[f] There can be little doubt that in this change of policy the emperor was

[z] Mosh. 933; Neander, i. 208-9.

[a] Euseb. viii. 6; Mosh. 929, 934; Gibbon, i. 587; Neander, i. 213; Gieseler, I. i. 264. As the Christians were proof against the usual tortures, new kinds were to be devised. No one of the edicts enacted the punishment of death; but through the zeal of officials, on various pretexts, it was often inflicted. Mosheim, 938-941; Schröckh. iv. 482.

[b] Gibbon, i. 395.

[c] Mosh. 926.

[d] Mosheim (952) argues that he issued an edict in their favour; but see Schröckh, v. 40.

[e] Tillem. Hist. des Emp. iv. 80.

[f] Euseb. viii. 17; Gibbon, 391-2; Mosh. 956; Neander, i. 217.

influenced by other motives than that pity for the perversity of the Christians, and that regard for the unity of his subjects, which were professed in the edict. It is possible that his bodily sufferings may have been accompanied by remorse for the cruelties which he had committed; or it may have been, as has been conjectured, that, despairing of other relief, he sought to obtain a chance of recovery through the favour of the God of Christians,—regarding him as a power of the same class with the multitude of heathen deities.[g]

In Italy and in Africa the persecution was severe during the reign of Maximian. When his son, Maxentius, assumed the government of those countries, the Christians suffered from the usurper's tyranny, in common with his other subjects, but were not molested on account of their religion; he even pretended to favour them. For it was now felt that they were an important element in the state, and princes who had no regard for their religion might nevertheless be desirous of securing their support.[h]

The most violent of all the persecutors was Maximin, who in the year 305 received the sovereignty of Syria and Egypt, with the title of Cæsar, was afterwards raised to the rank of Augustus, and on the death of Galerius added Asia Minor to his dominions. Brutal, ferocious, and ignorant, he was a slave to pagan superstition, and a dupe to priests, soothsayers, and professors of magical arts.[i] Galerius did not venture to include his name in the edict for toleration of the Gospel; but Maximin, although he declined to publish the edict in his dominions, gave verbal orders to the same effect. At the same time, however, he took measures for restoring the splendour of the heathen worship, and six months later he issued an edict for a renewal of persecution—professing to yield to petitions from Antioch and other cities, which, according to the Christian writers of the time, had been instigated by himself.[k] It was required that all his subjects,—even infants at the breast,—should offer sacrifice; that provisions in the markets should be sprinkled with the libations, and that guards should be placed at the doors of the public baths, with a charge to defile in the same manner those who were about to go forth after having performed their ablutions.[l] Calumny too was employed to discredit the Christian religion. Forged 'Acts of Pilate' were circulated,

[g] Mosh. 957-8; Schröckh, v. 45; Milman, ii. 285-6.

[h] Euseb. viii. 14; Mosh. 954; Gibbon, i. 422-4, 589; Beugnot, i. 45.

[i] Euseb. ix. 9; Gibbon, i. 591-3.

[k] Euseb. ix. 1-2; Mosh. 962. See Neander, iii. 3-4.

[l] Euseb. de Martyribus Palæst. 9.

and were introduced into schools as lesson-books, so that even children had their mouths filled with blasphemies against the Saviour. Women of the vilest character were suborned to confess abominations of which they pretended to have partaken among the Christians.[m] The edict was engraved on plates of brass, and was set up in every city. In it Maximin boasted of the blessings which had followed on his measures for the revival of paganism—success in war, fruitful seasons, freedom from earthquakes, storms, and sickness.[n] Soon after the renewal of persecution, this boast was signally falsified. Famine and pestilence wasted his dominions. The Christians shared in the common visitation; but they distinguished themselves from the multitude by their behaviour under it. They ministered to the sick and buried the dead who were abandoned by their own nearest kindred.[o]

The varieties of torture exercised during the persecution need not be here detailed. On the whole, the Christians endured their sufferings with a noble constancy and patience, although, in addition to the weakness of the *Traditors*, there were some who denied the faith, and others who provoked their death by violent and fanatical conduct.[p] The pagans who witnessed their sufferings were at length disgusted by such profusion of bloodshed and cruelty; the persecutors themselves became weary of slaying, and resorted to other punishments—such as mutilation of the limbs, plucking out an eye, employing bishops and other eminent persons in degrading occupations, and sending large numbers of all classes to labour in unwholesome mines.[q]

The persecution altogether lasted ten years, although after the first two it was but little felt in the west. Gibbon, with an evident desire to state as low as possible the number of those who were put to death, reckons them at two thousand;[r] of bodily torments short of death, and of the immense wretchedness of other kinds which must have been experienced by the Christians during that long period of terror, the historian disdains to take any account whatever.[s]

Among the martyrs, the most celebrated for station[t] or character were—Peter, bishop of Alexandria; Lucian, a presbyter of Antioch,

[m] Euseb. ix. 5-7; Milman, ii. 289.
[n] Euseb. ix. 7.
[o] Euseb. ix. 8; Tillem. v. 110; Burton, ii. 472-3; Milman, ii. 292-4.
[p] Mosh. 941-2; Neander, i. 209; Milman, note on Gibbon, i. 596.
[q] Euseb. viii. 12; De Mart. Palæst. 10; Tillem. v. 87; Burton, ii. 411.
[r] i. 596-9.
[s] Dean Milman (note in Gibbon, vol. i. p. 596) remarks on this unfairness.
[t] The martyrdom of Marcellinus, bishop of Rome, and the story of his appearance in the Council of Sinuessa, are both unquestionably fabulous. See Tillem. v. 615-6; Dupin, ii. 303.

who in early life had been connected with Paul of Samosata, but afterwards returned to the orthodox communion, and distinguished himself by his labours on the Scriptures;[u] Pamphilus, founder of the library of Cæsarea, celebrated for his zeal in multiplying and correcting copies of the sacred text, for his writings in defence of Origen, and for his intimate friendship with the historian Eusebius;[x] and Methodius, bishop of Tyre, the opponent of Pamphilus in the Origenistic controversy.[y]

In addition to those whose names are recorded in authentic history, a great number of martyrs enjoying a general or a local celebrity are referred to this period—as St. Sebastian and St. Agnes, who are said to have suffered at Rome; St. Cosmus and St. Damian, patrons of the medical art; St. Vincent, of Saragossa; St. Denys (Dionysius), of Paris, St. Clement, of Metz, St. Quentin, and many others in France; St. Januarius, of Naples; St. Gereon and his companions, whose relics are shown in a singular and beautiful church at Cologne; St. George, the patron of England. To the earlier part of the persecution belongs the story of the British protomartyr St. Alban.[z]

After his victory over Maxentius, in the end of the year 312, Constantine published an edict in favour of the Christians; and by a second, which he issued in conjunction with Licinius, from Milan, in June 313, he established for them, in common with all other bodies, complete religious freedom,—ordering that the churches and other property of the community should be restored to them, and inviting persons who might suffer by the restitution to seek compensation from the public purse.[a]

Maximin was soon after overcome by Licinius. In his despair he put to death some of the priests and soothsayers on whose counsels he had relied, and proclaimed an entire toleration of the Christians,—laying the blame of his former severities against them on the judges and governors, who (he said) had misunderstood his intentions. He died miserably at Tarsus, and, in the contrast between the prosperity of the princes who had befriended them and the calamitous ends of their oppressors, the

[u] Routh, Rel. Sac. iv. 3-4; Burton, ii. 468-9.

[x] Cave, i. 106.

[y] Neander, ii. 496-7.

[z] Beda, Hist. Eccl. i. 7.

[a] Euseb. x. 5; Tillem. v. 114; Gieseler, I. i. 267-8. The first edict, which is lost, was defective in some respects, as to which it was amended by the second. But from the obscurity of Constantine's language, it is very doubtful in what the defectiveness of the earlier edict consisted. See Valois' note on Eusebius; Pagi, in Baron. iii. 539; Mosheim, 958-9; Schröckh, v. 91; Neander, iii. 17-19.

Christians could not but suppose that they discovered tokens of the Divine judgment.[b]

The change in the relations of the Christian community to the imperial power opens a new period in ecclesiastical history.

[b] Euseb. ix. 9-10; Gibbon, i, 435-6, 595; Milman, ii. 297.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

I. *Progress of the Gospel.*

THERE is reason to believe that, by the end of the third century, the Gospel had been made known, in some degree, to almost all the nations with which the Romans had intercourse, although we have hardly any information as to the details of its progress, or as to the agency by which this was effected. From an early period, Christian writers are found appealing triumphantly to the extension of their brotherhood. "There exists not," says Justin Martyr, "a people, whether Greek or barbarian, or any other race of men, by whatsoever appellation or manners they may be distinguished, however ignorant of arts or of agriculture, whether they dwell under tents or wander about in covered waggons, among whom prayers are not offered up in the name of a crucified Jesus to the Father and Creator of all things."[a] Tertullian, in reckoning up the nations which had received the Gospel, names — in addition to those which were represented at Jerusalem on the great day of Pentecost,—Getulians, Moors, Spaniards, Gauls, Britons beyond the Roman pale, Sarmatians, Dacians, Germans, and Scythians.[b] Origen speaks of "myriads of barbarians," even "the greatest part of the barbarian world," as subject to Christ; and Arnobius, about the year 300, asserts that "no barbarian was not softened" by the Gospel.[c] Such passages are not, indeed, free from rhetorical vagueness and exaggeration; but, after all reasonable abatement, they must be admitted as evidence that, in the times when they were written, the faith of Christ had been widely diffused, and had even penetrated beyond the bounds of civilization.[d]

Although the narrative of the preceding chapters has been for the most part confined to the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, we have seen, in the accounts of Pantænus and

[a] Translated by Gibbon, i. 519; Kaye's Justin M. 112.
[b] Adv. Judæos, c. vii.
[c] Pusey, note in Tertullian, i. 3.
[d] See Mosh. 203; Kaye on Tertullian, 88.

Origen,[e] notices of Christianity in the regions which are vaguely designated by the names of Arabia and India; and the story of Manes has brought before us the existence of Christian communities in the heart of Asia.[f] The Church of Edessa, whatever may be the value of the statements which ascribe to it an apostolic origin,[g] is known to have been firmly established in the middle of the second century.[h] Bardesanes, of Edessa, who wrote shortly after that date, witnesses to the propagation of the Gospel in Parthia, Persia, Media, and Bactria.[i] It was not until towards the end of the period that it was introduced into Armenia; but the apostle of that country, Gregory, styled the Illuminator, made a convert of the king, Tiridates; and Armenia had the honour of being the first country in which Christianity was adopted as the national religion.[k]

To the Goths in Mœsia the faith was first made known by Christian captives whom they had carried off in inroads on the empire during the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus.[l] In like manner the banishment of bishops and clergy, under Decius and Valerian, became the means of conveying the first tidings of salvation to multitudes both within and beyond the Roman territory.[m]

Irenæus speaks of Churches among the Celts, in Spain, and in Germany. His mention of the last of these countries ought, perhaps, to be understood as referring to the Roman province only—the portion within the Rhine; but it is probable that, in the course of the following century, converts had also been won among the barbarous nations beyond that river.[n]

The early history of the Church in Gaul is very obscure. We cannot well suppose that Pothinus and his Asiatic companions were the earliest missionaries who appeared in that country;[o] but they were the first whose labours there had any considerable success.[p] Gregory of Tours, who wrote in the sixth century, states that in the reign of Decius seven missionaries set out from Rome for the conversion of Gaul—among them Dionysius, bishop of Paris, who is confounded by legendary writers with the

[e] Sup. pp. 84, 98, 101.
[f] Sup. p. 126. See Beausobre, i. 180.
[g] Sup. p. 2.
[h] Gibbon, i. 520; Neander, i. 110; Gieseler, I. i. 160.
[i] Gibbon, i. 520; Wiltsch, i. 52.
[k] Wiltsch, i. 52; Milman, ii. 319-322.
[l] Sozomen, ii. 6; Tillem. iv. 25-6; Mosh. 448-9.
[m] Neander, i. 192.
[n] Mosh. 204, 211; Neander, i. 116-7; Gieseler, i. 160.
[o] See p. 58.
[p] Mosh. 210-1; Burton, ii. 349. The Abbé Rohrbacher stoutly maintains, in the year 1850, that St. Lazarus, St. Martha, and St. Mary Magdalene evangelized Provence! He refers for further proof to a work in two quarto volumes, written expressly on the subject, by the Abbé Faillon, Paris, 1818 (t. iv. p. 477).

Areopagite of the Apostolic age. That there may have been some such mission about the time assigned for it, is not improbable; but the story as told by Gregory is inconsistent with certain facts, and the work of the missionaries must have consisted in strengthening and extending the Gaulish Church—not in laying its foundation by the first introduction of the faith.[q]

The origin of the British Church is involved in fable. The story of Joseph of Arimathea's preaching,[r] and even the correspondence of an alleged British king Lucius with Eleutherius, bishop of Rome[s] (about A.D. 167), need not be here discussed. Tertullian's statement, that the Gospel had made its way into parts of this island which the Romans had never reached, may be supposed to indicate that, in his time, even Scotland had not been unvisited by missionaries. Origen speaks of Britons as united with Mauritanians in the worship of the same One God. There can, at least, be no question that under the government of Constantius Chlorus the British Christians were numerous; and in the Council of Arles, A.D. 314, we find the names of three British bishops—those of York, London, and Lincoln.[t]

The social position of those who embraced the Gospel in the earliest times afforded a theme for the ridicule of Celsus;[u] and Gibbon, with evident delight, repeats the taunt that "the new sect was almost entirely composed of the dregs of the populace—of peasants and mechanics, of boys and women, of beggars and slaves."[x] If, as the same writer states, "this very odious imputation seems to be less strenuously denied by the apologists than it is urged by the adversaries, of the faith," the cause may probably be found in their sense of its irrelevancy to any question as to the truth of the Gospel.[y] But, as the historian goes on to admit, the reproach of meanness and vulgarity against the converts was far from universally correct. Among those whom we read of even in the New Testament, were many persons of wealth and station, including some members of the imperial household.[z] Among the sufferers in Domitian's persecution were his own near kinswoman

[q] Mosh. 211, 449; Neander, i. 116; Gieseler, I. i. 277; Matter, 'Hist. du Christianisme,' i. 121.

[r] See Collier, i. 15, ed. 1840.

[s] Beda, i. 4; Collier, i. 27-41. Lappenberg, however, is inclined to favour the story of Lucius (i. 48).

[t] Collier, i. 59; Mosh. 450-1; Fleury, vi. 19; Gieseler, I. i. 160, 278; Lingard's Anglo-Saxon Church, i. 6; Lappenberg, i. 51. The last of the three is described as of "Colonia *Londinensium*," which is supposed to be a mistake for Col. *Lindensium*.

[u] Neander, i. 97.

[x] i. 521.

[y] See Minuc. Fel. Octavius, cc. 16, 36. "Nec de ultima statim plebe consistimus si honores vestras et purpuras recusamus" (c. 31).

[z] Philipp. iv. 22.

Flavia Domitilla, and her husband the consul Flavius Clemens.[a] Other notices from time to time bring before us the fact that Christians were numerous in the senatorial and equestrian orders. It was not a mere rhetorical flight when Tertullian, in the end of the second century, told the heathens that his brethren were to be found filling the camp, the assemblies, the palace, and the senate.[b] We have seen that Diocletian's empress and daughter were believed to be converts to the Gospel;[c] and in the edicts, both of that prince and of his predecessor Valerian, it is assumed that, in many cases, the penalties for professing Christianity would be incurred by persons of wealth and station.

That the "poor of this world" were often found "rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom of God"—that the preaching of Christ found more acceptance among the simple than among the wise men of the world—that the Gospel was sometimes introduced into families by the agency of slaves—that female influence was effective in extending it—such statements we need not care to controvert. But we have seen also how, by degrees, the faith won its converts and its advocates among men of the highest ability and cultivation; and how the Christian schools came to be frequented even by many of the heathen, on account of the advantages which they offered for a liberal and philosophical education. The very rebukes addressed by Clement to the Christians of Alexandria prove that he had to deal with a wealthy and luxurious community.[d] And, on the whole, there is reason to believe that, while the Gospel had its proselytes in every rank beneath the throne, "its main strength lay in the middle, perhaps the mercantile, classes."[e]

The proportion which the Christians bore to the heathen population of the empire has been very variously estimated. We are not concerned on religious grounds to question Gibbon's calculation,[f] that, until their religion was sanctioned by the power of Constantine, they did not amount to "more than a twentieth part" of the whole; indeed, if all the hindrances to the progress of the Gospel be fairly considered, even such a proportion would deserve to be regarded as a token rather of great than of little success;[g] but there can be little doubt that the estimate is

[a] The husband was put to death and the wife was banished to the island of Pandataria. Gieseler, I. i. 135.

[b] Apol. 37.

[c] Sup. p. 132.

[d] Milman, ii. 264.

[e] Ibid. Comp. Niebuhr, Lectures, iii. 323, ed. Schmitz.

[f] i. 520.

[g] "Si dans les premiers siècles de notre ère l'homme a été ce qu'il est toujours, une religion qui demandait de

by far too low. It would probably be more correct to suppose that the Christians formed about a fifth of the whole body of Roman subjects; in some districts, as in the dominions of Maximin, they were perhaps even the majority.[h]

II. *The Hierarchy.*

(1.) The hierarchy of the Church underwent some changes in the course of the second and third centuries. The only order which existed in the apostolic age, in addition to those of bishops, priests, and deacons, was that of *Deaconesses*—women (and at first usually widows)[i] who were employed in such ministrations to persons of their own sex as were either naturally unsuitable for males, or were so regarded by the customs of the ancient world—especially in the east. Thus, they assisted at the baptism of female converts; they visited the women of the community at their homes; and, by obtaining access to their apartments, from which the clergy were excluded, they had the means of doing much for the advancement of the faith among the middle and higher classes.[k]

But in the end of the second or early in the third century, several new offices, below the order of deacons, were introduced. These originated in the greater churches, where—partly from a supposed expediency of limiting the number of deacons to that of the apostolical Church at Jerusalem,[l] and partly from the importance which the deacons acquired in such communities, through having in their hands the administration of the public funds—a need was felt of assistance in performing the lower parts of their functions, which it is too probable that the deacons had in many cases begun to regard as unworthy of them.[m] The first mention of any inferior office is in Tertullian, who speaks of *readers*.[n] The fuller organization of the lesser orders comes before us in the epistles of St. Cyprian, and in one of his contemporary, Cornelius,

tels sacrifices et prescrivait une morale si austère ne pouvait faire que des progrès modérés. C'est tout ce que l'on peut établir à ce sujet." Matter, Hist. du Christianisme, i. 119. The writer goes on to say that "at most a *fifth*" of Constantine's subjects were Christians when the edict of toleration was issued.

[h] Maximin, in one of his edicts, says that "almost all" had abandoned the worship of their ancestors for the new faith. See other authorities in Milman, ii. 341; Planck, i. 217.

[i] Rothe, Anfänge d. Christl. Kirche, 247-251, 256-8; Kaye on Tertullian, 227-9.

[k] Neander, i. 162.

[l] See Concil. Neo-Cæsar. can. xiv. A.D. 324, ap. Hardouin, i. 285-6; or Routh, Rel. Sac. iv. 185, 207.

[m] Bingham, II. xx, 16; iii. 1-3; Mosh. 574; Planck, i. 144-9; Gieseler, I. i. 370; Neander, i. 279. From some canons early in the fourth century—as the xviiith. of the Nicene Council—it would seem that the deacons were then inclined to encroach on the functions and honours of the presbyters.

[n] De Præscr. c. 41; Gieseler, I. i. 369.

bishop of Rome, who states that the Church of Rome then numbered forty-six presbyters, *seven* deacons, *seven subdeacons*, forty-two *acolyths*, and fifty-two *exorcists*, *readers*, and *door-keepers*.[o] The business of the subdeacons was to take care of the sacred vessels and to assist the deacons in their secular duties; the acolyths lighted the lamps and attended at the celebration of the sacraments; the exorcists had the charge of the *energumens* or possessed; the readers read the Scriptures in church.[p]

These offices were not universally adopted.[q] As to that of exorcist, the Apostolical Constitutions (which may be taken as expressing the *eastern* system as it was about the end of the third century) declare that it is not to be conferred by ordination, as being a special gift of divine grace, and a voluntary exercise of benevolence.[r]

(2.) On the other hand, the authority of the bishops became more defined, and distinctions were introduced into their order. The circumstances of the times required that power should be centralized, as an expedient for strength and safety; and, as their flocks increased in numbers and in wealth, and as the clergy subject to them were multiplied, the position of the bishops naturally acquired a greater appearance of outward dignity.[s] There seems, however, to be much exaggeration in the statements of some writers, both as to the smallness of the authority which they suppose the episcopate to have originally possessed, and as to the height which it had attained in the course of these centuries.[t] Even to the end of the period we meet with nothing like autocratic power in the bishops. They were themselves elected by the clergy

[o] Apud Euseb. vi. 43.

[p] Bingham, book iii.; Planck, i. 145-8; Neander, i. 279-280. Socrates (v. 22) says that at Alexandria *catechumens* were allowed to be readers and singers.

[q] Neander, i. 280; Gieseler, I. i. 368-9.

[r] L. viii. c. 26; Schröckh, iv. 20; Neander, i. 280; Gieseler, I. i. 369.

[s] Gieseler, I. i. 370.

[t] Thus Mosheim begs the question as to the original position of the bishops, by saying that in the second century they *began* to claim authority as successors of the Apostles (269). It is not for me to reconcile this view with the opinion of our late Germanizers, that the Apostles themselves had no *official* authority. In another place (p. 578) Mosheim gives a very extraordinary interpretation to St. Cyprian's words, "Ut ecclesia super episcopos constituatur," viz. that the Church is *superior* to the bishops. The real meaning — that the Church is *founded* on the bishops—is confirmed by the whole tendency of the passage, and especially by the next words, "et omnis actus ecclesiæ per eodem præpositos gubernetur." (Ep. 27, ed. Baluz.) But Mosheim goes on to attempt an explanation of these words in accordance with his own construction of those preceding: "*Since* the Church is above the bishops, the *government* ascribed to them can only mean," &c.! All this is the more curious, because he represents the author from whom he quotes this supposed avowal as the great usurper of the rights of the presbyters and people.

and people; they consulted with the presbyters in the more private matters, and with the whole body of the faithful in such as concerned the community; even the selection of persons to be ordained for the ministry of the Church was referred to the consent of its members generally.[u]

From time to time circumstances rendered it desirable that the pastors of neighbouring churches should meet in consultation, agreeably to apostolical precedent. In addition to such occasional synods, the custom of holding regular meetings, twice, or at least once a-year, was introduced in the latter part of the second century. The origin of these stated synods appears to have been in Greece, where they were recommended by the analogy of the ancient deliberative assemblies, such as that of the Amphictyons, which still existed;[x] and by degrees they were introduced into other countries. The chief city of each district was regarded as the *metropolis,* or mother city.[y] There the synods met; the bishop of the place naturally took a lead as president, and he became the representative of his brethren in communications with other churches.[z] Thus the *metropolitan* bishops acquired a pre-eminence over their brethren; and, although every bishop was still regarded as of equal dignity,—although each was considered to be independent within his own diocese,[a] and retained the direction of the ritual and of indifferent matters in general,—the individual dioceses became practically subject to the decisions of the larger unity in which they were included.[b]

A still higher authority than that of ordinary metropolitans was attached to the bishops of the great seats of government, as Rome,

[u] Bingham, II. iii. 9; IV. ii.; Mosh. 573-4; Planck, i. 183, 187; Neander, i. 277; Gieseler, I. i. 372. See as to Cyprian, p. 118.

[x] Mosh. 264-7; Planck, i. 94-5; Neander, i. 286-7; Gieseler, i. 230.

[y] That this view was adopted from the civil divisions of the empire appears from the fact that Cæsarea, and not Jerusalem, was the metropolis of Palestine. Beveridge, Codex Can. Vind. II. v. 4; Tillem. xv. 198. See Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy, 158-160. We shall find occasion to notice this point hereafter.

[z] Planck, i. 81-4.

[a] This independence, however, did not exclude interference in cases where the bishop's orthodoxy was suspected. For it was considered that the episcopate was *one*—that every bishop was charged with the care of the whole Church, although, for reasons of convenience, each was especially set over a particular portion of it. It was, therefore, the duty of every bishop to maintain the faith wherever it might be assailed, so that, when a bishop erred, his brethren were entitled to intervene for the protection of the flock, it being committed to them as well as to him. Cyprian's proceedings in the case of Marcian, bishop of Arles, and in that of two Spanish bishops, may be mentioned as instances. (Barrow, 159-160; Bingham, II. v. 1; Gieseler, I. i. 366.)

[b] Barrow, 160-1; Bingham. ii. 6, 1; Mosh. 269, 574; Planck, i. 98; Gieseler, I. i. 229, 358-360. See the 9th canon of Antioch, A.D. 341, in Hardouin, i. 597.

Alexandria, and Antioch.[c] The title of *patriarch*, by which these came to be distinguished, was not, however, restricted to them in the period which we are now surveying.[d]

The authority of the *apostolical* churches was highly regarded. Irenæus and Tertullian, in arguing with heretics who refused to abide by the words of Scripture on pretence of its having been corrupted, refer them to the tradition of the apostolical churches and to the uninterrupted succession of their bishops, as evidence of the apostolic doctrine. In so doing, Tertullian places all such churches on the same footing—classing Philippi, Corinth, Thessalonica, and Ephesus with Rome.[e] The great church of the imperial city—the only apostolical church of the West—the channel through which most of the western nations had received the Gospel—founded by the labours and adorned by the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul—strong in the number of its members, and in the wealth which enabled it not only to maintain a higher degree of state than other churches, but to send large charities to the less opulent brethren in every quarter—linked with all other communities by continual intercourse—and preserved by national character from those speculative errors which so greatly disquieted the churches of the East—necessarily acquired a pre-eminence above every other.[f] But while this was willingly acknowledged in ordinary circumstances, the pretensions of Rome were firmly resisted whenever such bishops as Victor or Stephen attempted to assume a sway over other churches, or to dictate to their brethren in the episcopate. There is nothing in the history of these centuries to show that the bishops of Rome possessed any other authority than such as naturally resulted from their position.[g]

(3.) From the cities, in which it was first planted, Christianity gradually penetrated into the country. When a church was formed in villages or small towns, it was administered by a presbyter, subject to the bishop of the neighbouring city, and in some cases by a *Chorepiscopus*.[h] Although this title does not occur before the fourth century, the office which it designates was of much earlier origin.[i] The chorepiscopi were subordinate to the

[c] Planck, i. 85-6, 600-1.

[d] Bingham, II. xvii. 6; Mosh. 269; Neander, i. 283; Gieseler, I. i. 361.

[e] De Præscr. c. 36; Mosh. 259; Gieseler, I. i. 213; Kaye on Tertullian. 221.

[f] Barrow, 170; Mosh. 574; Planck, i. 113-7, 627; Neander, i. 284; Gieseler, i. 213, 230.

[g] Gieseler, I. i. 362-3. Some titles which are dwelt on by Romish writers as showing the elevation of the Romish bishop over others, were in truth common to all bishops.

[h] Planck, i. 71-4.; Gieseler, I. i. 358.

[i] Mosheim (258) and Neander (i. 281) refer it to the second century; Schröckh (iv. 19) to the third. See Planck, i. 76-8.

bishops of cities, and acted for them in confirming the baptised, in granting letters of communion, in ordaining the clergy of the minor orders, and sometimes, by special permission, the priests and deacons.[k] It is a question to what order they belonged. Some writers suppose that they were all bishops; others (among whom are Romanists of high name[l] as well as Presbyterians) consider them to have been presbyters; while, according to a third opinion, some were of the one class and some of the other. If we regard the object of their appointment, this last view may seem the most probable. They were substitutes of the city bishops, and empowered to discharge some part of their functions. For such a work, it may in some cases have been sufficient to appoint a presbyter, with authority to perform certain acts which by such delegation might rightly be intrusted to presbyters, although not included in the ordinary presbyterial commission; while in other cases it may have been expedient that the chorepiscopus should be a bishop, although, as being the deputy of another bishop, he was limited in the exercise of his powers.[m]

(4.) The right of the Christian clergy to "live by the Gospel"[n] was maintained and acknowledged from the first. As the Church became more completely organized, they were withdrawn from secular business, and were restricted to the duties of their ministry; in St. Cyprian's time a clergyman was forbidden even to undertake the office of executor or guardian.[o] Their maintenance was derived from the oblations of the faithful; in some places they received a certain proportion of the whole fund collected for the uses of the Church; in some,—as at Carthage,—provision was made for them by special monthly collections. The amount of income thus obtained was naturally very various in different churches; it would seem that the *trading* which is sometimes spoken of as a discredit to the clergy may in many cases have originated, not in covetousness, but in a real need of some further means of subsistence in addition to those provided by the Church.[p]

[k] Bingham, II. xiv. 6-7.

[l] See Bingham, II. xiv. 2-4, who himself, like Anglican writers in general, supposes all the chorepiscopi to have been bishops.

[m] Concil. Antioch. A.D. 341, can. x. (Hardouin, i. 597.) Such is the position assigned to the English *suffragans* by the Act of 26 Hen. VIII. c. 14.

[n] 1 Cor. ix. 14.

[o] Cyp. Ep. 66, ed. Baluz.; Bingh. V. iv. 1-3; Neander, i. 274; Gieseler, I. i. 118, 233.

[p] Planck, i. 198-200; Neander, i. 274; Matter, Hist. du Christianisme, i. 147. Mosheim tells us that the parallel of the Christian with the Jewish hierarchy was not drawn by eccle-

III. *Churches—Art.*

During the earliest years of the Gospel—while the congregations of believers were scanty and poor, and their assemblies were held in continual fear of disturbance on the part of the heathens—it is not to be supposed that any buildings can have been set apart exclusively for religious uses. We find, however, that in Tertullian's time churches were already built; the notices of them become more frequent in the course of the third century; and, as has been stated in a former chapter,[q] a new splendour of structure and ornament was introduced during the long interval of peace which followed after the persecution under Valerian.[r]

In these churches a portion was separated from the rest by railings. It contained the holy table (to which the name of *altar* was also very early given),[s] usually made of wood; also the pulpit or reading-desk, and the seats of the clergy.[t]

The churches of the early Christians had no images or pictures; for the connexion of art with paganism was regarded as a reason for avoiding the employment of it in sacred things.[u] It was through the usages of common life that it gradually found its way into the Church. Instead of the figures or emblems of gods with which the heathen adorned their houses, their furniture, their cups and their signets, the Christians substituted representations, such as a shepherd carrying a lamb on his shoulders—symbolical of Christ the "Good Shepherd;"[x] a dove, the symbol of the Holy Ghost; a ship, figurative of the Church, the ark of salvation, sailing towards heaven;[y] a fish, allusive to Baptism;[z] a lyre or an anchor, the types of Christian joy and hope. But as yet no

siastical writers until after the destruction of Jerusalem by Hadrian; and that they then introduced it with a view of establishing a claim to tithes! The historian seems to forget that it occurs as early as St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians (c. 40). Neander gets over that passage by his usual expedient of supposing an interpolation (i. 273). The duty of paying first fruits and tithes, as under the Law, was more or less distinctly maintained by some writers of this period. (See quotations from Irenæus and Origen, in Gieseler, I. i. 234.) But to provide for the clergy by such means was impossible, while converts were few among the *agricultural* classes. Bingham, V. v. 2.

[q] Sup. p. 132.

[r] Tillem. iii. 274-6; Bingham, VIII. i. 13-15; Gibbon, i. 586; Schröckh, iv. 17-8; Gieseler, I. i. 232, 274.

[s] It is a question whether θυσιαστήριον, in any of the passages where St. Ignatius uses the word, *need* be construed as meaning the holy Table. But this use of *ara* and *altare* was fixed before Tertullian's time. See Bingham, VIII. vi. 12; Schröckh, iv. 17-8; Neander, i. 403. Socrates says that at Antioch the altar looks (ὁρᾷ) to the west, whereas in other churches it looked to the east (v. 22).

[t] Gieseler, I. i. 375.

[u] Neander, i. 403-4; Kugler's Schools of Painting in Italy, ed. Eastlake, Lond. 1851, p. 2.

[x] Lord Lindsay on Christian Art, i. 40-1.

[y] Lindsay, i. 18.

[z] It also contained another allusion—the word ἰχθύς (*fish*) being made up of the first letters of Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ (Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour). Neander, i. 405.

other than *symbolical* figures were used. Neither art nor tradition professed to convey an idea of the Saviour's human form, while, on the supposed authority of some prophetical texts (Isaiah lii. 14; liii. 2), it was generally believed to have been mean beyond that of mankind in general; the earliest imaginary representations of Him are met with, not among orthodox Christians, but among the Carpocratian heretics and in the eclectic heathenism of Alexander Severus.[a] Towards the end of the period, however, we find among the canons of the Council of Eliberis (Elvira, near Granada), about A.D. 305,[b] one which forbids paintings in churches, "lest," it is said, "that which is worshipped and adored be painted on the walls."[c] Such an enactment is evidence at once of a recent and growing practice, and of the light in which it was regarded by the simple and austere mind of the Spanish Church.

The figure of the cross (with which, as Tertullian witnesses,[d] it was the custom of the early Christians to sign their foreheads very frequently in the occasions of their daily life) was early introduced into churches. It had not, however, during this period assumed its place over the altar, nor was any devotion paid to it.[e]

IV. *Rites and Usages.*

(1.) The elements of Christian worship appear, from the notices in the New Testament, to have been the same from the earliest days, although varieties of detail and arrangement obtained in different churches.[f] The ordinary service of "the day which is called *Sun*day," in the second century, is described by Justin Martyr.[g] It began with passages from the Scriptures. These were read in a language which the hearers in general could understand, or, where no version as yet existed in a tongue intelligible to the common people, the selected passages were first read in Greek or Latin, and were then rendered into the local dialect by an "Interpreter."[h] A discourse by the presiding ecclesiastic followed. These addresses were usually directed to the application of the lessons which had been read. At first they were simple and familiar in style, and hence received the name of *Homilies*, i. e.

[a] Sup. p. 91. Neander, i. 404-5; Gieseler, I. i. 375. Milman, iii. 502-8; Kugler, 3-11.

[b] The date of this council is not certain. See Dupin, ii. 304.

[c] Can. 36. (Hardouin, i. 254.) See Schröckh, v. 64; Neander, i. 405-6; and Gieseler, I. i. 375, who says that the evasions by which Baronius and others attempted to avoid the force of this canon are now abandoned by Romanists.

[d] De Corona Mil. 4.

[e] Bingham, VIII. i. 20; Neander, i. 406; Gieseler, I. i. 236.

[f] See Socrates, v. 22; Sozomen, vii. 19.

[g] Apol. I. c. 85.

[h] Bingham, XIII. iv. 6; Neander, i. 418-9; Guericke, i. 181.

Conversations;[i] but by degrees they rose into greater importance as a part of the service, and acquired something of a rhetorical character, which had originally been avoided for the sake of distinction from the harangues of secular orators and philosophers.[k]

Psalmody formed a large portion of the early Christian worship. It consisted partly of the Old Testament psalms, and partly of hymns composed on Christian themes; and both in the Church and among heretical sects it was found a very effective means of impressing doctrine on the minds of the less educated members.[l]

(2.) In the apostolic age the administration of the Eucharist took place in the evening, after the pattern of its original institution.[m] The service included a thanksgiving by the bishop or presbyter for God's bounty in supplying the fruits of the earth. In acknowledgment of these gifts, the congregation presented offerings of bread and wine; and from their oblations the elements for consecration were taken;[n] at the same time money was contributed for the relief of the poor, the maintenance of the clergy, and other ecclesiastical purposes. The bread used in the administration was of the common sort, *leavened;* the wine was mixed with water,—at first merely in compliance with the ordinary custom of the East, although mystical reasons for the mixture were devised at least as early as St. Cyprian's time, and an opinion of its necessity afterwards grew up.[o]

The Eucharist was sometimes preceded, but more usually followed,[p] by the *Agape* or *Love-feast.* The materials of this were contributed by the members of the congregation, according to the means of each. All, of whatever station, sat down to it as equals, in token of their spiritual brotherhood; and the meal was concluded with psalmody and prayer. It was, however, too soon found—as even the Apostolic writings bear witness[q]—that the ideal of this feast was liable to be grievously marred in practice. There was danger of excess and selfishness in partaking of it; for the richer Christians there was a temptation either to "despise" their poorer brethren, or, by a more subtle form of evil, to value themselves on their bounty and condescension towards them. It

[i] Fleury, vi. 17; Schröckh, iv. 19.

[k] Neander, i. 420. Origen's homilies, which are the oldest extant compositions of the kind, were spoken extempore, and it was not until the age of sixty that he allowed them to be taken down by stenographers. Euseb. vi. 36.

[l] Neander, i. 420. See above, p. 60, as to Bardesanes.

[m] Guericke, i. 200-1.

[n] Guericke, i. 202; Neander, i. 457.

[o] Cyp. Ep. 63; Neander, i. 459; Bingham, XV. ii. 7; Palmer, Origines Liturgicæ, ii. 75-6, ed. 2.

[p] See Bingham, XV. vii. 7-8.

[q] 1 Cor. xi.

was found, too, that the secret celebration of such meals tended to excite the suspicions of the heathen; that it gave rise and countenance to the popular reports of "Thyestean banquets," and other abominations. For such reasons the *Agape* was first disjoined from the Lord's Supper, and then was abandoned.[r] In the fourth century canons were directed against celebrations bearing this name, but which were altogether different from those to which it had been attached in earlier times.[s]

After a time, the administration of the Eucharist was transferred from the evening to the morning, when it was added to the service which had before been usual.[t] Hence arose a distinction between the parts of the combined service. The earlier—*Missa Catechumenorum*—was open to Catechumens, penitents, and, in the fourth century, even to heretics, Jews, and heathens;[u] while to the celebration of the holy mysteries—the *Missa Fidelium*—none were admitted but persons baptized and in full communion with the Church. This division of the service must have been fully established before Tertullian's time, since he attacks the Marcionites for their neglect of it.[x]

In the very earliest times of the Church, the sacramental "breaking of bread" was daily, but the fervour of devotion in which such an observance was possible soon passed away, and the celebration was usually confined to the Lord's Day. In Africa, an idea of the necessity of daily communion—which was supposed to be indicated in the petition for "our daily bread"—led to a custom of carrying home portions of the consecrated bread, and eating a morsel of it every morning, before going forth to the business of the day. Thus the individual Christian was supposed to witness and maintain his union with his brethren elsewhere; and such appears to have been the beginning of a practice which has issued in one of the most inexcusable corruptions of the Romish Church.[y] The Eucharist being regarded as the chief sign and bond of Christian communion, it was considered that all the members of the Church were bound to partake of it, except such as were debarred by ecclesiastical censures. Portions of the consecrated elements were therefore reserved for the sick and for

[r] Neander, i. 450-2.

[s] Bingham, XV. vii. 9. See below, Book ii. c. 6.

[t] Neander, i. 451. See St. Cypr. Ep. lxiii. § 15-6.

[u] Gieseler, I. ii. 293-4. See can. 84 of the iv^th Council of Carthage, A.D. 398, in Hardouin, i. 984.

[x] Tertull. De Præscr. Haer. 41. Mosh. 520; Neander, i. 454; Guericke, i. 182.

[y] Neander, i. 460-1; Guericke, i. 201.

prisoners, and were conveyed to them by the deacons after the public rites were ended.[z]

(3.) In the apostolical times, Baptism was administered immediately on the acknowledgment of Christ by the receiver; but when the Church became more firmly settled, converts were required to pass through a course of training before admission to its communion by this sacrament. The length of the preparatory period was not uniform; the Council of Eliberis appoints two years, while the "Apostolical Constitutions" prescribe three.[a] If, however, the *catechumen* were in danger of death during his probation, he was baptized without further delay.

Agreeably to apostolical practice, a profession of faith was exacted at baptism. Hence arose the use of *creeds*, embodying the essential points of belief.[b] The name given to them—*Symbola*—seems either to have meant simply that they were *tokens* of Christian brotherhood, or to have been borrowed from the analogy of military service, in which the watchwords or passwords were so called.[c] Renunciation of the devil and other spiritual enemies was also required; and it was probably in the second century that the rite of exorcising was introduced into the baptismal office[d]—founded on the view that men were under the dominion of the evil one until set free by the reception of Christian grace. About the same time, probably, were added various symbolical ceremonies—the sign of the cross on the forehead; the kiss of peace, in token of admission into spiritual fellowship; white robes, figurative of the cleansing from sin; and the tasting of milk and honey, typifying the blessings of the heavenly Canaan.[e]

That the Baptism of Infants was of apostolical origin there are abundant grounds of presumption. Thus, our Lord Himself, by receiving and blessing little children, showed that they are capable of spiritual benefits. His charge, to "make disciples of all nations, baptizing them," was given to persons who had been accustomed to the admission of infants into a spiritual covenant by the rite of circumcision. St. Paul seems to assume[f] that all who were capable

[z] Neander, i. 460; Gieseler, I. i. 235.
[a] Conc. Elib. can. 42. (Hardouin, i. 254.) Constit. Apostol. viii. 32; Bingham, X. i. 4; Neander, i. 322-3; Guericke, i. 192-3.
[b] See Bingham, book x. c. 3.
[c] Mosheim, 320; Neander, i. 424-5.
[d] Gieseler, I. i. 236. It is first mentioned in one of St. Cyprian's Councils, A.D. 256. Neander, i. 428-9.
[e] Gieseler, I. i. 236; Neander, i. 438; Kaye on Tertullian, 408-9.
[f] Rom. xi.

of becoming members of the Jewish Church were equally admissible to the Christian Church; and we hear nothing of any dissensions on this point, whereas the exclusion of their infants would surely have been a grievance sufficient to provoke in the highest degree the jealousy of Jewish converts. We read of whole households baptized at once, without a hint that any members of them were excepted on account of tender age. And in St. Paul's charges as to the training of children, they seem to be regarded as already members of the Church; for otherwise we might certainly have expected to meet with directions for their instruction and discipline in *preparation* for baptism. The first distinct mention of Infant-baptism is by St. Irenæus;[g] but the whole bearing of early writings is in accordance with the judgment of Origen, who referred the practice to apostolical tradition.[h] Tertullian, in terms hardly consistent with a belief in original sin (which, however, he elsewhere strongly declares), argues against hastening to administer baptism to "the age of innocence;"[i] but his objection proves that the established usage was opposite, and he himself allows infants to be baptized when in danger of death.[k]

Tertullian is a witness for the use of sponsors in baptism.[l]

Confirmation, by imposition of hands and anointing with chrism, was originally given immediately after baptism; but in the second century the administration of it was ordinarily reserved to bishops, although in the east it was still sometimes performed by presbyters. When baptism was administered by a bishop or in his presence, the supplementary rites were immediately added; in other cases, they were deferred until there should be an opportunity of receiving them at the hands of the bishop.[m] Confirmation was bestowed on infants as well as on other baptized persons; and in some churches a practice of administering the Eucharist to infants and young children—founded on a belief that our Lord's words in St. John vi. 53, imposed an universal necessity of that sacrament in order to salvation—was established by the middle of the third century.[n]

[g] Neander, i. 429.

[h] Neander, i. 435.

[i] De Bapt. 18; see Pusey's note, Oxf. Transl. 277; Neander, i. 432-3, ii. 391; Kaye on Tertull. 311, 422-3.

[k] Wall, Hist. of Infant Baptism, i. 97, ed. Oxford, 1836; Bingham, XI. iv. 10; Gieseler, I. i. 235; Thiersch, i. 280-1.

[l] Kaye, 410.

[m] Bingham, XII. ii. 3; Neander, i. 437-8; Guericke, i. 196; Gieseler, I. i. 383.

[n] Gieseler, I. i. 235; Neander, i. 460; Bingham, XII. i. 2-3, XV. iv. 7; note in Fleury, Oxf. Transl, iii. 223-4. Waterland, however, in his tract on Infant Communion, maintains "that they gave not the communion to *mere infants*, but to *children*, perhaps five, six, seven, or ten years old; and that under a notion

Baptism was administered by immersion, except in cases of sickness, where affusion or aspersion was used.[o] St. Cyprian strongly asserts the sufficiency of this "clinical" baptism;[p] but a stigma was justly attached to persons who put off their baptism until the supposed approach of death should enable them to secure the benefits of the sacrament without incurring its obligation to newness of life. In opposition to this error, Tertullian, Origen, and Cyprian earnestly insist on the principle that right dispositions of mind are necessary in order to partake of the baptismal gifts, and warn against trusting to the virtue of an ordinance received in circumstances where it is hardly possible to conceive that such dispositions can exist.[q]

(4.) The commission of grievous error in life or doctrine was punished by exclusion from the communion of the Church; and, in order to obtain re-admission, offenders were obliged to submit to a prescribed course of penance. The regulations as to the length and manner of this penance varied in different times, and in the several branches of the Church.[r] Reconciliation after the heaviest sins, such as murder, adultery, and idolatry, was allowed only once to the baptized. In some cases, the whole life was to be a period of penance; in some, reconciliation was not granted even in the hour of death, although the refusal was not meant to imply

of prudent caution, rather than of strict necessity, so far as appears." Works, vi. 65.

[o] Bingham, XI. xi. 4; Guericke, i. 195; Gieseler, i. 382.

[p] Ep. 76; Neander, i. 429-430.

[q] Neander, i. 350-1, 453; Kaye on Tertullian, 234; Dupin, ii. 227. In connexion with such subjects, Neander and others often speak of "an *opus operatum*," so as to countenance the notion that by that term the Romanists understand a grace conferred by the external rite, irrespectively of the state of the receiver's heart. The idea attached to the words in the middle ages was indeed akin to this—viz. that (according to a supposition which seems to have then found supporters) the sacraments confer grace on such as do not by mortal sin put a bar to their efficacy, although there be no "bonus motus interior" in the receiver—thus apparently extending to sacraments generally a principle which the Anglican Church supposes applicable to the baptism of infants only. (See Scotus, quoted by Gieseler, II. ii. 457, and Biel, quoted by Hagenbach, ii. 81.) But the meaning in which the term has since been adopted by the Romish Church is very different from this. The Canon which sanctions it (Conc. Trident. Sess. vii. Can. 8) is directed against the doctrine that faith in the Divine promises supersedes the necessity of receiving the sacraments; and in opposition to this it teaches that grace is conferred by the sacraments, *ex opere operato*; i.e. that, while a preparation of heart (*opus operantis*) is necessary on the part of the receiver, there is also a grace in the sacraments themselves, which is bestowed through the administration on such as are qualified for receiving it. (See Perrone, *Prælectiones*, ii. 28-9, ed. Paris, 1842; Möhler, *Symbolik*, 255-7, ed. Mainz, 1843.) The 8th English Article of 1552 censures the term, but rather as liable to misconstruction than as in itself wrong—so that the framers of the article would seem to have admitted the Tridentine Canon (passed in 1547) as giving the true interpretation.

[r] Gieseler, I. i. 387-390.

that the sinner was shut out from the Divine forgiveness.[s] The Church's office in the discipline of offenders was not supposed in these ages to extend beyond prescribing the means which might best dispose the mind for seeking the mercy of God; Cyprian, Firmilian, and other teachers are careful to guard against the danger of supposing that ecclesiastical absolution could forestall the sentence of the last day.[t] The dissensions which took place at Rome and at Carthage in consequence of the persecution under Decius afford abundant evidence of the popular tendency to error in connexion with this subject.[u] The difficulties then felt in treating the cases of the lapsed led to the establishment in some churches of *penitentiary* priests, whose business it was to hear the confessions of offenders, and to direct them in the conduct of their repentance.[x] And towards the end of the third century, the system was further organized by a division of the penitents into four classes, each of which marked a particular stage in the course, and had a special place assigned to its members in the time of divine service.[y]

(5.) While the idea of the Christian life regards all our time as holy to the Lord, it was yet felt to be necessary that human weakness should be guided and trained by the appointment of certain days as more especially to be sanctified by religious solemnities.[z] Hence, even from the very beginning of the Church, we find traces of a particular reverence attached to the first day of the week. The special consecration of one day in seven was recommended by the analogy of the ancient Sabbath; the first day of the seven was that which the Christians selected, as commemorative of their Master's rising from the grave. On this day the Christians of the apostolic age met together; they celebrated it with prayer, psalmody, preaching, administration of the Lord's Supper, and collections for the needs of the Church. And according to their example the day was everywhere observed throughout the early centuries as one of holy joy and thanksgiving. All fasting on it was forbidden; the congregation stood at prayers, instead of

[s] Bingham, XVIII. iii. 3, iv. 1-2; Gieseler, I. i. 240-4, 386; Kaye on Tertullian, 238.

[t] Neander, i. 305-6; Gieseler, I. i. 383-4.

[u] See above, pp. 108-113.

[x] Socrates, v. 19; Sozom. vii. 16.

[y] The four were—(1) *flentes*, (2) *audientes*, (3) *genuflectentes* or *substrati*, and (4) *consistentes*; i.e. weepers, hearers, kneelers, and standers. Bingham, XVIII. i. 3; Gieseler, I. i. 385; Guericke, i. 171.

[z] Neander, i. 406-7.

kneeling as on other days.[a] The first evidence of a cessation from all worldly business on it is found in Tertullian.[b]

In memory of our Lord's betrayal and crucifixion, the fourth and sixth days of each week were kept as fasts, by abstinence from food until the hour at which He gave up the ghost—the ninth hour, or 3 P.M.[c] In the manner of observing the seventh day, the eastern Church differed from the western. The orientals, influenced by the neighbourhood of the Jews, and by the ideas of Jewish converts, regarded it as a continuation of the Mosaic sabbath, and celebrated it almost in the same manner as the Lord's day; while their brethren of the west—although not until after the time of Tertullian—extended to it the fast of the preceding day.[d]

Agreeably to the analogy of the elder Church, the first Christians assigned certain seasons to an annual remembrance of the great events in the history of redemption. Of these seasons the chief was the *Pascha*, which included both the Crucifixion and the Resurrection.[e] The festival of the Resurrection was preceded by a solemn fast, but as to the length of this the practice varied. According to Irenæus it was a fast of forty *hours*,[f] although some learned writers have contended that the Lent fast of forty *days* was of apostolical institution.[g]

The whole *Pentecostal* season—from Easter to Whitsuntide—was regarded as festival. It was then that baptism was ordinarily administered; and, as on Sundays, the people prayed standing, and all fasting was forbidden.[h] Whit-Sunday itself was observed with especial solemnity; and in the course of the third century Ascension-day began to be also distinguished above the rest of the season.[i]

It would seem that at Rome the Saviour's birth was celebrated

[a] Bingham, XX. ii. 5-6; Neander, i. 406-7; Guericke, i. 186. See Dr. Pusey's note, pp. 417, seqq. in the Oxford translation of St. Ephrem.

[b] De Oratione, c. 23; Neander, i. 409.

[c] Bingham, XXI. iii. 2-3; Neander, i. 409.

[d] Socr. v. 22; Sozom. vii. 19; Bingham, XX. iii. 1-6; Kaye on Tertull. 389; Neander, i. 410; Guericke, i. 186.

[e] Bingham, XXI. i. 31; Guericke, i. 187; Neander, i. 415. The German *Ostern* and English *Easter* are probably derived from the old Teutonic *urstan* (to rise up) rather than, as is commonly said, from the name of a Saxon goddess, whose festival fell about the same season. Guer. i. 397.

[f] See Heinichen, Excursus VII. on Eusebius (t. iii. p. 379).

[g] As Bishop Gunning, in his work on the subject. See p. 214, ed. Anglo-Cath. Lib. Comp. Bingham, XXI. i. 2-3; Planck, i. 462; Gieseler, I. i. 240. Socrates (v. 22) and Sozomen (vii. 19) mention several different usages as to the manner of keeping this fast.

[h] Bingham, XIII. viii. 3; XX. vi. 1-3; Neander, i. 414; Guericke, i. 189, 197.

[i] Bingham, XX. vi. 5; Neander, i. 416; Gieseler, I. i. 375.

on the 25th of December; that the Eastern Church kept the 6th of January in memory of the *Epiphany*—by which name was understood his manifestation as the Messiah at his Baptism; and that when, in course of time, the commemoration of his birth made its way into some parts of the East, it, also, was observed on the same day—St. Luke iii. 23 being supposed to intimate that the Baptism took place on the anniversary of the Nativity. The adoption of the Epiphany in the west—where a reference to other events in the Gospel history was joined with, and at length supplanted, the subject of the old oriental festival—and the separate celebration of Christmas-day in the east,—belong to the fourth century.[k]

The memory of martyrs was very early honoured by religious commemorations, as appears from the letter written in the name of the Church of Smyrna on the death of St. Polycarp.[l] On the anniversary of a martyr's death—which was styled his *natalitia*, as being the day of his birth to a better life—there was a meeting at the place of his burial—often a subterranean catacomb or crypt;[m] the acts of his passion were read, and the brethren were exhorted to imitate his virtues; prayer was made; the Eucharist was celebrated, with an especial offering of thanks for the martyr;[n] and sometimes the Agape followed.[o] But, although a belief early crept in that the intercession of martyrs had somewhat of a like power for opening the kingdom of heaven to that which was allowed them in restoring penitents to the communion of the earthly Church—while it was supposed to obtain both forgiveness and grace for their brethren who were yet in the flesh—although Origen even ascribes to the deaths of martyrs an atoning effect akin to that of the Redeemer's sacrifice[p]—their interest was bespoken only by entreaties *before* their suffering; they, like the rest of the faithful departed, were supposed to have not as yet entered on the perfect blessedness of heaven; there is not in the worship of the early Christians any evidence of prayer either to them or through them after death.[q]

It does not appear that festivals were as yet assigned to the

[k] Bingham, XX. iv. 2-6; Mosheim, i. 372; Schröckh, x. 352-6; Neander, i. 417-8; iii. 435-440; Gieseler, I. i. 376; ii. 288; Guericke, i. 190.

[l] Gieseler, I. i. 246-7. See above, p. 57.

[m] Bingham, XX. vii. 8; Gieseler, I. i. 377.

[n] Bingham, XX. vii. 8.

[o] Bingham, XX. vii. 10. It is related of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus that he introduced commemorations of martyrs into his church with a view of making up to his converts for the loss of the pagan festivals. Gieseler, I. i. 376.

[p] Gieseler, I. i. 379-81.

[q] Neander, i. 463-4; Schröckh, ix. 163-6.

Apostles, except in those churches with which they had been more especially connected.[r]

A service in remembrance of departed relatives was usual on the anniversaries of their deaths. The surviving kindred met at the grave; the Eucharist was celebrated; an oblation for the deceased was laid on the altar with those of the living; and his name was mentioned in prayer, with a commendation to eternal peace.[s]

V. *Moral Character of Christians—Asceticism—Celibacy.*

In the lives of persons who embraced the Gospel at the risk of much worldly sacrifice and suffering, we naturally expect to find a general serious endeavour to realise their holy calling. And thus on the whole it was, although the condition of the Church from the very beginning bore witness to the truth of those prophetic parables which had represented it as containing a mixture of evil members with the good. The Apologists in general, while they acknowledge many defects among their brethren, were yet always able to point to the contrast between the lives of Christians and the utter degradation of heathen morals as an evidence of the power of the Gospel.[t] No stronger proof of this contrast need be sought than the fact that the philosophers who undertook to reinvigorate the pagan system in opposition to the aggressions of the new religion found a moral reformation no less necessary than a reformation of the current doctrines of heathenism.[u]

The mutual love of Christians was that which most impressed those who viewed the Church from without.[x] Their care of the poor, the aged, the widows, and the orphans of the community—their reverential ministrations to the brethren who were imprisoned for the faith—their kindness to slaves, whom the maxims of the ancient world had regarded as mere animated tools,[y] whereas the Gospel, while it did not interfere with the difference of social position, yet raised the slave to the footing of spiritual brotherhood with his master, and reminded the master that he too was the redeemed servant of Christ—the liberal gifts sent from one country to another for the relief of distress—the contributions raised in order to the deliverance of captives—the system of

[r] Bingham, XX. vii. 11.
[s] Neander, i. 462-3.
[t] Neander, i. 353.
[u] Neander, i. 348.
[x] This even became a subject of ridicule; thus the heathen in Minucius Felix says, "amant mutuo pæne antequam noverint," etc. (c. 9.) Comp. Tertull. Apol. c. 39.
[y] Aristot. Eth. Nicom. viii. 11. Quoted (but with a wrong reference) by Neander, i. 371.

letters of communion,[z] which not only procured for Christians admission to spiritual privileges in every church which they might visit, but entitled them to the charity and good offices of its members—such were some of the tokens in which the spirit of love was conspicuously shown; and, while the sight of these things acted rightly on many as a witness for the faith which could produce such fruits, it probably became one means of attracting unworthy converts from the needy classes, through the hope of sharing in the bounty of the richer brethren.[a]

The force of Christian principle shone forth with especial lustre in seasons of general calamity. Thus during the plague at Carthage, in the reign of Gallus, while the heathen population left their sick untended, and cast out the bodies of the dead into the streets—while all seemed to be hardened in selfishness, and wretches even invaded the houses of the dying for the purpose of plunder—and while the multitude reviled the Christians as having drawn down the visitation by their impiety towards the gods—Cyprian called his flock together, exhorted them by precepts and examples from Scripture, and appointed to each his work. The rich gave their money and the poor gave their labour towards the common object; the dead bodies which tainted the air were buried, and the sick, whether Christians or pagans, were nursed, at the expense and by the care of Christians.[b] A like course was taken at the same time by Dionysius and the Church of Alexandria; and, as has been already related, the Christian spirit was again nobly manifested by the Alexandrians during the famine and pestilence under Maximin.[c]

It was felt that in their ordinary life Christians ought to be marked as distinct from heathens. Certain occupations were altogether forbidden—as those of actors, astrologers, and makers of images. A convert who had followed any such calling was required to forsake it before admission to baptism; and until he could find some other means of supporting himself, he was maintained from the funds of the Church.[d] St. Cyprian strongly condemns a Christian, who, having been formerly a player, endeavoured to earn a livelihood by giving lessons in his old profession.[e] Attendance at theatres was forbidden, not only on account of the

[z] Litteræ formatæ. Planck, i. 104-7; Neander, i. 286; 353-5; Gieseler, I. i. 41-4.
[a] Neander, i. 348-9.
[b] Fleury, vii. 12; Neander, i. 357-9; Gieseler, I. i. 414-5.
[c] Sup. p. 138.
[d] Neander, i. 363-4.
[e] Ep. 61; Neander, i. 369-371.

original connexion between the drama and heathen religion, or of the frequent offences against decency and morality which occurred in the performances of the stage, but also because it was considered to be inconsistent with the spiritual life to devote time to such frivolous amusements.[f] Stories are told of judgments on persons who had ventured to disregard the rule; thus Tertullian relates that a woman who went to a theatre returned home possessed by a devil; and that the evil spirit, on being reproached by the exorcist for assaulting one of the faithful, answered that he had a right to do so, as he had "found her on his own ground."[g] The games of the circus, the gladiatorial shows, and the combats of wild beasts, were interdicted in like manner. It appears from Tertullian's tract 'De Spectaculis' that attempts were made by some Christians to show that such prohibitions were not warranted by Scripture; but the great African vehemently combats the interested casuistry which sought to relax the severity of the Church's laws.[h]

The sense of the obligation to be unlike the heathen, while it acted as a safeguard to the virtue of many Christians, was yet not without danger in other respects. It sometimes became a temptation to a narrow and self-satisfied spirit; it incited to unwise and ostentatious displays of differences; it tended to an over-valuation of mere outward distinctions and acts, in respect both of their necessity and of their importance.[i] Hence arose the extreme reverence for confessorship and martyrdom, without sufficient regard to the character and motives of the sufferers.[k] Hence, too, came the system of professing an extraordinary austerity, and a renunciation of things which were allowed to be lawful for the mass of believers. Such renunciation had been practised both among Jews and among heathens;[l] those who professed it among the Greeks had been styled *asceta*—a word which was adopted into Christian usage.[m] As early, at least, as the beginning of the second century, there were some Christians who bound themselves to an especial strictness of living, but without any perpetual or irrevocable vows.[n] That the mind of the Church

[f] Neander, i. 365-7.
[g] De Spectaculis, c. 26.
[h] See Neander, i. 368.
[i] Neander, i. 359-360; Gieseler, I. i. 410.
[k] Gieseler, I. i. 244; 410-1; Kaye on Tertullian, 132.
[l] Sozomen, i. 13, conjectures that Philo, in describing the Therapeutæ of Egypt, who lived by a monastic rule, had in view a society of Christians; but the opinion is now generally abandoned.
[m] Mosh. 314-5; Neander, i. 380-3.
[n] Mosh. 310-1; Gieseler, I. i. 402. Theiner, 'Die Einführung der erzwungenen Ehelosigkeit,' i. 47.

was not at that time disposed to attach an undue value to such things, may be inferred from the statement, in the epistle of the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, that when one of their number, Alcibiades, who had been accustomed to live on bread and water only, attempted to continue the same manner of life in prison, his fellow-prisoner Attalus was charged, in a vision, to warn him against refusing God's creatures and risking offence to his brethren; and that thereupon Alcibiades conformed to the usual diet.[o] The ascetic life was more fully systematised when the influence of Platonism grew on the Church—bringing with it the idea, common in oriental religions, of attaining to a likeness of the Divine repose by a lofty abstraction from the things of sense.[p] While ordinary believers were allowed to follow the usual business of the world, the higher spirits were to devote themselves to prayer and meditation; and in the countries where this division was first recognised, the influence of climate powerfully conduced to a choice of the contemplative rather than the active life.[q]

In the course of the second century societies had been formed for the purpose of living together under a religious rule. Some, considering even such society to be too distracting, shut themselves up in utter seclusion; and in the course of the third century these *eremites*[r] or *hermits* retired further from the haunts of men, and buried themselves in the wildest and most inaccessible solitudes. Paul of Alexandria has been mentioned as having withdrawn into the wilderness from the Decian persecution.[s] Antony, the most celebrated of the hermits, although his earlier history falls within this period, may more fitly be noticed in a future chapter.

The state of celibacy was, from the first, regarded as higher than that of matrimony. When, however, its superiority was exaggerated by sectaries, so as to slight the holiness of marriage, the members of the Church earnestly combated such opinions.[t] It was found, too, that a profession of celibacy did not always shut out the danger of secularity in other respects. Thus Tertullian, in his Montanist days, threw out serious imputations against the character and motives of some who had been enrolled among the *virgins* of the African Church; and Cyprian found

[o] Euseb. v. 3; Neander, i. 38; Gieseler, I. i. 238-9.

[p] Mosh. 310; Kaye on Tertullian, 400-2; Theiner, i. 12.

[q] Mosh. 316-9; Gieseler, I. i. 403.

[r] From ἐρῆμος, desert.

[s] Sup. p. 93. Mosh. 609.

[t] Mosh. 312; Theiner, i. 58; Neander, i. 389.

himself obliged to write against the vanities of dress and demeanour in which females of the same class in his time indulged.[u] Moreover, when the lawful intercourse of the sexes was forbidden or renounced, grievous scandals sometimes arose in its place.[x]

The single life came, by degrees, to be considered especially suitable for the clergy.[y] No force was, however, put on them, although a progress of restriction may be observed during the period. Thus, whereas it appears, from Tertullian's invectives, that even second marriages were freely contracted by the clergy of his day,[z] we find the Council of Eliberis, a century later, enacting that bishops, priests, deacons, and even the inferior clergy, should live with their wives as if unmarried.[a] The severity of this rule was, however, beyond the general notions of the age. Other canons, about the same date, forbid the marriage of the higher clergy, but put no restriction on their intercourse with such wives as they had married before being ordained to the diaconate.[b]

The recognition of a distinction between a higher and a lower life was dangerous,—not only as it tended to encourage the mass of men in laxity, so that Christian teachers had often to combat excuses for careless living which rested on such grounds,—but also as laying a temptation to pride and self-sufficiency in the way of those who embraced the higher profession.[c] Yet both in this and in many other respects, although we may see in the first three centuries the germ of errors and mischiefs which afterwards became unhappily prevalent in the Church, their appearance is as yet only in the germ. Hence we may, at the same time, detect the evil which lurks in ideas and practices of those early days, and yet duly reverence the holy men who originated or advanced

[u] Neander, i. 384; Theiner, i. 70.

[x] See Cyprian, Ep. 62, as to the cohabitation of clergymen with the virgins of the Church. Theiner, i. 89-92; Neander, i. 384; Gieseler, I. i. 406; Newman in St. Athanasius, Tracts, 241.

[y] Theiner, i. 71-3.

[z] He speaks of this indeed, not only as contrary to Scripture and apostolical discipline, but as a decline from the system which he himself remembered. 'Usque adeo quosdam memini digamos loco dejectos.' (De Exhort. Castit. c. 7. See Kaye's Tertull. 210; Gieseler, I. i. 238.) But perhaps we need not infer much as to earlier practice from these assertions of so passionate a writer.

[a] "Placuit in totum prohiberi episcopis, presbyteris, et diaconibus vel omnibus clericis *positis in ministerio*, abstinere se a conjugibus suis," etc. Can. 33. (Hardouin, i. 253.) Schröckh (v. 63-4) infers from the words in italics that the canon applied only to the times when the clergy should be specially on duty. Gieseler (I. i. 405) supposes this to be the meaning as to the lower clergy, but that the prohibition for the higher orders is total. See Theiner, i. 79-80.

[b] Gieseler, i. 405. The 10th Canon of the Council of Ancyra, which is referred to A.D. 314 (ap. Hard. i. 275), enacts that persons who at their ordination as deacons signify an intention of marrying shall be allowed to do so; but that such as marry without having thus reserved the right, shall be suspended.

[c] Neander, i. 386-7; Gieseler, I. i. 410.

such ideas or practices, without any suspicion of the evil which was in them. An understanding Christian must never forget that, in the experience of the ages which have since passed, Providence has supplied *him* with instruction and warning which were not bestowed on the Primitive Church. He must remember that, for the formation of his own opinions, and for the guidance of his own conduct, he is bound to consider the proved results of things which at first were introduced as conducive to the further advancement of piety. In no spirit of exalting himself above earlier and more simple times, he must yet, with a due sense of responsibility for the use of the means of judgment which have been vouchsafed to him, endeavour, by the lights of Scripture and history, to discriminate, not only between positive truth and developed falsehood, but between wholesome and dangerous tendencies, and to ascertain the boundaries at which lawful progress ends and corruption begins.

BOOK II.

FROM CONSTANTINE TO GREGORY THE GREAT, A.D. 313-590.

CHAPTER I.

CONSTANTINE—DONATISM—ARIANISM.

A.D. 312-337.

I.

THE idea that the Emperors of Rome might be Christians had been regarded by Tertullian as one which involved inconsistency and impossibility;[a] but it was now to be realized.

The religion of Constantius Chlorus appears to have been an eclectic system, founded on the belief in one Supreme God; and in this his son was probably brought up.[b] From the devotion which Helena, the mother of Constantine, showed towards Christianity in her latter years, it may be inferred that she was naturally a person of religious disposition. There is, however, no ground for supposing her to have been a Christian in earlier life, in contradiction to the express statement of Eusebius, that she owed her conversion to her son.[c]

Some years of Constantine's youth were spent at the court of Diocletian and Galerius in the character of a hostage. He witnessed the publication of the persecuting edict at Nicomedia, and the horrors which followed.[d] When hailed by the legions in Britain as his father's successor, he continued and extended the toleration which Constantius had bestowed on the Christians. In this, however, he seems to have been chiefly influenced by indifference and by political considerations. Whatever his secret belief may have

A.D. 303.

A.D. 306. Ætat 32.

[a] After saying that Pilate was "jam pro suâ conscientiâ Christianus," and reported our Lord's history to Tiberius, he continues, "Sed et Cæsares credidissent, si aut Cæsares non essent sæculo necessarii, aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Cæsares." Apol. 21 (t. i. col. 403).

[b] Schröckh, v. 63; Beugnot, i. 55.

[c] Vit. Constant. iii. 47; Tillem. Emp. iv. 129. Neander (iii. 7-8), however, maintains the contrary, with Baronius (315. 12) and others.

[d] Neander, iii. 8.

been, he continued to share in all the public rites of paganism, and he professed to regard Apollo as his especial patron.[e]

The most critical event in Constantine's religious history took place in the year 312, as he was on his march against Maxentius. It was known that the tyrant was preparing for the struggle by calling in the aid of magical and superstitious rites. Eusebius[f] tells us that Constantine considered to what god he should betake himself for protection; that, remembering how his father had always been blessed with prosperity, whereas the persecutors of Christianity had come to miserable ends, he resolved to forsake the service of idols, and prayed to the God of his father—the one Supreme Being; that, while engaged in such thoughts, he saw in the sky, soon after midday,[g] a luminous cross, with the words, *By this conquer*. While perplexed by the vision, the emperor fell asleep; when the Saviour appeared to him, bearing in his hand the same sign which had been seen in the heavens, commanding him to use it as his standard in war, and giving him the assurance of victory. Constantine, on awaking, described the sign which had been shown to him in his sleep; and from that time his troops marched under the protection of the *Labarum*[h]—a banner displaying the cross in combination with the first letters of the Redeemer's name.[i] Constantine then sought instruction as to the meaning of the vision which had been vouchsafed to him. The Christian clergy explained it, and directed him to the study of the Scriptures; and, after his victory at the Milvian Bridge, he erected at Rome a statue of himself, holding in its right hand a cross, and with an inscription which ascribed his victory to the power of that "saving sign."[k]

The story of a vision or dream in which the cross was displayed to Constantine, with a charge that he should use it as a device, and with a promise of victory, is also related by other ecclesiastical writers, but with variations which, while they add to the presump-

[e] Tillem. Emp. iv. 125-26; Mosh. 953-4; Gibbon, ii. 146; Gieseler, I. i. 269; Neander, vi. 370. Apollo was considered to be a pagan representative of the Saviour, so that the worship paid to him might be interpreted in an esoteric sense, or his service might be a preparation for the reception of the Gospel. Gieseler, I. i. 270.

[f] De Vita Const. i. 27-32. Comp. Socrates, i. 2; Sozomen, i. 3.

[g] See Heinichen on Euseb. de Vita Const. pp. 523-4. The scene of the vision is placed by some writers in Gaul (Tillem. Emp. iv. 128, 632); by others, near Rome. (Milman, ii. 351.)

[h] The etymology of this word has been much disputed, without any satisfactory result.

[i] The Labarum was guarded by fifty chosen men, whom it was supposed to render invulnerable. Euseb. de V. C. ii. 7-9; Sozom. i. 3; Gibbon, ii. 154.

[k] Euseb. de V. C. i. 40. Gibbon (ii. 154) and Heinichen (in loc.) think it more likely that the statue was erected during a later visit of the emperor to Rome.

tion that it had some foundation in truth, increase the difficulties of the account which Eusebius professes to have received, under the sanction of an oath, from the emperor himself shortly before his death.[l] The literal accuracy of these narratives will now find few defenders.[m] It is highly improbable that Constantine could have been so utterly unacquainted with everything relating to Christianity as the historians here represent him to have been. Perhaps we may fairly suppose that he had some idea of the Christian God as one of many—as standing on a level with the host of pagan deities; that the circumstances of his opposition to Maxentius may have turned his thoughts towards this God, and he may have been on the outlook for some omen of the future; that he may have seen some remarkable appearance in the air, which to his excited imagination bore the form of the Christian symbol,[n] while, although his army witnessed the same sight, it had not for them the shape or the meaning with which the emperor's fancy invested it;[o] that the motto (if not to be explained in the same manner as the cross) may possibly have been nothing more than the *inference* drawn from the phenomenon; that the dream was a continuation of the thoughts in which the mind had before been engaged. And (if it be assumed that Eusebius reported his hero's relation with exact accuracy) it is surely not unwarrantable to suppose that the other circumstances of it may have grown up within the emperor's mind in the course of years, as his adhesion to the Christian faith became more entire, and his continued prosperity confirmed him in the belief that he was an especial favourite of Heaven—a belief which is strongly marked throughout his career.[p]

The benefit conferred on the Christians by the edicts of 312 and 313 was toleration—not ascendancy over other religions;[q] and if we attempt to discover the progress of Constantine's own opinions

[l] See Gibbon, ii. 154; Schröckh, v. 72, seqq.; Murdock, n. on Mosheim's Institutes, i. 290.

[m] See, however, Newman on Ecclesiastical Miracles, 133-143.

[n] Ominous appearances in the sky are related both by Christian and by pagan writers of that age—among them, another vision of the cross, seen in Syria, A.D. 351, and interpreted as a declaration against the proceedings of Constantius and the Arians. (Baron. 353. 25.) St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who attests this, (Tillem. vi. 349.), makes no mention of Constantine's vision. For later instances, see Gieseler, I. i. 271.

[o] Thus we may understand how (as is stated) *all* saw it, and yet it was not generally known when Constantine long after related the story to Eusebius.

[p] See Mosheim, 971-7, 980-6; Gibbon, ii. 158-9, and Milman's notes; Schröckh, v. 63-89; Heinichen on Euseb. de V. C., 522-3; Neander, iii. 10-16; Gieseler, I. i. 271; Beugnot, i. 66; Milman, ii. 349-353.

[q] Mosh. 964, 973-4; Milm. ii. 357.

by his acts and legislation,[r] we find much that is doubtful and perplexing in the history of his next years. He spoke of "the Divinity" in vague and ambiguous terms.[s] He omitted the secular games, which, in the ordinary course, would have been celebrated in 314. He refused to take part in the rites of Jupiter Capitolinus —to the great indignation of the Romans.[t] He favoured the Christians in many ways; he bestowed munificent gifts on the community, and built churches; he committed the education of his son Crispus to the celebrated Christian rhetorician, Lactantius;[u] he associated much with bishops, frequently making them the companions of his table and of his journeys; he interfered in the settlement of religious disputes.[x] In 313 he exempted the *Catholic* clergy from the decurionate—an office which, from having once been an object of ambition, had come to be generally regarded as an oppressive burthen, on account of the expense, the labour, and the unpopular functions connected with it.[y] On this it was found that many persons, whose property rendered them eligible as decurions,[z] pressed into the minor orders of the Church for the purpose of obtaining an exemption. Constantine then ordered that no person qualified for the decurionate should be admitted to ordination; that the clergy should be chosen from the poorer members of the Church; and that only so many should be ordained as were necessary to fill up vacant places. But when some cities petitioned for the degradation of those who had become clerks for the purpose of evading civil office, the emperor refused their request. Later laws repealed the prohibition of ordination, but enacted that wealthy persons should, on their ordination, give up the whole or a part of their property.[a]

In 315 it would appear that Constantine exempted the lands of ecclesiastics from the ordinary taxes—an exemption which was afterwards withdrawn.[b] In the same year he abolished cru-

[r] For a list of his laws, see Dupin, ii. 17.

[s] Beugnot, i. 78.

[t] Beugnot, i. 74-5.

[u] Tillem. vi. 203.

[x] Euseb. de V. C. v. 1, 42; Heinichen in Euseb. 509-510; Gibbon, ii. 161; Schröckh, v. 87-8; Milman, ii. 384.

[y] Tillem. Emp. iv. 149; vi. 216; Schröckh, v. 90; Gibbon, ii. 49-50; Milm. ii. 382-3; and the account of the duties in Guizot, 'Civilization in France,' Lect. 2 (vol. i. pp. 305-7, 312).

[z] The qualification was the possession of 25 acres of land. Guizot, i. 305.

[a] Tillem. Emp. iv. 149-50; Bingham, iv. 4. 4; Schröckh, v. 91; Neander, iii. 196-7; Newman, n. on Fleury, i. 162. By a law of Valentinian III., A.D. 439, they were to share their property with their children, if they had any, reserving only one share for themselves; if childless, they were to give up two-thirds to the municipal body of their town. Tillem. Emp. vi. 217.

[b] Gieseler, I. ii. 164. The statement is questioned, and the measure has been by some referred to Constantius. See Tillem. Emp. iv. 150.

cifixion as a punishment,[c] and decreed that any Jews who should attempt to raise a tumult against Christians should be burnt.[d] In 316 he allowed that the emancipation of slaves, which had until then been performed before a magistrate, might also take place in churches; and, in order to give popularity to the new method, it was divested of many troublesome formalities with which the old had been encumbered.[e] In 319 he forbade private sacrifices and divination, and ordered that diviners should not enter private houses for the exercise of their art, on pain of being burnt. The public practice of such rites, however, was still permitted.[f] In 321 an edict was issued for the general observance of Sunday. Agricultural labours were to be carried on; but in the towns there was to be a cessation from traffic and from judicial business. Even the heathen soldiers were obliged to repeat on that day a prayer to the Supreme Deity.[g] In the same year the old laws against unmarried and childless persons were abolished in favour of the Christians;[h] and by another edict, the Church was allowed to receive legacies—a privilege which, in the event, had an important effect on its temporal condition.[i]

But as to all these measures and proceedings, it is questionable how far they may be regarded as evidence of the emperor's personal dispositions towards Christianity. The omission of the secular games, and the slight offered to the Capitoline Jupiter, need not have meant anything beyond a contempt for the popular religion.[k] The laws which conferred privileges and removed disabilities did no more than put the Christian community on a level with the heathens, and even with the Jews. The private divinations condemned by Constantine were not properly a part of the old religion, but rather were a corruption which a reformer of that religion would have wished to abolish; they were, moreover, objectionable on political grounds, and had been censured by Diocletian, by Tiberius, and even in the laws of the Twelve Tables.[l] Nay, even as to the law for the observance of *Sun*day—the festival of the Sun, or Apollo, called by its heathen name—while it had its special and sacred meaning for Christians, it

[c] Tillem. Emp. iv. 164; Gieseler, I. i. 273. Baronius places the law ten years later, 325. 205.

[d] Gieseler, I. i. 273.

[e] Tillem. Emp. iv. 168; Baron. 316. 73: Dupin, ii. 19; Schröckh, v. 93; Planck, i. 316.

[f] Tillem. Emp. iv., 173-4; Beugnot, i. 82.

[g] Euseb. iv. 18-20; Baron. 321. 11-14; Tillem. iv. 180; Schröckh, v. 95-6; Neander, iii. 37. Eusebius also speaks of a law for the observance of Friday, but it was probably of later date. Gieseler, I. i. 274.

[h] Euseb. iv. 26; Sozom. i. 9; Baron. 320. 6; Schröckh, v. 94-5.

[i] Schröckh, v. 91-2.

[k] Beugnot, i. 75.

[l] Beugnot, i. 81-2; Milm. iii. 359-60.

might have been regarded by the rest of Constantine's subjects as merely adding to the number of holidays by an exercise of the imperial or *pontifical* power.[m]

In seeking to understand Constantine's policy as to religion, we must distinguish between the sovereign and the man. As emperor, he desired that his subjects should live in peace and order, and that the framework of the constitution should be preserved; in this capacity, therefore, it was his interest not to offend the prejudices of his people, to extend to all an equal protection, to allow in religion a freedom of thought limited only by the necessities of civil government. In his private opinions, which were probably at first vaguely monotheistic, he received a determination in favour of Christianity about the time of his march against Maxentius, and thenceforth advanced by degrees until at length he openly avowed the faith of the Gospel. By thus considering separately his public and his private character, we may perhaps best understand much that at first sight appears inconsistent; how he retained throughout his life the office of Pontifex Maximus, the highest in the pagan hierarchy;[n] how he took part in heathen ceremonies, regarding them as attached to his imperial position; how, in two edicts of the same year, he "enjoined the solemn observance of Sunday, and directed the regular consultation of the Aruspices."[o]

The joint triumph of Constantine and Licinius over Maxentius and Maximin was soon followed by differences, which were decided by the defeat of Licinius in the battles of Cibalis and Mardia.[p] A new partition of the empire assigned all Europe, except Thrace, to Constantine; but a revival of jealousies led to another war, which ended in the defeat and death of Licinius.[q] This prince, whom some writers have very improbably supposed to have been once a catechumen,[r] oppressed his Christian subjects,—perhaps regarding their religion as a token of inclination to his rival's interest. He put some bishops to death, and it is said that he was on the point

A.D. 314.

A.D. 323-4.

[m] Mosh. 975; Beugnot, i. 83; Gieseler, I. i. 272-4.

[n] His successors until Gratian did the same (Baron. 312. 100). Pagi and Tillemont (Emp. iv. 635) argue that, though the title was given by the pagan subjects, the acceptance of it by the emperors is not proved. It conferred much influence, and did not require any *actual* idolatry. Schröckh, v. 138. See Beugnot, i. 90-4; and chap. V, below.

[o] Gibbon, ii. 145; Pagi in Baron. iv. 24-6; Mosh. 973-4: Heinichen in Euseb. de V. Const. 511; Neander, iii. 26-8; Beugnot, i. 89.

[p] Gibbon, i. 439-41.

[q] He was defeated in September, 323, and put to death in 324 (Clinton). Baronius places these events in 318; Pagi, in 325 (in Baron. iii. 641).

[r] See Pagi in Baron. iii. 637; Tillem. Emp. iv. 503.

of giving orders for a general persecution when he was diverted by the progress of Constantine. The emperors mustered their hosts under the standards of Christ and of the heathen gods respectively. The triumph of Constantine was especially ascribed to the God of Christians. From that time pagan emblems disappear from his coins, and he declares himself in his edicts to be an instrument of God for spreading the true faith.[s]

Constantine now recalled all Christians who were in exile or in the mines; he ordered that those who had been deprived of public employments on account of their religion should be reinstated, that the property of martyrs should be restored to their heirs, and that, if no heirs could be discovered, it should be given to the Church.[t] He issued an edict addressed to all his subjects, advising them to embrace the Gospel; but, at the same time, professing that he wished it to advance by means of persuasion only.[u] He endeavoured, however, to render it attractive by bestowing places and honours on proselytes of the higher classes, and donations on the poor—a course which, as Eusebius himself acknowledges, produced a great amount of hypocrisy and pretended conversion.[x] He ordered that churches should be everywhere built, of a size sufficient to accommodate the whole population.[y] He forbade the erection of statues of the gods, and would not allow his own statue to be set up in temples.[z] All state sacrifices were forbidden; such of the provincial governors and officials as adhered to the old religion were ordered to abstain from rites of this kind. Other sacrifices, however—those which were undertaken by the priests, as distinguished from state ceremonies—were allowed to continue. It appears that in the end of his reign Constantine issued an edict against them; but, if so, it was little enforced.[a]

A.D. 324.

While the emperor exerted himself for the elevation of the Christian community, he refrained from any such attacks on the religion of

[s] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. x. 8; Vit. Const. i. 51-6; ii. 1-2; Socrates, i. 3; Tillem. Emp. v. 508; Mosh. 975; Neander, iii. 25-30; Milman, ii. 386; Gieseler, I. i. 275.

[t] Euseb. ii. 20-1; Tillem. Emp. iv. 199-200; Schröckh, v. 98.

[u] Euseb. ii. 24-42, 56; Tillem. Emp. iv. 201; Schröckh, v. 99-102; Neander, iii. 33.

[x] Euseb. V. C. iv. 54; Schröckh, v. 104-6; Neander, iii. 38-9; Gieseler, I. ii. 6. See the learned Bishop Kaye's posthumous work—'Some Account of the Council of Nicæa, in connexion with the Life of Athanasius,' p. 50. This volume, published in August, 1853, reached me at such a time that I could not use it except by hastily comparing it with the account which I had already written of the subject to which it relates, and by giving occasional references to it.

[y] Tillem. Emp. iv. 104.

[z] Schröckh, v. 103.

[a] Euseb. ii. 44; Tillem. Emp. iv. 202; Neander, iii. 36; Gieseler, I. ii. 8; Milman, ii. 460-3.

the majority as would have been likely to excite opposition.[b] His measures were intended to appear as a reform of abuses which had crept into the pagan system—not as directed against the system itself. He sent commissioners throughout the empire, to visit the temples, and inquire into the worship which was performed in them. The commissioners were unarmed and unprotected by any military guard; yet they were allowed to do their work without any hindrance—a circumstance which shows how little hold the pagan religion retained on the general mind. In consequence of this visitation, many statues were stripped of their precious ornaments, destroyed, or carried away, and many impostures of the priests were exposed.[c] Constantine respected the temples in general; but he shut up and unroofed some which were almost deserted, turned others into churches, and destroyed those which had been the scenes of immoral rites or of pretended miracles.[d]

The change in the position of Rome towards the empire, which had originated in the policy or in the caprice of Diocletian,[e] was carried further by Constantine. He paid only two visits to the city after that which followed his victory over Maxentius; and his reception was not such as to make a favourable impression on his mind.[f] With wonderful speed a new capital, called by the emperor's name, was raised on the site of Byzantium.[g] Whereas Rome was the chief stronghold of heathenism,[h] Constantinople was to be a Christian city. Churches were erected in every quarter. Statues of gods and illustrious men were removed from the cities and temples of Greece and Asia to decorate the squares and streets, and to serve as trophies of victory over the old religion. The chief room of the palace was adorned with representations of sacred subjects—including one of the Crucifixion. The gladiatorial shows, and other barbarous exhibitions which formed the delight of the Romans, were never allowed at Constantinople, although in the older capital the popular feeling was as yet so strong that the imperial authority did not venture to interfere with it.[i]

[b] Beugnot, i. 71-3; 98-101; Gibbon, ii. 245-6.

[c] The proceedings of the Royal Commissioners under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. suggest a parallel which continually recurs throughout the history of the abolition of paganism.

[d] Euseb. iii. 54; Tillem. Emp. iv. 203-4: 326; Schröckh, v. 101-2; Neander, iii. 34-6; Gieseler, I. ii. 8.

[e] Page 133.

[f] Gibbon, i. 434; Beugnot, i. 97.

[g] Tillemont says that it was founded in 328 and ready in 330 (Emp. iv. 230). Comp. Pagi in Baron. iv. 75-8; Gibbon, ii. 17.

[h] Beugnot, i. 97; Gieseler, I. ii. 7.

[i] Euseb. iii. 49; iv. 25; Sozom. ii. 5; Tillem. iv. 209; Gibbon, ii. 12; Schröckh, v. 104-5. The gladiatorial shows were abolished at Rome by Honorius. See below, c. vii.

In the outward duties of religion Constantine was very diligent. He is represented on coins and medals in the attitude of prayer.[k] He attended the services of the Church; he kept the paschal vigil with great devotion;[l] he listened, standing, to the longest addresses of his bishops; he even composed religious discourses, and delivered them before his court. One of these is still extant. In it he recommends the Christian religion, dwelling on the evidence borne by prophecy, with which he classes the Sibylline verses and the fourth Eclogue of Virgil; and, as was his custom, insisting strongly on the contrast between his own prosperity and the fate of his predecessors and colleagues who had persecuted the Church. In his journeys he was accompanied by a travelling chapel.[m] Bishops were his chosen associates; and too many of them were dazzled by the splendour of such a position, so that he found them willing to allow his faults to pass uncensured, and to admit a dangerous amount of interference in spiritual things.[n] Eusebius[o] relates that one of these bishops—probably himself—went so far in flattering the emperor with assurances of salvation that Constantine himself rebuked him. It has, indeed, been maintained that Constantine's Christianity was merely a matter of policy; but the charge is palpably unjust. Some of his measures as to religion were, no doubt, dictated by political interest; his understanding of Christian doctrine was very imperfect, and his life was far from being that of a consistent believer; but there is no reasonable ground for doubting that his conviction was sincere, and that he earnestly endeavoured to exert his power for the benefit of the Church and the extension of the truth.[p]

It has been mentioned that the emperor's mother, Helena, embraced the religion of her son. She resolved to seek out the places which had been hallowed by the chief events of Scripture history. The site of the Holy Sepulchre was to be marked by a church which should exceed all others in splendour.[q] The temple of Venus, with which Hadrian had defiled the spot, was demolished; the earth below it was dug up as polluted; when (it is said) three crosses were discovered, and near them the label on which the superscription had been written

A.D. 326.

[k] Gibbon, ii. 163.

[l] Euseb. iv. 15.

[m] Tillem. Emp. iv. 291; Schröckh, v. 135-7.

[n] Schröckh, v. 109, 113, 397; Neander, iii. 31-2; Newman on Arianism, 284.

[o] iv. 48.

[p] Mosh. 970; Schröckh, v. 139-141, 395-8; Planck, i. 243-5; Neander, vi. 369. Niebuhr says of Constantine that "he had taken up the Christian faith as a superstition, and had mixed it with all the rest of his superstition." Vortr. ed. Isler, iii. 302. On Constantine's relations to the Church, see below, chap. vi.

[q] Euseb. iii. 25-6, 31; Soc. 1-9.

over the Saviour's head. As, however, there was not enough to distinguish with certainty the cross on which He had suffered, Macarius, bishop of the city, proposed a test. A lady of his flock, who was supposed to be at the point of death, was brought; prayers were put up that the true cross might be revealed through her cure; and, after two of the three had been applied to her in vain, the third wrought an instantaneous recovery.[r] In addition to the place of the Entombment, those of the Nativity and the Ascension, and that of the oak or turpentine-tree of Mamre, were covered with churches, in token of Helena's piety and bounty.[s]

The reign of Constantine was marked by the beginning of two great controversies—the Donatistic and the Arian—the former arising in the west out of a disagreement as to discipline; the latter, of eastern origin, involving the very essence of Christian doctrine. The emperor took part in both, with good intentions, but not always judiciously. Religious and civil considerations were unhappily confounded. Sometimes the desire to preserve peace among his subjects induced him to view error with indifference; at other times he regarded and punished the proceedings of religious parties as offences against his imperial authority.

II.

We have had repeated occasion to notice the peculiar character which marked the Christianity of Northern Africa. In that country Montanism had found a congenial soil, and had acquired its great champion, Tertullian. Thence, too, it was that the Novatianist sect had in part derived its origin; and there its rigid principles had been received with the greatest enthusiasm. There the strict view as to the nullity of schismatical baptism had been maintained by Cyprian; and in the history of that eminent bishop we have seen the extravagant honour which the Christians of Africa attached to the outward acts of martyrdom and confessorship.

In the persecution of Diocletian many of the African Christians exhibited the characteristic spirit of their country. They

[r] Soc. i. 17; Soz. ii. 1; Theod. i. 18; Tillem. vii. 6-8. Dupin (ii. 15) remarks that Eusebius, while he describes the discovery of the sepulchre (iii. 27), says nothing either of the cross or of miracles done by it. Gieseler (I. ii. 279) notices that, according to Eusebius, the excavations were made by order of Constantine, and before Helena's pilgrimage; and gives reasons for believing that the discovery of the cross was a fiction of the beginning of the fifth century. Dr. Newman (on Miracles, 146-7) defends the story. Baronius (326. 50) maintains the multiplication of the wood, and quotes for it St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who, however, only speaks (Catech. iv. 10) of the *dispersion of fragments*, not of *multiplication*.

[s] Euseb. iii. 41-3; Soz. ii. 4.

endeavoured to provoke martyrdom by violent behaviour; in some cases, it is said, they were impelled to this by debts, disrepute, or wretchedness, and by the hope of at once washing away in their blood the sins and crimes of a whole life.[t]

Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, was strongly opposed to such courses. He himself,[u] when asked to give up the sacred books of his church, substituted for them some heretical writings.[x] He forbade his people to visit in prison those who had ostentatiously courted death; he refused to acknowledge such persons as martyrs;[y] and in carrying out this policy his chief instrument was his archdeacon, Cæcilian.[z]

In the year 305, a synod of about twelve bishops met at Cirta (now Constantine) to elect a bishop for that city.[a] The president, Secundus, bishop of Tigisis and primate of Numidia,[b] began by inquiring into the conduct of his brethren during the late persecution. Several confessed that they had delivered up the Scriptures; one, Purpurius by name, on being charged with the murder of two of his nephews, told Secundus that he was not to be frightened by such questions; that he had killed, and would kill, those who stood in his way;[c] and he taxed Secundus himself with being a traditor.[d] When the inquiry had proceeded so far as to inculpate the greater part of the bishops who were present, one of them proposed that, for the sake of peace, past offences should be forgotten. His suggestion was adopted,[e] and the synod proceeded to elect a traditor, Silvanus, to the see of Cirta. The very persons who on this occasion were so lenient towards the crime of traditorship became afterwards the chief leaders of the more rigid party.[f]

Although Mensurius had incurred much enmity by his conduct during the persecution, the spirit which he had provoked did not break out into any considerable manifestation during his lifetime.[g]

[t] Walch, iv. 18, 58; Gieseler, I. i. 398-9.

[u] Page 135.

[x] The Donatists afterwards maintained, (1) that, if this story were true, Mensurius acted wrongly; (2) that it was not true, but that the books which he gave up were the Scriptures. Walch, iv. 58.

[y] Neander, iii. 259-260. This was in accordance with the judgment of his contemporary St. Peter of Alexandria (Routh, Rel. Sac. iv. 32-7), and with the ixth Canon of the Council of Eliberis.

[z] See Dupin, ii. 111-2, for the origin of the schism.

[a] Neander, iii. 262.

[b] In Numidia the primacy was not permanently attached to one see, but belonged to the senior bishop. Bingham, II. xvi. 6.

[c] "The language of Purpurius is that of a furious madman." Gibbon, ii. 186.

[d] Walch, iv. 24, 36.

[e] Tillem. vi. 7-10; Walch, iv. 37.

[f] Aug. Ep. 43; Walch, iv. 22-35.

[g] Tillem. (vi. 4-5, 697-8) supposes that a schism was formed against him, but that it was soon suppressed. See Walch, iv. 77-85.

He died in 311, on his way homewards from Rome, where he had been summoned to appear before Maxentius. Botrus and Celesius, two presbyters, aspired to the vacant see, and, for their own purposes, contrived that the election should take place without summoning the Numidian bishops.[h] The choice, however, fell on Cæcilian, and he was consecrated by Felix, bishop of Aptunga. Before leaving Carthage, Mensurius had intrusted some plate and other property of the Church to certain elders of the congregation,[i] and had left an inventory in the hands of a pious female. This was now delivered to Cæcilian; he demanded the articles from the elders; and these persons, who had supposed themselves secure against inquiry, and had intended to appropriate the deposit, endeavoured to avenge themselves by forming a party in opposition to the new bishop.[k] The disappointed presbyters joined them; and the schism was supported by the influence and the wealth of Lucilla, a lady whom Cæcilian had formerly offended by reproving her for a practice of kissing the bone of a supposed martyr before partaking of the Eucharist.[l] A body of Numidian bishops, seventy in number, and headed by Secundus, appeared at Carthage, probably in consequence of an invitation from the malcontents.[m] They cited Cæcilian before them, alleging that he ought not to have been consecrated except in their presence, and by the primate of Numidia; and, moreover, that his consecration was void, inasmuch as Felix of Aptunga was a traditor.[n] Personal charges were also brought against Cæcilian. His exertions to check the fanatical spirit during the persecution were exaggerated into monstrous inhumanity; it was said that he had stationed men at the prison-doors with whips in their hands to drive away such of the faithful as should carry provisions for the relief of the martyrs; that he himself had beaten some persons who went to the prison on this errand of charity; that he had broken the vessels which they carried, and had scattered the food, so that some of the prisoners had in consequence been starved to death.[o] Cæcilian refused to appear before the Numidians, but

[h] Tillem. vi. 11-2.

[i] *Seniores plebis*, in whom some Presbyterian writers wish us to recognize the *lay elders* of Calvin's discipline. But, as Bingham (II. xix. 19) observes, they were officers answering to our *churchwardens*. Walch (iv. 72) supposes them to have been clergy.

[k] Tillem. vi. 13; Schröckh, v. 278. Neander (iii. 266) questions the story as to their motives for joining the Numidians.

[l] Tillem. vi. 13.

[m] Tillem. vi. 70; Walch, iv. 104.

[n] The charges against Felix were afterwards fully disproved. Baron. 314. 20; Tillem. vi. 39-40; Gesta Purgationis Felicis, in Routh, Reliq. iv.; Walch, iv. 41-52.

[o] Tillem. vi. 17; Walch, iv. 60; Neander, iii. 260; Gieseler, I. i. 398-9.

professed himself willing to satisfy them if they would go to him; he maintained that his consecration was regular and valid, and offered, if they could prove it otherwise, to submit to a fresh consecration at their hands.[p] On this Purpurius broke out with his usual violence: "Let him come," he said, "to receive our imposition of hands, and we will break his head by way of penance."[q]

The Numidians then excommunicated Cæcilian with his adherents, and ordained a rival bishop, Majorinus, who had formerly been a reader under him, but was now a member of Lucilla's household. This formation of a decided schism induced many persons, who had before stood aloof from Cæcilian, to return to his communion.[r]

A.D. 313. Constantine, soon after becoming master of the West by his victory over Maxentius, sent a large sum of money for the relief of the African Christians.[s] Some reports of the late discords had given him impressions unfavourable to the malcontent party; he therefore ordered that his gifts, and the privileges conferred on Christians by his late edicts,[t] should be confined to those who were in communion with Cæcilian; and he used some harsh language as to the "madness" of their opponents.[u] These hereupon presented to the emperor a petition, desiring that their cause might be examined by the bishops of Gaul, from whom it was supposed that impartiality might be expected, as their country had been exempt from the late persecution, and consequently had escaped the difficulties and dissensions connected with the question of giving up the Scriptures.[x] Even such an application to the civil power—a request that it would appoint a commission of ecclesiastical judges—was strongly contrasted with the attitude which the Donatists afterwards assumed towards the State; and their adversaries did not fail in later times to remind them from which party the original appeal had proceeded.[y]

A.D. 313. Constantine issued a commission to the bishops of Cologne, Autun, and Arles, with whom he joined Melchiades, of Rome, and another; but it was afterwards extended, so that the body before which the cause was tried consisted of

[p] Tillem. vi. 15-6. From the number of arguments brought in support of the consecration, Neander (iii. 265) suspects that the Numidians had precedent on their side in insisting that they ought to have been consulted; but that the matter had not been absolutely settled. Cæcilian's offer was probably ironical, as St. Augustine suggests. Bingham, IV. vii. 6. See Walch, iv. 91.

[q] Optatus, i. 19, quoted by Gibbon, ii. 186.

[r] Tillem. vi. 19-20.

[s] Tillem. vi. 22.

[t] See above, p. 139.

[u] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. x. 6; Neander, iii. 168.

[x] Tillem. vi. 24.

[y] Aug. Ep. lxxxviii. 5; Walch, iv. 117-9.

about twenty bishops.[z] They met in the Lateran, then the palace of the Empress Fausta. Cæcilian attended, with ten bishops of his party; a like number of accusers appeared, headed by Donatus, bishop of Casæ Nigræ, in Numidia. The decision was in favour of Cæcilian, who thereupon proposed a conciliatory expedient—that both parties should reunite in communion, and that, where rival bishops laid claim to a see, the one who had prior consecration should keep possession.[a] His opponents, however, disdained all compromise. They complained that their cause had not been sufficiently examined; they renewed their charges; they accused the judges of corruption; they declared that a synod of only twenty bishops was insufficient to overrule the sentence of the seventy who had condemned Cæcilian; and they prayed the emperor to grant them a further hearing.[b]

On this Constantine summoned a council of bishops from all parts of the Western empire, to meet at Arles. About two hundred attended—the greatest ecclesiastical assembly which had yet been seen. The judges, the accusers, and the accused were provided with conveyances at the public expense. Marinus, bishop of Arles, presided. The bishop of Rome was represented by two presbyters and two deacons; the bishop of Ostia was also represented by delegates.[c] Cæcilian was again acquitted, and several canons were passed, with a view to the African dissensions.[d] It was enacted that traditors should be deposed, if convicted by the evidence of public records, but that mere hearsay testimony was not to be admitted in such cases (Can. xiii.); that false accusers should be excluded from communion, and not readmitted until in prospect of death (xiv.); that if a person, in himself unexceptionable, should have been ordained by a traditor, his ordination should stand valid (xiii.).[e] And, for the settlement of the old question as to baptism, it was decided that, where a person had received baptism from heretics in the name of the Trinity, he should be admitted into the Church by imposition of hands for the conveying of the Holy Spirit; but that, if the proper form of words had not been used, he should be rebaptized (viii.).

A.D. 314. Aug. 1.

The defeated party entreated the emperor to take the matter into his own hands—a request in glaring contradiction to the principles which they afterwards maintained as to the independence

[z] Tillem. vi. 31-3.
[a] Tillem. vi. 35.
[b] Tillem. vi. 36; Dupin, ii. 24; Schröckh. v. 283.
[c] Tillem. vi. 46-7.
[d] Concilia, ed. Hardouin, i. 263-6.
[e] Baronius (314. 63), as Tillemont (vi. 49) points out, gives a reading of this canon which entirely inverts its meaning.

of the ecclesiastical power. Although offended by their obstinacy, Constantine agreed;[f] and, after some delays, the question was heard before him at Milan; where he gave a sentence
A.D. 316. in accordance with those of the synods of Rome and Arles.[g] The judgment was followed up by severe edicts against the sectaries. They were deprived of their churches; many of them suffered banishment and confiscation; even the punishment of death was enacted against them, although it does not appear that this law was enforced in any case during the reign of Constantine.[h]

Majorinus is supposed to have died in 315, or earlier.[i] His successor in the schismatical episcopate was Donatus "the Great" —so styled by his followers for the sake of distinction from the bishop of Casæ Nigræ. It was from this second Donatus that the sect—before known as "the party of Majorinus" (*pars Majorini*)—took its name.[k] He is described as learned, eloquent, a voluminous writer, a man of severe life, but excessively proud. He is said to have been desirous that his followers should be called after his name—although at a later time they resented the appellation; to have carried himself loftily towards the other bishops of his communion; to have scorned to receive the Eucharist in public; to have been very intemperate in his language towards all who differed from him. His partisans are charged with paying him honours which trenched on those due to the Deity—with singing hymns to him, and swearing by his grey hairs.[l]

From this chief the sectaries took their character.[m] They displayed an excessive austerity, which was too often a pretext for the neglect of the more unpretending duties of morality and religion.[n] They professed to embody in each individual that holiness which Scripture ascribes to the ideal Church of Christ as a whole.[o] They held that the true Church existed only in their own communion—which, with the exception of one congregation at Rome and one in Spain,[p] was limited to a corner of Africa.[q]

[f] St. Augustine seems to say that he afterwards begged the bishops to pardon this interference. Ep. xliii. 20.

[g] Tillem. vi. 48-61; Fleury, x. 18. For the order of events, see Walch, iv. 136-9.

[h] Tillem. vi. 62-3; Schröckh, v. 288.

[i] Tillem. vi. 64; Walch, iv. 127-8; Schröckh, v. 281; Neander, iii. 270.

[k] Baron. 306. 42-3; Neander, iii. 270.

[l] Tillem. vi. 64-8; Walch, iv. 241-4; Schröckh, v. 291-2; Neander, iii. 270.

[m] Donatus has been said to have held questionable opinions on the doctrines relating to the Godhead; but if so, the sect neither adopted his heterodoxy nor, apparently, knew of it. The Arians vainly attempted to establish a correspondence with the Donatists. Aug. Ep. clxxxv. 12; Baron. 321. 19; Tillem. vi. 68, 107; Walch, iv. 324-9; Schröckh, v. 294.

[n] Tillem. vi. 74-5.

[o] Guericke, i. 376-7.

[p] This was established to gratify a rich female of the sect. Tillem. vi 86-7.

[q] Tillem. vi. 70-2.

They boasted of miracles and revelations.[r] They rebaptised proselytes, and compelled virgins who joined the party to renew their vows.[s] "If they obtained possession of a church which had been used by the Catholics, they washed the pavement, scraped the walls, burnt the altar, which was commonly of wood, melted the consecrated plate, and cast the holy Eucharist to the dogs."[t]

Constantine soon began to perceive that against such fanaticism force would be as unavailing as reason. In 317 he wrote to Cæcilian, exhorting him to treat the schismatics with gentleness; and when, in 321, they presented to him a memorial, in which they declared that they would have nothing to do with his "scoundrel of a bishop" (*nebuloni*), he repealed the laws against them, and allowed their exiles to return—expressing a horror of their frenzy and turbulence, but declaring that he left them to the judgment of God.[u] This policy of indulgence was continued throughout the remaining years of the reign, during which the emperor's attention was drawn away from the African schism by the nearer and more widely-spread Arian controversy.[x] In the mean while the Donatists became the stronger party in Africa. A synod of the sect in 330 was attended by two hundred and seventy bishops; the whole number of their bishops is said to have at one time amounted to four hundred.[y]

The appearance of the Circumcellions among the Donatists is placed by some writers as early as 317, while others date it a quarter of a century later.[z] These were persons of the poorest class—ignorant of any language but the Punic; they derived their name from the practice of begging *around* the *cells* or cottages of the country people instead of earning a livelihood by regular industry.[a] The accounts of them might be disbelieved, as fictions of their enemies, were it not that later experience forbids us to be hasty in rejecting statements of extravagances and crimes committed under the name of religion.[b] Their zeal was often combined with excesses of drunkenness and lust; and in

[r] Tillem. vi. 64, 76.

[s] Tillem. vi. 78-81. The rebaptism of converts was declared to be needless by a Donatistic Council in 330, but was afterwards resumed (81).

[t] Gibbon, ii. 188; Baron. 362. 266-7; Dupin, ii. 114-7-8; Tillem. vi. 133-6.

[u] Baron. 321. 1; Tillem. vi. 102; Schröckh, v. 289; Neander, iii. 273; Guericke, i. 378.

[x] Tillem. vi. 105-7.

[y] Tillem. vi. 82-6; Mosh. i. 379; Gibbon, ii. 188.

[z] Tillem. vi. 96, and the table, p. 828; Walch, iv. 157; Neander, iii. 272-3.

[a] Schröckh, vi. 255-7; Milm. ii. 376.

[b] Gibbon (ii. 243) mentions the Camisards as a parallel. In our own island we have had the Covenanters of a former age, and it appears that the worst features of *their* system exist at this day. See the Quarterly Review, No. 178, Art. 'Puritanism in the Highlands.'

these the "sacred virgins" of the party shared.[c] Bands of both sexes roamed about the country, keeping the peaceable inhabitants in constant terror. They styled themselves the Lord's Champions (*Agonistici*); their song of "Praises to God" was heard, according to St. Augustine, with greater dread than the roaring of a lion."[d] At first, they supposed that our Lord's words to St. Peter (Matt. xxvi. 52) forbade them the use of swords; they carried heavy clubs, called *Israelites*, with which they beat their victims—often to death. To these, however, they afterwards added, not only slings, but swords, lances, hatchets, and other weapons of steel. They attacked and plundered the churches and houses of the Catholic clergy; they committed violent outrages on their persons; in later days, they used to put out their eyes with a mixture of lime and vinegar.[e] Professing to redress the wrongs of society, they interfered between creditors and their debtors, between masters and their slaves; offences which deserved punishment were allowed to pass unnoticed lest the Circumcellions should be called in by the culprits; and the officers of justice were afraid to perform their functions.[f]

The fury of the Circumcellions was directed against themselves as well as others. Sometimes they courted death by violently disturbing the pagan worship.[g] They stopped travellers on the roads, and, with threats of killing them, demanded death at their hands. In the same way they compelled judges who were travelling on their circuits to hand them over to the executioners.[h] Many drowned themselves, rushed into fire, or threw themselves from precipices; but hanging was a death which they eschewed, as they would have nothing in common with the *traditor* Judas. The more moderate Donatists disapproved and dreaded the excesses of the Circumcellions. Councils of the sect condemned suicide; but the practice continued, and those who procured or perpetrated their own death were popularly honoured as martyrs.[i]

Constans, who succeeded to the western part of his father's empire, endeavoured to conciliate the Donatists by the same system of presents which had been found effectual in winning

[c] Tillem. vi. 88-9, 94.

[d] Gieseler, I. ii. 104-5.

[e] Aug. Ep. lxxxviii. 8; Tillem. ii. 92-3, xiii. 426. This was not until A.D. 405.

[f] Aug. Ep. clxxxv. 12; Tillem. vi. 97; Neander, iii. 297.

[g] Aug. Ep. clxxxv. 15; Walch, iv. 158. Gieseler supposes that this must have been between the revival of paganism under Julian and Gratian's measures for its suppression. I. ii. 105.

[h] Tillem. vi. 91. One judge who was thus assaulted ingeniously disappointed the applicants. He ordered the executioners to bind them, as if for death; and when they were thus rendered harmless, he left them.

[i] Tillem. vi. 88, 90, 94; Walch, iv. 162-5; Schröckh, vi. 259.

proselytes from heathenism to the Church. It would seem that three such attempts were made;[k] the last was by Paul and Macarius, who were sent into Africa in 347. They invited all Christians to share in the emperor's gifts. Donatus repelled the offers with a great show of indignation; "What," he asked, "has the emperor to do with the Church?"[l] and he forbade the members of his communion to accept anything from traditors. It was reported that the commissioners were charged to set up the emperor's image in churches, for the purpose of adoration. The Circumcellions rose in revolt, and a battle was fought, in which the imperial troops were victorious—two Donatist bishops, the chief instigators of the insurrection, being among the slain. Macarius then required the sectaries to return to the Church, and sentenced those who refused to banishment. The Donatists in the age of St. Augustine used to speak of the "times of Macarius" (*tempora Macariana*) as those in which their forefathers had been most severely tried; and they affected to call the Catholics *Macarians*, in memory of the persecutor.[m] Optatus, the chief controversial opponent of Donatism until the time of Augustine, acknowledges that they were treated with harshness, but assures us that this was contrary to the wishes of the Catholic bishops. By these measures the schism appeared to be suppressed for a time (A.D. 348), and Donatus died in exile.[n]

III.

The distinctive tenet of Arianism—the denial of the Saviour's Godhead—had already appeared in the heresies of the Ebionites, of Artemon, and of Theodotus.[o] But now that Christianity had assumed a new position, questions of doctrine produced an amount of agitation before unknown; the Arian controversy, and some which followed it, were not only felt throughout the whole Church, regarded as a spiritual body, but had an important influence on political affairs. And, sad as it undoubtedly is to contemplate the distractions thus occasioned, we must yet remember that by fighting out these differences, instead of attempting to stifle them by compromise, the Church gained a fixed and definite form of sound words, which was of the greatest value, and even necessity, for the preservation of her faith through the approaching ages of ignorance.[p]

[k] Neander, iii. 274-6.

[l] Baron. 348. 25; Tillem. vi. 109-111; Walch, iv. 169; Neander, iii. 276.

[m] Aug. Ep. xxiii. 6; xliv. 45. Walch, iv. 373.

[n] Baron. 348. 27; Tillem. vi. 118-123; Dupin, ii. 115; Walch, iv. 173-4; Schröckh, vi. 261; Neander, iii. 274.

[o] Tillem. vi. 243.

[p] Guericke, i. 413-4; Dorner, i. 806.

Although Alexandria was the birthplace of Arianism, the origin of the heresy is rather to be traced to the other great Church of the East. Paul of Samosata had exerted an important influence on the community over which he had presided. While the Alexandrian tendency was spiritual and mystical, the Antiochenes were given to dialectic subtleties, and were more distinguished for acuteness than for largeness or depth of mind.[q] Lucian left the Church with Paul, or in consequence of his condemnation. The bond of union between the two was a likeness of spirit, not an agreement in opinions; for Lucian's errors differed from those of Paul. Although he afterwards rejoined the Church, and died a martyr,[r] the effects of his teaching remained for evil. The Arians claimed him as their founder; among his pupils were Arius himself, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Asterius, and other persons of eminence in the party.[s]

Arius is supposed to have been, like Sabellius, a native of Libya or Cyrenaica.[t] He is described as a man of strict life, of grave appearance and agreeable manners—with an air of modesty, under which, according to his enemies, he concealed strong feelings of vanity and ambition.[u] After studying in the schools of Antioch, he was ordained deacon by Peter, of Alexandria, about the beginning of the century. He then became connected with a party which Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis, the second in rank of the Egyptian sees, had formed on grounds similar to those of the Donatistic schism.[x] For this, Arius was excommunicated by

[q] Neander, iii. 500, iv. 3; Gieseler, I. ii. 45; Newman on Arianism, 10-26, 33, 122.

[r] Sup. p. 139.

[s] Tillem. vi. 253; Cave, i. 126; Newman, 7-8; Gieseler, I. ii. 47; Kaye, 88. Walch (ii. 391-2) questions the statement as to Arius.

[t] Cave, i. 126; Tillem. vi. 239. See Walch, ii. 389-390.

[u] Tillem. vi. 240; Schröckh, v. 305; Walch, ii. 404; Newman, n. on St. Athan. Orations, 183.

[x] The Meletian schism took its rise from a persecution, which some writers (as Pagi in Baron. iv. 129-131, 308, 429; Clinton, A.D. 302) suppose to have been local, and date about 301, while others identify it with the great persecution of Diocletian, about 306. (Baron. 306; Tillem. v. 434; Mosh. i. 359; Walch, iv. 383; Schröckh, v. 269.) That Peter took a moderate course towards those who had lapsed, is certain; but while some represent Meletius as having separated from the Church on account of the Alexandrian bishop's lenity, others state that he himself was deposed for having sacrificed. (Soc. i. 6; Baron. 306. 48-9.) The former opinion has been more generally received since the publication of some important documents by Maffei, in 1738. (See note in Mosh. i. 360; Walch, iv. 358-9, 366-9, 373-9; Schröckh, v. 266-9; Neander, iii. 308, seqq.; Kaye, 19-22.) Peter is said to have declared the baptism of the sect invalid. (Walch, iv. 384.) Meletius had at one time twenty-eight bishops in connexion with him. (Walch, iv. 389.) The Council of Nicæa endeavoured to heal the breach; its 6th canon, which settled the jurisdiction of the Alexandrian primate, is supposed to have been framed with special reference to the pretensions of Lycopolis. (Neander, iii. 308.) But the schism continued into the following century. Soc. i. 9; Soz. ii. 21; Tillem. vi. 662-4, viii. 14; Schröckh, v. 271.

Peter; but the next bishop, Achillas, readmitted him to the Church, ordained him presbyter, and entrusted him with a parochial cure in the city.[y] Achillas died after an episcopate of a few months; when Arius, according to Philostorgius, a writer of his party, had a majority of votes for the bishopric, but gave way to Alexander. Others state that he was defeated by Alexander; but there is no good evidence for either story.[z] A.D. 311. A.D. 312.

Amidst contradictory reports as to the beginning of the controversy,[a] it seems to be certain that on some public occasion, when Alexander was discoursing on the unity of the Divine Trinity, Arius charged his doctrine with Sabellianism.[b] Alexander at first endeavoured to convince him of his error by friendly expostulations; but—finding that they were ineffectual, that he himself was blamed for tolerating Arius, and that a presbyter, named Colluthus, even made this the pretext for a schism[c]—he appointed a conference, at which, after hearing the arguments on both sides with judicial impartiality, he decided against Arius. The condemnation was ratified by a synod of Egyptian and Libyan bishops; and the heresiarch with his adherents was excommunicated.[d] A.D. 319.

Arius found many to sympathize with him—partly from the attractiveness of a doctrine which brought down the mysteries of the Godhead to the sphere of human analogies and conceptions; partly because the multitude is always impatient of authority, and ready to take part with any one who may suffer from the exercise of it.[e] Among his followers were two bishops, about twelve presbyters and as many deacons, and a great number of virgins.[f] He took refuge in Palestine, and a lively correspondence followed—Arius endeavouring to gain friends by veiling his more offensive opinions, while Alexander dispersed warnings against him, and withstood

[y] Tillem. vi. 241; Walch, ii. 392. The *parochial* system was introduced at Alexandria earlier than in other cities, where the system usually was that the whole body of clergy were attached to the Mother Church, and thence served the district churches. (Bingham, IX. viii. 5; Neander, iii. 228-9.) It has been said that Arius was even master of the Catechetical School. See Walch, ii. 395; Dorner, i. 811.

[z] Tillem. vi. 242; Walch, ii. 393-5.

[a] Möhler attempts to reconcile the accounts by supposing that Arius for some time spread his doctrines privately; that Alexander, having heard of them, spoke in refutation of them, and that then Arius publicly contradicted him. 'Athanasius der Grosse,' i. 191-2.

[b] Soc. i. 5; Theodoret, i. 2; Tillem. vi. 245; Gibbon, ii. 201; Newman on Arianism, 255; Dorner, i. 812; Kaye, 3-4.

[c] Walch, iv. 509.

[d] Soz. i. 15; Pagi, in Bar. iii. 396-7; Tillem. vi. 219-221; Newman on Arianism, 256; Möhler, i. 193.

[e] Soc. i. 6; Soz. i. 15; Schröckh, xii. 87-8.

[f] Epiphanius says 700—which is, of course, incredible. Baron. 315. 19; Tillem. vi. 246. See Bp. Kaye, 16-7.

all the intercessions of the historian Eusebius and of others, who attempted to mediate.[g]

Among these was another Eusebius, an old fellow-pupil of Arius in the school of Lucian, and now bishop of Nicomedia. He procured a recognition of his friend as orthodox by a Bithynian synod, and received him when dislodged from Palestine through the influence of Alexander.[h] At Nicomedia the heresiarch composed his *Thalia*—a book chiefly consisting of verses, and described by his opponents as an imitation of a heathen versifier, named Sotades, whose writings are said to have been alike disgusting in subject and contemptible in execution.[i] The Thalia was intended to advance the Arian doctrine by introducing it as an accompaniment of meals; and with a like view Arius wrote songs for millers, sailors, and travellers.[k] The character of his mind, as exhibited in his heresy and in the arguments for it, forbids us to suppose that these productions had anything of poetry in them except the form.[l]

Constantine, on becoming master of the East, found the Church distracted by the newly-risen controversy.[m] A.D. 324. He wrote a letter to Alexander and Arius jointly—telling them that belief in a Providence was the one essential doctrine of Christianity, reproving them for contending about idle questions and imaginary differences, and recommending peace and unity, which, he said, they might learn even from the manner in which the heathen philosophers conducted their disputes. This document[n] has been highly extolled, as a model of wisdom and moderation—praise which it might better deserve if the Godhead of the Redeemer were, in a Christian view, that utterly trifling matter which the emperor then supposed it to

[g] Soc. i. 6; Soz. i. 15; Theod. i. 4-5; Tillem. vi. 249-250, 259-261; Möhler, i. 193-5; Kaye, 6-9, 19.

[h] Tillem. vi. 223; Walch, ii. 446; Schröckh, v. 321; Möhler, i. 194.

[i] Soc. i. 9; Soz. i. 21; Tillem. i. 256-7. Newman on Arianism, 154; on Athan. Orat. 94-5 (where specimens of the Thalia are given). On the inconsistency of such a book with the alleged severity of the author's character, see Möhler, i. 186; Newman on Athan. Orat. 186. Perhaps some of Dr. Newman's own later works may serve by way of illustration, in addition to the parallel which Dean Milman (ii. 435) points out in Mr. Rowland Hill's adaptation of hymns to secular tunes.

[k] Tillem. vi. 258; Newman on Arianism, 105-6.

[l] Neander, iv. 11.

[m] Euseb. ii. 63-71.

[n] It was written from Nicomedia, and is generally supposed to have been prompted by the bishop of that city (Tillem. Emp. iv. 212; Mém. vi. 228; Newman on Arianism, 281). Schröckh (v. 324) and Dean Milman (ii. 437), however, think that Eusebius would have shown more interest in the Arian cause, and they ascribe the letter to the influence of Hosius (comp. Walch, ii. 459). But this opinion seems questionable, since, however strongly Eusebius may have felt, he could not, perhaps, have at the time served Arianism more effectually than by suggesting a policy of indifference.

be.[o] The letter was conveyed to Alexandria by Hosius, bishop of Cordova, to whom the settlement of the affair was committed.[p] He held a synod: but, although he succeeded in healing the schism of Colluthus,[q] the only result as to the Arian question was to convince him that the Arians were impracticable. The dissensions occasioned by the controversy had become very serious; the disputes of the Christians were ridiculed in the heathen theatres; and in some places the emperor's statues were treated with indignity.[r]

Constantine now took a new view of the affair. He began to understand that the doctrine at stake was of the highest and most essential importance;[s] and, moreover, the Arians appeared to him as disturbers of the public peace. In answer to a letter from their leader he made a vehement attack on him, even condescending to pun on his name, and to ridicule his personal appearance.[t] And, in order to a settlement of the controversy, and of the disputes as to the time of Easter, which had been lately revived, he summoned a general council of the whole Church, to be held at Nicæa, in Bithynia.[u] It was the first time that such an assemblage had been possible, for never until now had the East and the West been united under a sovereign professing the Christian faith; and the summons necessarily proceeded from the imperial authority, as being the only one which was generally recognized.[v]

Something has been said in a former chapter as to the manner in which the Christian doctrines on such subjects as that which was now to be discussed had gradually been defined and exhibited.[x] In the earlier time, down to the age of Irenæus, the Godhead of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost had been strongly held; so strongly, indeed, that the language of the Fathers might have been misconstrued into something like Sabellianism. When heresies of that character had appeared—from the time of Praxeas downwards—they had been met by declarations which

[o] See Möhler, i. 224; Newman on Arianism, 268. Against some of Dr. Newman's remarks, see Bp. Kaye, 25-6. While giving Constantine credit for good intentions, and acknowledging the value of his recommendations as to the temper in which the matter ought to be considered (which is, *perhaps*, all that Bp. Kaye would have required)—I leave the text as it stood before the publication of the respected prelate's work.

[p] Soz. i. 16. Baronius (318. 59, 88-9) says that he was sent by the bishop of Rome—an assertion which is refuted by Pagi (in Baron. iii. 652-5), and is not even noticed by Möhler, i. 223.

[q] Walch, iv. 510.

[r] Euseb. ii. 61; Soc. i. 6; Theod. i. 6; Tillem. vi. 262; Fleury, x. 41.

[s] Newman on Arianism, 269.

[t] Baron, 319. 11.

[u] Euseb. V. C. iii. 3.

[v] Planck, i. 680-1; Newman, 259.

[x] Sup. pp. 77-8.

tended to establish the distinction of the Divine Persons, with a subordination of the Second and the Third as ministering to the First. The task appointed for the fourth century was to reconcile and to combine the truths which had thus been successively brought into prominence.[y]

The terms by which the relations of the Divine Being had been shadowed forth to human understanding were necessarily incomplete if taken singly. Thus, the term *Son*, while it expressed the sameness of nature and the derivation of "God from God," was defective, inasmuch as it suggested ideas of posteriority, inferiority, material generation, and too great personal distinctness. On the other hand, the term *Word* (Λόγος, *Logos*) conveyed the ideas of coëternity, essential indwelling, and mediation, but tended to obscure that of personality—rather suggesting that the Second was to the First as an attribute or a mode of operation.[z] On the incompleteness of such images Arius founded his heresy. His original objection against Alexander was, that, if the Son were begotten, the Father was anterior to Him; therefore the Son had a beginning;—"once He was not."[a] He could not have been taken from the Father's substance; therefore He was made out of nothing.[b] And thus, by a sophism drawn from the title of *Son*, Arius concluded against the very doctrine which that term was expressly intended to convey—the identity of nature between the Second Person and the First.[c] The Word, he said, was created by the Father, at his own will, before the worlds—before all time. He was the highest of creatures—"a creature, yet not as one of the creatures"—and therefore styled *Only-begotten*. He was framed after the pattern of the indwelling Divine Logos or Wisdom, enlightened by it, and called by its name.[d] But, although the Arians exhausted language in expressing the height of his elevation, they yet, by representing Him as a creature, removed Him to an infinite distance from the Supreme Source of Being. They assigned Him a part like that of the Gnostic Demiurge in the work of creation; God (they said) created by Him, because the Divinity itself could not come into contact with the finite world.[e] According to them, He was

[y] Neander, iv. 14; Newman, 104-7; 170; Dorner, i. 807-8.

[z] Athan. Orat. 140, 326; Newman, 183-7; Kaye, 195.

[a] Ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν. Arius would not say that there was a *time* when He was not; he held that the Son was begotten before time was. Athanasius (Orat. 195, 199, 202) treats this as an evasion and an absurdity. See Neander, iv. 4; Newman, 222, 227; Dorner, i. 814.

[b] Soc. i. 5; Kaye, 153-5.

[c] Newman, 223-4.

[d] Kaye, 153.

[e] See Kaye, 192-3.

employed in creation as an *instrument*, whereas in Catholic language the Father was said to have wrought by Him as by a *hand*.[f] It was said that He was styled God in an inferior sense—as men also are in Scripture. The texts in which He speaks of his unity with the Father were explained as signifying either an agreement of will, or an indwelling of God in Him after the same manner as in men.[g]

The peculiar weapon of Arius was logic; his mind was incapable of any speculation which rose into a higher region.[h] The details of his system are obscured, partly by the variations to which he resorted as the consequences of his principles were pressed on him; partly by his own recoil from results which he had not foreseen or understood; and partly by his wish to disguise his opinions in such terms as might seem most plausible to the orthodox, and might be most likely to win for him the sympathy of the undiscerning.[i] Among the doctrines which he once held and afterwards retracted was the mutability of the Son's will. He *might*, it was said, have fallen like Satan; the Father, foreseeing that He would not fall, anticipated the reward of his merits by bestowing on Him the titles of Son and Logos, which He was afterwards to earn.[k]

The Incarnation, according to Arius, was merely the assumption by the Son of a human body—his nature supplying the place of a soul. Hence scriptural expressions, which really relate to the Saviour's humanity, were applied to his pre-existent nature, and it was argued from them that that nature was inferior to the Divine.[l]

The First General Council met at Nicæa in June 325.[m] The number of bishops present was about three hundred;[n] and with them were many of the lower clergy. Even some heathen phi-

[f] Newman, n. on Athan. Orat. 12.

[g] Athan. Orat. 12, 186; Möhler, i. 195-7, 201; Neander, iv. 5-8; Gieseler, I. ii. 44; Newman, 219; Dorner, i. 819.

[h] Dorner, i. 823.

[i] Dorner, i. 819, 823, 828; Newman, 245.

[k] Soc. i. 9; Neander, iv. 6-7; Möhler, i. 197, 201; Newman, 222; Dorner, i. 824. The idea of desert in a creature, as the Son was said to be, contains the germ of Pelagianism. Möhler, i. 199; Dorner, i. 824.

[l] Möhler, i. 198, 211-2; Neander, iv. 7. The chief passages as to Arian doctrine are given by Gieseler, I. ii. 47.

[m] Pagi in Baron. iv. 86.

[n] Eusebius says 250 (iii. 8); Athanasius (Orat. 6) and Socrates (i. 8) "more than 300;" Sozomen, "about 320" (i. 17). The number 318, which is given by Theodoret (i. 7), has been traditionally accepted, with a mystical reference to the number of Abraham's servants (Gen. xiv. 14). See Tillem. vi. 805-6; Newman, 270, and n. on Ath. Hist. Tracts, 43; Gieseler, I. ii. 48; Kaye, 28-9.

losophers were attracted to the place of assembly, and held conferences and disputes with the bishops.[o]

The controversy had not yet begun to agitate the west; and from that portion of the empire there were only Hosius of Cordova, Cæcilian of Carthage, and two Roman presbyters, Vito and Vincent, sent as representatives of their bishop, Sylvester, whose age prevented his attendance. One bishop came from Scythia, and one from Persia; the great body were from the eastern division of the empire.[p] Among those who were thus assembled there were, no doubt, very great varieties of ability and cultivation;[q] but the object of their meeting was not one which required any high intellectual qualifications. They were not called to reason, but to witness to the belief which the Church had held on the disputed subjects. The more subtle arguments and definitions were not introduced into the controversy until a later time.[r] It has been supposed by some writers that Eustathius of Antioch was president; others believe that the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch presided by turns; and Eusebius of Cæsarea has also been named. The most general opinion assigns the presidency to Hosius, whose name is first among the subscriptions; but there is no ground whatever for the idea that the office belonged to him in the character of a Roman legate, or that he held that character in any way.[s]

In the earlier sessions, which appear to have been held in a

[o] A story is told of a simple bishop, who, by repeating his creed, converted a philosopher. Soz. i. 18; Möhler, ii. 228. The Greek writer adds a story which recalls to mind the feats of "electro-biology"—that Alexander, bishop of Constantinople, being challenged by a philosopher to dispute, and feeling himself stronger in faith than in power of argument, said to his opponent—"In the name of Jesus Christ, I command thee not to speak;" and that thereupon the philosopher was unable to utter a word. For Acesius, the Novatianist bishop, who was present at the Council, see above, p. 113.

[p] Euseb. iii. 7; Soz. i. 17; Baron. 325; Tillem. vi. 638; Walch, iv. 149; Schröckh, v. 330-1; Möhler, i. 226.

[q] Kaye, 30.

[r] Möhler, i. 227; Dorner, i. 833.

[s] Dupin, ii. 315-8; Tillem. vi. 637, 807-8; Planck, i. 682. The first trace of such ideas is in Gelasius of Cyzicum, a writer of little authority, towards the end of the fifth century. The bolder Romanists, as Baronius, tell us that Sylvester summoned the Council, and that Hosius presided as his legate. The arguments are such as these:—that, as the Council *was* summoned, it *must* have been by the pope; that the pope *cannot but have* appointed a president; that whoever were present as his representatives *must* have presided, &c. (See Baron. 325. 19; Pagi in Baron. iv. 93-103.) The Gallicans in general say that the summons proceeded from Constantine's sole authority, and that there is no ground for the Roman theory. (Tillem. vi. 635-7, 807-8; Dupin, ii. 318.) Pagi says that Constantine convoked the Council, "sed authoritate præsidii, non regiminis;" that the power belongs to popes, but was with their consent exercised by emperors. In Baron. iv. 90.

church, Arius was repeatedly heard by the Fathers. The avowal of his heresy (it is said) caused all who were present to stop their ears. His chief opponents in argument were Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, and Athanasius, archdeacon of Alexandria, who was in attendance on Alexander.[t] The number of bishops favourable to Arius is variously stated at 13, 17, and 22.[u] The most eminent among them were the two Eusebiuses,—who, however, did not agree in doctrine, as the bishop of Nicomedia went the full length of the heresy, while the historian's opinions appear to have been of the class afterwards styled *semi*-Arian.[x]

About a fortnight after the opening of the Council, Constantine arrived at Nicæa. The sittings were now transferred to the palace;[y] the emperor attended, and acted as a moderator. The Arians attempted to shelter themselves under ambiguous terms.[z] Eusebius of Cæsarea offered for acceptance a creed of orthodox appearance, but which artfully evaded the very questions which it was the business of the Council to determine.[a] He censured the terms proposed by the Catholics, as not being scriptural;—a futile objection, inasmuch as the matter in dispute was the sense of those Scriptures which all professed to accept; and somewhat shameless, as coming from a party which had opened the controversy by the introduction of terms unknown to Scripture.[b] In order to meet the evasions of this creed, the word *Homoüsion* (ὁμοούσιον, *of the same substance or essence*) was proposed.[c] Objections were taken to it, as tending to suggest the notion of materiality—as obscuring the personal distinction—as having been

[t] Soc. i. 8; Soz. i. 17; Baron. 325. 63; Tillem. vi. 650, 653, viii. 6; Newman, 270-1; Möhler, i. 230.

[u] Newman, 270.

[x] On Eusebius of Cæsarea, see Dorner, i. 792-805. He says that Romanists generally make him a heretic—being interested in so doing, not only because his historical works expose the groundlessness of the papal claims, but on account of his opposition to images (see below, c. vi.); that Anglicans acquit him; while modern Germans take a mixed view of his character. Prof. Dorner considers that Eusebius varied in his opinions, and is "a mirror of the unsolved ecclesiastical problems of his age" (p. 793). Dr. Newman (281-2) thinks that his writings do not contain enough to convict him of heresy: "but his acts are his confession." "The opinions of Eusebius," says Bishop Kaye, "may be collected from B. i. c. 2, of his 'Ecclesiastical History;' they appear to have been in accordance with those of the Ante-Nicene fathers, who held that the Word *existed* with the Father from eternity, being personally distinct, but that He was *begotten* in order to create the world" (pp. 44-5).

[y] See Euseb. iii. 10; Till. vi. 650; Pagi in Baron. iv. 102-4; Milman, ii. 440.

[z] Theod. i. 8; Tillem. vi. 656; Möhler, i. 232; Newman, 249-251.

[a] Tillem. vi. 655; Neander, iv. 20, 24; Newman, 272.

[b] Neander, iv. 21; Newman, 157, 250.

[c] Athan. Tracts, 32. "The word essence," says Bishop Kaye, "appears to me better to express the meaning of the word οὐσία than substance. By the *essence* of a thing, I understand that by which it is what it is" (p. 42).

connected with some heretical systems, and, in particular, as having been condemned (although in another sense) by the Council which deposed Paul of Samosata.[d] Eusebius, however, acknowledged that it had been used by fathers of good repute, and at length he agreed to adopt it.[e] A creed was drawn up, resembling that of Eusebius, and, like it, mainly derived from the older forms of the Eastern Church, but differing from it by the addition of the necessary safeguards against the Arian errors.[f]

Eusebius wrote a letter to his flock, giving an account of his conduct. He explained the term *Homoousion* as meaning that the Son was like the Father, and unlike all other beings.[g] In addition to the creed, he subscribed the condemnation of Arius—professing that he disapproved of the censured terms as being novel and unscriptural; but that he did not intend either to pronounce the opinions false, or to affirm that they were held by Arius.[h] Two bishops only, Secundus and Theonas, both Egyptians, continued to adhere to Arius;[i] and they were banished with him to Illyria. Severe penalties were denounced against his followers; it was even made a capital offence to possess his writings;[k] and Constantine ordered that he and his followers should be called *Porphyrians*, as being, like Porphyry, enemies to the Christian faith. Three months later, Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicæa, who had subscribed the creed but not the anathema, were condemned by a local synod on some new charge; and the emperor, who had given orders for their trial, sentenced them to banishment.[l]

In the beginning of the year 326, a few months after his return from Nicæa, Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, died. Athanasius, whom he had recommended for his successor in the see, was then absent,—having, it would seem, intentionally withdrawn, from a

[d] Sup. p. 124.

[e] Soc. i. 8; Tillem. vi. 657-8; Guericke, i. 418. Philostorgius says that the Arians deceived the Council by substituting *homoiousion* (*ὁμοιούσιον, of like substance*) for *homoousion*. But his story is generally rejected. Tillem. vi. 659-660; Newman, 275.

[f] Soc. i. 8; Soz. i. 20; Theod. i. 12; Schröckh, v. 342; Neander, iv. 23-4.

[g] Soc. i. 8; Ath. Orat. 7. 59, seqq; Möhler, i. 235; Neander, iv. 25; Kaye, 39-41.

[h] Soc. i. 8; Ath. Orat. 64; Soz. i. 21.

[i] There is some difference of statement here. See Soz. i. 20; Soc. i. 8; Theod. i. 7; Pagi in Baron. iv. 123; Möhler, i. 233; Kaye, 45-6.

[k] Soc. i. 8; Soz. i. 21-4; Tillem. vi. 661-2, 813; Schröckh, v. 350; Newman, 274; Kaye, 51. Bayle remarks on the inconsistency of putting people to death for having the books of a person whose own punishment was only exile. Art. *Arius*, n. A.

[l] Soc. i. 9; Soz. i. 21; Kaye, 39. Their offence is supposed to have been that of communicating with Arius (Tillem. vi. 268, 743-4, 810-12; Vales. n. in Sozom.; Walch, ii. 483). Constantine, in a letter written on the occasion, reflects severely on Eusebius for his former connexion with Licinius. Theodor. i. 20.

wish to avoid the dangerous and laborious dignity.[m] He was, however, chosen by general acclamation; and, although some faint charges of irregularity were afterwards brought against the manner of his appointment, it would seem to have been really beyond exception.[n] From the age of thirty to that of seventy-six Athanasius held the see, devoting his life to the assertion of the orthodox doctrine, which for him was no merely speculative opinion, but was intimately connected with the whole Christian life.[o] To his abilities and constancy is due, under Providence, the preservation of the Eastern Church, and, perhaps, even of the whole Church, from the Arian heresy, or from a vague and creedless system, which would probably have issued in an utter abandonment of Christianity. He displays in his writings a manly and direct eloquence; extreme acuteness in argument, yet at the same time a superiority to mere contentiousness about words. His inflexible steadiness of purpose was combined with remarkable skill in dealing with men; he knew when to give way, as well as when to make a show of resistance. His activity, his readiness, his wonderful escapes and adventures, his foresight, gave countenance to the stories of magical art which circulated among his enemies, and to the belief of his admirers that he possessed the gifts of miracles and prophecy. Throughout all his troubles he was supported by the attachment of his people, and of the hundred bishops who owned allegiance to the see of Alexandria.[p]

The Arian party in no long time began to gain strength in the imperial court. Constantia, the widow of Licinius and sister of Constantine — a princess who had been under the influence of Eusebius of Nicomedia—was persuaded by a presbyter, whose name is unknown, that Arius had been misrepresented and unjustly condemned.[q] When on her death-bed she endeavoured to impress her brother with the same belief, and recommended the presbyter to him. The emperor, whose apprehension of the question had never been independent or discerning, was soon prevailed on to invite Arius to his court. The heresiarch appeared, with Euzoius, a deacon of Alexandria, who had been included in his excommunication. They produced a creed, which, although defective in the critical points, was ex- A.D. 327-8.

[m] Soc. i. 15; Pagi in Baron. iv. 164; Tillem. vi. 234-7, 736; viii. 7; Möhler, ii. 1-2.

[n] Ath. Tracts, 22; Gibbon, ii. 218; Schröckh, xii. 109-110; Neander, vi. 418; Kaye, 62-3.

[o] Neander, iv. 30; Villemain, Eloquence Chrétienne, 96.

[p] Gibbon, ii. 217-8; Comp. Hooker, V. xlii. 2.

[q] The Arians said that she was warned of this in a vision or dream. Soz. iii. 19.

pressed in inoffensive, and for the most part scriptural, terms; and Constantine was satisfied of their orthodoxy.[r] Eusebius and Theognis also soon obtained a recall, protesting that they had no sympathy with the errors imputed to Arius; that their only offence had been that of doubting whether he held these errors—a doubt which (as they said) the emperor himself had lately justified.[s]

The Arian or Eusebian party had now full possession of court influence, and they made an unscrupulous use of it.[t] Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, offended them by charging Eusebius of Cæsarea with unfaithfulness to the Nicene doctrine. Eusebius retorted by an accusation of Sabellianism,—an error which the Arianizers often imputed to their orthodox opponents; and at a party synod, held in his own city, Eustathius was deposed on charges of heresy and adultery, both alike unfounded.[u] The attachment of his flock, which threatened a disturbance of the public peace, aroused the emperor's jealousy. Eustathius was sent into exile, in which he died;[x] and, after two Arian bishops had held the see for a short time, Eusebius was solicited to accept it. He declined, however, and his refusal was approved by the emperor.[y] Other Catholic bishops were deprived about the same time with Eustathius.[z]

The occupant of the other great eastern see was far more obnoxious—not only on account of his dreaded character and talents, but as being the bishop of that Church from which Arius had been expelled, and through which it was desired that he should be formally readmitted to Catholic communion. After Eusebius of Nicomedia had in vain attempted to mediate, the emperor was persuaded to write to Athanasius—requiring him to receive Arius with his followers, and threatening deposition and banishment in case of refusal. The undaunted bishop replied, that he could not acknowledge persons who had been condemned by a decree of the whole Church; and Constantine desisted from urging the matter.[a]

The Arians now made overtures to the Meletians. A canon

[r] Tillem. vi. 272.

[s] Soc. i. 14, 26; Soz. ii. 16, 27. Tillemont (vi. 269, 744) and Walch (ii. 487) question the genuineness of the letter, and suppose that the two bishops were recalled before Arius, whose recall they place in 330. But later writers in general admit the letter. Schröckh, v. 372; Neander, iv. 28-9; Möhler, ii. 3-4; Kaye, 54-7.

[t] Newman, 376-8.

[u] Soc. i. 23; Theod. i. 21. Pagi dates this in 327 (in Baron. iv. 195); Clinton (ii. 549) in 328; Tillemont (v. 274) and Schröckh (v. 377) in 331.

[x] Some place his death soon after his banishment; others as late as 360 (Schröckh, v. 378). Socrates (iv. 14) and Sozomen (vi. 13) even say that he was recalled by Jovian (A.D. 363-4), and was living at Antioch in 370. But this is generally supposed to be a mistake. See Vales. in Socr. iv. 14.

[y] Euseb. iii. 59-62; Soc. i. 24; Soz. ii. 18-19; Tillem. vi. 276-8, 746; vii. 29; Kaye, 59-61.

[z] Tillem. vi. 274, 279-281; Möhler, ii. 6.

[a] Soc. i. 23, 27; Tillem. vi. 231; vii. 17; Kaye, 62.

of the Nicene Council had provided for the healing of that schism by an arrangement as to the possession of such sees as had both Catholic and Meletian bishops; and Meletius himself had for a time acquiesced in the measure. Before his death, however, he had been prevailed on to continue the breach by ordaining one John to succeed him as the chief bishop of his community. The Meletians, influenced by enmity against the Alexandrian primate, lent themselves as tools to his Arian opponents; and, although hitherto free from doctrinal error, they gradually became infected with the heresy of their new allies.[b]

A succession of complaints against Athanasius was carried to the emperor; but the bishop exposed their futility so successfully, as even for the time to turn Constantine's indignation against the authors.[c]

In 334 Athanasius was summoned to appear before a council at Cæsarea. He refused, on the ground that the composition of the tribunal would not allow him to expect justice at its hands.[d] In the following year he was cited before another council, to be held at Tyre; and, as the order was enforced by the imperial authority, with threats of personal violence, he thought it well to comply. Sixty bishops were present, and a lay commissioner of the emperor directed and overawed their proceedings.[e] Athanasius appeared at the head of fifty Egyptian bishops. One of them, Potammon, a man of high repute for sanctity, addressed Eusebius of Cæsarea, who was conspicuous among the judges—"Do *you* sit," he asked, "while the innocent Athanasius is tried before you? Remember how you were my fellow prisoner in the persecution. *I* lost an eye for the truth; by what compliances was it that *you* came off unhurt?" Eusebius, it is said, evaded the question. "Your behaviour," he answered, "gives countenance to the charges against your party; for if you try to play the tyrants here, no doubt you must do so much more at home;" and he broke up the meeting for the day.[f] A.D. 335.

A multitude of charges was brought against Athanasius. Some of them arose out of collisions with the remaining adherents of Meletius and Colluthus, whom the indefatigable prelate encoun-

[b] Soc. i. 27; Soz. ii. 18-9; Tillem. viii. 15-6; Kaye, 46-7. Walch (iv. 395) makes as little as possible of their Arianizing.

[c] Ath. Tracts, 89-90; Soz. ii. 22; Kaye, 63-4.

[d] Schröckh, xii. 117.

[e] Planck, i. 685-6.

[f] Tillem. viii. 41. Schröckh (xii. 121) and Valois question the truth of the imputation on Eusebius.

tered on his visitations of his vast province. The most serious was, that he had killed Arsenius, a Meletian bishop, had cut off one of his hands, and had used it for magical purposes; and a human hand was exhibited in evidence of these crimes.[g] Athanasius defended himself boldly and triumphantly. The story as to Arsenius was refuted by producing the man himself, alive and unmutilated—Athanasius having succeeded in discovering him, notwithstanding the endeavours of the opposite party to keep him concealed.[h]

A commission, chosen from among the bitterest enemies of Athanasius, was sent into the Mareotis to collect fresh evidence against him. He protested against its composition; and, without waiting for the return of the commissioners, he embarked for Constantinople, threw himself in the emperor's way as he was riding near the city, and, reminding him of the judgment at which they must both one day appear, extorted from him a promise of a new inquiry in the imperial presence.[i] Constantine wrote in a tone of reproof to the council, which had already decreed the deposition and excommunication of Athanasius, and, having removed to Jerusalem for the purpose of dedicating the magnificent church of the Holy Sepulchre, had there admitted Arius and Euzoius to communion.[k]

The leaders of the Arian faction persuaded the other bishops to return to their homes, and themselves repaired to Constantinople. Dropping the charges on which they had condemned Athanasius, they asserted that he had threatened to stop the sailing of the Egyptian fleet, on which the new capital depended for its supplies of corn. The accusation was one likely to rouse Constantine's jealousy. On a similar suspicion he had a few years before put to death Sopater, a philosopher, who had long enjoyed his intimacy.[l] Whether from belief of the charge, from a wish to remove so influential a man from a scene where he might be dangerous, or with a view of withdrawing him for a time from exposure to the malice of his enemies,[m] he banished Athanasius

[g] Soc. i. 27; Soz. ii. 23-5; Tillem. viii. 21-4. The affair of Arsenius had before been investigated by the emperor's brother Dalmatius; but, if so, it is hard to understand how the Arians could have ventured to revive it at Tyre. See, however, Tillem. viii. 24, 45. 658, 663. Dupin, ii. 36. Bp. Kaye says (66-7) that the emperor seems to have varied in his opinion on the matter.

[h] Kaye, 70-1.

[i] Ath. Tracts, 31-33, 103, 119; Soc. i. 31-4; Tillem. vi. 289; viii. 57-66; Gibbon, ii. 220-1; Kaye, 68-9.

[k] Soc. i. 34; Soz. ii. 25, 29; Tillem. viii. 59; Kaye, 72-3.

[l] Ath. Tracts, 27, 121; Soc. i. 35; Tillem. vi. 290; viii. 62; Gibbon, ii. 223.

[m] See Kaye, 74-6.

to Treves, where the champion of orthodoxy found an honourable reception at the court of the younger Constantine.[n]

But the spirit of its bishop continued to animate the Alexandrian Church. The attempts of Arius to obtain re-admission were steadily repelled; and at length reports of disturbances occasioned by his proceedings induced the emperor to summon him to Constantinople.[o] A council which was sitting there condemned Marcellus of Ancyra, one of Athanasius' most conspicuous partizans, on a charge of Sabellianism, to which he had at least given countenance by the use of incautious language;[p] and it is said that the same council ordered the admission of Arius to communion.[q] He appeared before the emperor, and without hesitation subscribed a profession of orthodoxy,[r] declaring that he had never held any other doctrine. Constantine was satisfied, and, sending for the bishop, Alexander, told him that Arius must be received into communion on the following day, which was Sunday. Alexander, who had almost completed a hundred years, had before been threatened by Eusebius of Nicomedia with deposition in case of a refusal, and had been for a week engaged with his flock in solemn deprecation of the intended evil. He now entered the church of Peace, prostrated himself under the holy table, and prayed that, rather than he should witness such a profanation, either he himself or the heresiarch might be taken from the world.[s] On the evening of the same day Arius was parading the streets of the city amidst a large party of his adherents—talking lightly, and in a triumphant tone, of the ceremonies appointed for the morrow; when the pressure of a natural necessity compelled him to withdraw. He was soon after found dead, and his end is related with circumstances which recall to mind that of the traitor Judas.[t]

A.D. 336.

[n] Tillem. viii. 65; Möhler, ii. 20.

[o] Soc. i. 37.

[p] On Marcellus, see Soc. i. 36; Soz. ii. 32; Baron. 336. 34. Pagi in Baron. iv. 431; Tillem. vii. 504-6; Walch, iii. 239-41, 260, 282-294; Schröckh, vi. 174, seqq.; Neander, iv. 51-2, vi. 418-9, 427-430; Gieseler, I. ii. 55; Hagenbach, i. 254; Newman on Arianism, 334; n. on Athan. Tracts, 52; Kaye, 80. Möhler (ii. 22-35) defends him against Eusebius. It seems most likely that at first he was guilty only of injudicious language, but that afterwards he ran into more serious error. The words declaring the eternity of Christ's kingdom are supposed by some writers to have been added to the Nicene Creed in opposition to one of his tenets. Neander, vi. 429. See Walch, iii. 280.

[q] Walch (ii. 499) says that this cannot be proved.

[r] See Athan. Tracts, 211. That it was the Nicene Creed is denied by Tillemont (vi. 296), Neander (iv. 37), and Newman (288). Walch (ii. 499) says that it cannot be known what the form was. The story told by Socrates (i. 38) —that Arius signed the Nicene Creed, while he secretly meant another which he carried under his arm—may pretty safely be rejected.

[s] Ath. Tracts, 212; Soc. i. 37; Tillem. vi. 294-6; vii. 35.

[t] (Acts i. 18.) Soc. i. 38; Tillem. vi. 298; Schröckh, v. 385-7. Alexander's

IV.

Notwithstanding the part which he had taken in the affairs of the Church, Constantine was not yet a member of it by baptism.[u] A.D. 337. At length, in his sixty-fourth year, when at a palace near Nicomedia, he felt the approach of death. He sent for some bishops, and declared to them that he had deferred his baptism from a wish to receive it in the waters of Jordan; but that, as the opportunity of doing so was denied to him, he begged them to administer the sacrament. He was then, by imposition of hands, admitted to the highest class of catechumens;[x] and he was

prayer is reported by some writers with admiration; by others, with horror. Perhaps it might be less difficult to defend the charity of the petition as to Arius than the faith of that as to himself. Gibbon says that "those who press the literal narrative of the death of Arius must make their option between *poison* and *miracle*" (ii. 212). The Roman Catholic writers, with Joseph Milner (i. 535) and Dr. Newman—in his Anglican work on Arianism (289), as well as in his transitional Essay on Miracles (171-4)—take the latter alternative; Mosheim (i. 396) the former. It is, indeed, very probable, as Walch (ii. 506) suggests, that the "literal narrative" may have been embellished from the story of Judas; but, without going into that question, the necessity of the choice to which Gibbon would limit us is not apparent. The possibility of poison is, as Walch (ii. 509) and Neander (iv. 40) remark, excluded by the fact that the Arians at the time ascribed their leader's death to magical arts (Soz. ii. 29). As to miracle—while the opposite party naturally looked on the event as an awful judgment on the heresy and perjury of Arius (see Athan. Tracts, 147-8), it does not appear that we need refer it to a different class from the other sudden deaths which are among the frequent dispensations of Providence. [In this view I have the satisfaction of finding that Bp. Kaye agrees. "There is," he says, "nothing in the circumstance which, if we make due allowance for exaggeration, may not be accounted for by natural causes. It was not a miraculous or preternatural interposition: but a most striking and awful event, occurring in the ordinary course of God's providential government. Athanasius speaks of it as a manifest judgment of God; but the description which he gives of it is that of a natural, though awfully sudden, death," p. 79.] It ought, in justice to St. Athanasius, to be stated that his account of the heresiarch's end is free from all appearance of triumph. (See Neander, iv. 39; Möhler, ii. 48.) It is curious to compare with the view which Romish writers take of Alexander's prayers and their effect a passage in which Tillemont speaks of the Donatists—"Quand ils trouvoient quelqu'un qui s'opposoit à leur volonté...ils le maudissoient, ils faisoient des imprecations contre luy, et jusqu'à luy souhaiter la mort. Que s'il arrivoit en suite quelque malheur à ces personnes, ou pour leurs pechez ou par la conduite impenetrable de la justice divine, ils se vantoient que c'estoit l'effet de leurs imprecations. Mais, voulant qu'on les cruat auteurs et causes de la mort des hommes, ils se declaroient homicides" (vi. 139).

[u] Gibbon (ii. 162) represents him as having been, nevertheless, admitted to "the mysteries;" but Heinichen (Excurs. iii.) shows that this is improperly inferred from Euseb. iv. 22. The pagan story, that Constantine embraced Christianity after having put his son and his wife to death—on finding that the Christian clergy offered him that absolution which paganism refused—is a palpable falsehood. He had professed a belief in the Gospel before the death of Crispus, which was in the year after the Council of Nicæa; and he was not baptized until much later (see Sozom. i. 15; Schröckh, v. 81-2; Milm. ii. 396). The opposite fable of his baptism by Sylvester will be mentioned in connexion with the history of the Roman See (c. vi. § 2). Niebuhr is inclined to think that Crispus had probably deserved his death; and he rejects, even more decidedly than Gibbon, the story that Fausta was put to death by her husband's order (Vorträge, ed. Isler, iii. 302).

[x] Mosheim, De Rebus Christ. 967-9—(a book which I here quote with regret for the last time)—and Neander (iii. 39-40) suppose him to have been before a Catechumen of a lower grade. Valois

baptized by the bishop of the neighbouring city, Eusebius.[y] During the remaining days of his life he retained the white robe of baptism, refusing to wear the imperial purple; and on Whitsunday, in the year 337, at noon, he expired.[z]

(in loc. Euseb.), Tillemont (Emp. iv. 658-9), and Schröckh (v. 391-2) think that he was not.

[y] Hence St. Jerome says that he was baptized into Arianism. But Eusebius, besides that his local position recommended him as the fittest person to officiate on the occasion, did not blazon his heresy; and Constantine, notwithstanding the influence which the Arians latterly exercised over him, supposed himself to be an unswerving adherent of the Nicene faith. Tillem. Emp. iv. 267; Gibbon, ii. 212; Schröckh, v. 393; see Kaye, 76-7.

[z] Euseb. iv. 61-4.

CHAPTER II.

THE SONS OF CONSTANTINE.

A.D. 337-361.

Constantine the Great was succeeded by his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans. The eldest of these, who held the sovereignty of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was killed in 340, in an invasion of Italy, which was part of the territory of Constans.[a] Constans then took possession of all that had belonged to his deceased brother. In 350 he was put to death by Magnentius; and on the defeat of this usurper, in 353, the whole empire was reunited under Constantius, who had until then been sovereign of the East.[b]

Constantius is described as chaste, temperate, and of strict life, but vain and weak.[c] Like his father, he interfered much in the affairs of the Church; but his interference was more injudicious. Although, like Constantine, he remained unbaptized until shortly before his death, he pretended to the character of a theologian;[d] and throughout his reign the empire was incessantly agitated by religious controversy. The highest questions of Christian doctrine became subjects of common talk, and excited the ignorant zeal of multitudes very imperfectly influenced by Christian principle.[e] The synods were so frequent, that, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, the public posting establishment was ruined by the continual journeyings of bishops, to whom the emperor gave the privilege of free conveyance to these assemblies.[f] Constantine, it is said, intrusted his testament to the same Arian presbyter who had exerted so important an influence on the religious policy of his last years.[g] The presbyter delivered it to Constantius, who happened to be nearer than either of his brothers to the place of their father's death. By this service he obtained free entrance to the palace; and in no long time the Arian doctrine had been embraced by the emperor, the empress, the ladies of her court,

[a] Gibbon, ii. 88.
[b] Gibbon, ii. 98-100.
[c] Tillem. Emp. iv. 467-9.
[d] Gibbon, ii. 215; Neander, iv. 40.
[e] Neander, iv. 40-1.
[f] Amm. Marc. in Gieseler, I. ii. 59.
[g] Sup. p. 193.

and the eunuchs—a class of persons so important during this reign as to justify the sarcasm of Ammianus, who described the emperor's relation to them by saying that he had considerable interest with their chief.[h]

Constantine had steadily resisted both the importunity of the Arians, who wished that the see of Alexandria should be filled up by one of their party, and the entreaties of the Alexandrians for the restoration of the rightful bishop, although these were supported by the authority of the hermit Antony, whom the emperor admitted to a free correspondence with him.[i] It is said, however, that on his death-bed he gave orders for the recall of Athanasius and other banished bishops.[k] His successors, at a conference in Pannonia, agreed to restore the exiles; and Athanasius, after an absence of about two years and four months, returned to Alexandria. He bore with him a letter from the younger Constantine, who in it assured the Alexandrian laity that the restoration was agreeable to the late emperor's intention; and he was received with a joyful welcome by his flock.[l] A.D. 338.

The Eusebian party, however, soon renewed its attempts against him. A rival, Pistus, who had been associated with Arius, was set up. It was represented to Constantius that Athanasius had caused disturbances of the peace; that he had sold the allowance of corn which the emperor bestowed on the Alexandrian Church, and had misappropriated the price; and, further, he was charged with irregularity in resuming his see by the warrant of secular authority alone, whereas he had been deposed by a council.[m]

The same charges, and the old report of the inquiry instituted by his enemies in the Mareotis,[n] were carried to Rome by a deputation of Eusebian clergy. But they were met by some emissaries of Athanasius, who were provided with a synodical letter from nearly a hundred Egyptian bishops, attesting his merits and his innocence.[o] Julius, who had succeeded to the Roman see in 337, was influenced by these representations, and proposed that the case should be referred to a synod, at which both parties should

[h] Soc. ii. 2; Soz. iii. 1; Tillem. vi. 300-1; Gibbon, ii. 102.

[i] Tillem. viii. 65.

[k] Theod. i. 32; Tillem. Emp. iv. 268.

[l] Soc. ii. 2-3; Soz. iii. 2; Theod. ii. 2; Pagi in Baron. iv. 324; Tillem. viii. 68-9; Möhler, ii. 49; Kaye, 83. Dupin (ii. 36, 58) and Valois, in his note on Theodoret, make the exile some months more than *one* year.

[m] Soc. ii. 3; Soz. iii. 9; Tillem. vi. 303-4; viii. 71-3; Kaye, 84-5.

[n] Sup. p. 196.

[o] Ath. Tracts, 17-38; Soz. iii. 7; Tillem. vi. 306-7; viii. 73-5; Möhler, ii. 52-4; Kaye, 85-6.

be confronted; but the Eusebians, on various pretexts, evaded the proposal.[p]

In the end of 340 or beginning of 341 a council met at Antioch for the dedication of a splendid church which had been founded by Constantine. The number of bishops is said to have been ninety-seven, of whom forty were Eusebians.[q] They passed a number of canons, which have been generally received in the Church;[r] one of these, in itself unexceptionable, had a special reference to the case of Athanasius—enacting that, if any bishop, after having been deposed by a council, should appeal to the secular power, instead of seeking redress from a higher council, he should forfeit all hope of restoration.[s] It would seem that after a time the Eusebians became dominant in the council, whether through the retirement of the orthodox bishops, or through reliance on the support of Constantius, who was present.[t] They renewed the charges against Athanasius, condemned him under the canon just mentioned, and, after the bishopric of Alexandria had been refused by Eusebius, afterwards bishop of Emesa, consecrated to it Gregory, a Cappadocian, a man of coarse and violent character.[u] Gregory immediately proceeded to take possession, accompanied by a military escort, under the command of Philagrius, an apostate. He entered the city in the beginning of Lent. Churches were attacked by the soldiers, with a mob of Arians, Jews, and heathens; and horrible outrages and profanations were committed, which reached their height on the solemn days of the Passion and the Resurrection. The Catholics were not only ejected from the churches, but were prevented from holding their worship in private houses. Having thus settled matters in the city, Gregory proceeded on a visitation of his province. A party of soldiers attended on him, and by his orders many bishops, monks, and virgins were beaten—the aged Potammon so severely that he died in consequence.[x]

[p] Tillem. vi. 311-2; vii. 269-274; viii. 73.

[q] Soc. ii. 8; Tillem. vi. 311-2; Fleury, xii. 10.

[r] Schelstrate and other Romanists have attempted to account for this by supposing that there were about the same time an Arian and an Orthodox Council at Antioch, and that the canons proceeded from the latter. But the reception of the council—as of that of Laodicea (A.D. 372?)—is really to be traced to the influence of the later Nicenes—Basil, the two Gregories, &c.—who, having been in early life connected with the Semiarian party, brought with them to the side of orthodoxy many of that party's traditions. Gieseler, I. ii. 67-8. See below, c. iv.

[s] Can. xii. (Hardouin, i. 597.)

[t] Pagi in Baron. iv. 371-3; Fleury, xii. 14; Schröckh, vi. 60, 68.

[u] Soc. ii. 8-9; Soz. iii. 5; Tillem. viii. 77, 676-7. Athanasius remarks on the irregularity of appointing a stranger, and that at a distance from the see. Tracts, 51.

[x] Ath. Tracts, 4-8, 228; Tillem. viii. 79-87; Möhler, ii. 59-60; Kaye, 91-2.

Athanasius, on the arrival of Gregory at Alexandria, withdrew to a retreat in the neighbourhood, and issued an address to all bishops, desiring them to join in condemnation of the intruder.[y] He then betook himself to Rome, where a synod of fifty bishops pronounced him innocent, and confirmed to him the communion of the Church.[z] Other expelled bishops also appeared before the council; among them was Marcellus of Ancyra, who had resumed his see on the death of Constantine, but had been again dispossessed of it. He satisfied Julius and his brethren that the charges of heresy on which he had been deprived were founded in misapprehension.[a] A correspondence followed between Julius and the Eastern bishops, but without any satisfactory result.[b]

The council of Antioch produced four creeds.[c] The second—which, whether truly or not, claimed the martyr Lucian for its author[d]—was that afterwards known as *the* "Creed of the Dedication." The death of Arius had released his partisans from the difficulties which had formerly arisen out of their personal regard for him.[e] They now endeavoured to give plausibility to their course by approaching as nearly as possible to the orthodox statements, in the hope that by new formularies the Nicene creed might gradually be obscured. The charges which they brought against Athanasius during the reign of Constantine had related not to doctrines, but to practical matters;[f] and the same policy was now continued. The creeds of Antioch were so framed that in ordinary circumstances they would have been received as satisfactory. The more offensive positions of Arianism were distinctly condemned; the council repudiated the name of Arians,—"for how," it was asked, "should we who are bishops follow a presbyter?" The dignity of the Saviour was set forth in the highest terms; the studious omission of the word *homoousios* (*coessential*) alone excited suspicion as to the orthodoxy of the framers.[g]

In the mean time Constantinople had been the scene of repeated

[y] Tracts, No. i; Möhler, ii. 61.

[z] Ath. Tracts, 14; Soz. iii. 8.

[a] Ath. Tracts, 52; Soz. iii. 8; Tillem. vi. 322; vii. 508. Walch, iii. 243.

[b] Ath. Tracts, 39, seqq.; Soc. ii. 15-17; Soz. iii. 10; Kaye, 93-6. These events have been related as generally as possible, and with a wish to avoid questions of chronology—which seems to be hopelessly entangled. For a statement of the difficulties, and of various schemes which have been proposed, see Newman's Introduction to St. Athanasius' Historical Tracts. One point in dispute is—whether Athanasius went to Rome for the first time after the intrusion of Gregory; or whether he had already been there for a year and a half, and had returned to his see a short time before Gregory's appearance.

[c] Hardouin, i. 605-610; Kaye, 87-8.

[d] See Bull, Def. Fid. Nic. II. xii. 5; Newman on Ath. Orat. 106.

[e] Neander, iv. 40.

[f] Kaye, 76.

[g] Soc. ii. 10; Soz. iii. 5; Pagi in Baron. iv. 367-9; Newman on Arianism, 308; Neander, iv. 45; Kaye, 58, 90.

disturbances. Alexander, on his deathbed, being consulted by some of his clergy as to a successor, replied that, if they wished for a man "apt to teach," and of holy life, they ought to choose Paul; if they wanted a man of business and address, with an appearance of piety, they should choose Macedonius, who was a presbyter of longer standing.[h] Paul was chosen, but was soon ejected by the Arians on various charges of irregularity in his life and in the manner of his appointment. After the death of Constantine he returned to his see, but was compelled to make way for the translation of Eusebius from Nicomedia. On the death of that prelate Paul and Macedonius were set up by the opposite parties. As the city was in a commotion, Hermogenes, a military commander, was sent thither by Constantius; when the populace set his lodging on fire, dragged him about the streets, and murdered him. The emperor, in great indignation, hastened to Constantinople, drove out Paul, and deprived the citizens of half their allowance of corn; but, regarding Macedonius as partly guilty of the tumult, and being also displeased with him for having allowed himself to be consecrated without seeking the imperial permission, he did not establish him as bishop. Paul soon after returned; whereupon Philip, the prætorian prefect, decoyed him into an interview, sent him away by sea, and proceeded to install Macedonius. The populace flocked together in excitement, and upwards of three thousand perished, either by being crushed to death, or by the weapons of the soldiery. From A.D. 342 to 380, with the exception of two years, the bishopric of the eastern capital was in the hands of the Arians.[i]

Aug. 336.

A.D. 339.

A.D. 342.

Constans, like his brother Constantine, adhered steadily to the cause of Athanasius. The exiled bishop, after spending three years at Rome, waited on the emperor at Milan; and at the same time there appeared a deputation of oriental bishops—bearing with them a new creed which had lately been drawn up by a council at Antioch.[k] This document, which from its length was styled *macrostiche*, was in form rather an argument than a definition; like other late creeds of the same party, it was sound, but induced suspicion by avoiding the term *co-essential*. The western bishops were dissatisfied with it—partly from

A.D. 345.

[h] Soc. ii. 5 (who misdates the affair). Soz. (iii. 3) says that the Arian account reversed the application of these characters. See Walch, iii. 74.

[i] Soc. ii. 12, 13, 16; Soz. iii. 7, 9; Tillem. Emp. iv. 327; Mém. vii. 254-7, 697-8; Walch, iii. 76-8; Kaye, 82.

[k] A.D. 345. Pagi in Baron. iv. 409.

ignorance of Greek, and partly from a wish to adhere to the Nicene creed as sufficient.[l] The emperors agreed to summon a general council,[m] which was to meet at Sardica, in Illyria—a place on the borders of East and West, but within the dominions of Constans. About a hundred western and seventy-six eastern bishops attended.[o] Hosius presided—not as legate of the Roman see, but by virtue of his age, character, and influence.[p] A.D. 347.[n]

The orientals at the outset protested against the admission of Athanasius and other deposed bishops as members of the council. It was answered that they were not to be regarded as deposed, since the latest decisions were in their favour; that they were ready to meet all charges; and that the council might reopen the whole question from the beginning.[q] But the orientals adhered to their objection, and, finding that it was decidedly resisted, they withdrew across the border of the empires to Philippopolis, in Thrace, and there held a separate synod under the presidency of Stephen, bishop of Antioch. Two eastern bishops remained at Sardica, while Ursacius, of Singidunum (Belgrade), Valens, of Mursa (Essek), and three other Arians of the West, took part in the council of Philippopolis.[r] The western council again pronounced Athanasius and Marcellus innocent, and enacted a number of canons;[s] they declared the Nicene creed to be sufficient.[t] The orientals drew up a fresh creed more Arian than those of Antioch.[u] Each synod passed a sentence of deposition against the leaders of

[l] Ath. Tracts, 111; Soc. ii. 19-20; Soz. iii. 10; Tillem. vi. 326, 331; viii. 90; Kaye, 95.

[m] Baronius (346. 5.) asserts that the council was summoned by the Pope, but is refuted by Pagi. Rohrbacher tells us that—"Il fut convoqué par l'autorité du pape S. Jules; *car* (!). Socrate nous apprend que quelques orientaux l'accusèrent d'avoir fixé un terme trop court" (vi. 304). Socrates, however, distinctly says that the two emperors summoned it (ii. 20).

[n] Tillem. viii. 92. Mansi, on the authority of a document unknown to the earlier writers, dates the council in 344. His arguments satisfied Schröckh (vi. 78); but Gieseler (I. ii. 54) considers that they have been overthrown by Wetzer, and the old date, 347, is now generally received.

[o] The number is variously given. The statement of many writers (as Soc. ii. 20, and Soz. iii. 20), that there were 300 of the west, is founded on misapprehension of a passage of Athanasius (Tracts, 14), which gives the number, not of bishops who were present, but of those who approved the decisions of the council. It seems probable that there were 170 in all, which, if 76 were orientals, would leave 94 western bishops. Vales. in Soc. ii. 20; Tillem. viii. 681-2; Newman in Ath. Tracts, 70; Kaye, 96-7.

[p] Tillem. viii. 93, 681-2. Dean Milman thinks that perhaps Julius, in absenting himself, may have been actuated by a wish not to risk the growing dignity of his see by incurring a comparison with Hosius. iii. 15.

[q] Soz. iii. 11; Tillem. vi. 333; viii. 100; Möhler, ii. 70.

[r] Tillem. viii. 98; Schröckh, vi. 90; Milm. iii. 15.

[s] Tillem. vii. 510-517; viii. 103-5; Newman, 312.

[t] Socrates (ii. 20) and Sozomen (iii. 11) wrongly say that they confirmed it by another creed. Schröckh, vi. 81.

[u] Neander, iv. 46.

the opposite party. But the western decision was not enough to reinstate Athanasius in his see. He retired for a time to Naissus, in Dacia.[x]

The party which enjoyed the favour of Constantius continued to occupy the sees of the East, and exercised fresh violences against the orthodox.[y] After a time, however, the emperor changed his policy—partly in consequence of a threat of war from Constans, who required the restoration of Athanasius;[z] partly through disgust at the detection of an infamous plot which had been laid by Stephen, bishop of Antioch, against some envoys of the western Church.[a] He wrote thrice to Athanasius, inviting him to resume his see.[b] The bishop took Antioch in his way, and there had an interview with the emperor. Constantius begged him, as a favour, to allow one church at Alexandria to those who were not of his communion. Athanasius offered to do so, on condition that those of his communion should receive a like indulgence at Antioch.[c] The emperor, on conferring with the Arians who had suggested his proposal, found that they were not disposed to surrender a church at Antioch, where orthodoxy was dangerously strong among the laity, in exchange for one at Alexandria, where the temper of the people and the abilities of the bishop forbade them to expect any great success.[d]

A.D. 349.

Athanasius was received to communion by a council at Jerusalem, and was recommended to his flock by an imperial letter, which ordered that the record of former proceedings against him should be cancelled.[e] The intruder Gregory had died, or had been killed[f] a short time before; and Athanasius, on his return

[x] Till. viii. 105-6, 115-6; Sozomen, iii. 13.

[y] Kaye, 103.

[z] Soc. ii. 22; Soz. iii. 20; Tillem. viii. 692. The fact has been doubted—(as by Schröckh, vi. 94, and Neander, iv. 48-9) —but Gibbon (ii. 223) considers it to be proved. Although Constans was the weaker, a threat of attack from the west might well alarm Constantius, engaged as he was in a Persian war. Möhler, ii. 78; Neander, loc. cit.

[a] Athan. Tracts, 235-6; Theod. ii. 9-10. Stephen was deposed, and in his room was appointed Leontius—a person who had formerly been degraded from the presbyterate in consequence of having emasculated himself, in order that he might enjoy without suspicion the company of a young female (Ath. Tracts, 208, 241; Theod. ii. 24). He was an Arian, but endeavoured to preserve peace by an equivocating policy. In the Doxology, where the Arians sang "Glory be to the Father, *by* the Son, *in* the Holy Ghost," while the Catholics adhered to the ancient form, the bishop sang in such a manner that his words could not be made out until he came to that part in which all agreed. Pointing to his white hairs, he used to say—"When this snow melts, there will be much mud,"—meaning that his death would be the signal for commotions. Tillem. vi. 341-2; Kaye, 107-8.

[b] Ath. Tracts, 79-80; Soc. ii. 23.

[c] Socrates (ii. 23) less probably says that he required this in every city where the Arians had the ascendancy.

[d] Soz. iii. 20; Theod. ii. 12; Tillem. vi. 344.

[e] Ath. Tracts, 84, 237; Soc. iii. 24.

[f] Theod. ii. 12, says that he was killed by some of his people; but W.

to Alexandria, after an exile of eight years, was received with universal rejoicing. The thankfulness of his flock was shown in bountiful works of charity, and many persons of both sexes embraced a monastic or ascetic life on the occasion.[g]

His enemies felt that their power was at an end. Ursacius and Valens, the most noted supporters of Arianism in the West, went to Rome, and entreated a council there to receive them into communion—professing regret for having taken part against the bishop of Alexandria.[h] After the murder of Constans, in the following year, Constantius wrote to assure Athanasius that he should find from him the same support as from his brother; but the Arians conceived fresh hopes and renewed their machinations. They began by attacking his adherents in other quarters, and the errors into which some of their opponents had run gave plausibility to their attempts. Marcellus of Ancyra was again deposed—having, it would seem, developed his heterodoxy more distinctly.[i] His pupil, Photinus, bishop of Sirmium, went so far as to teach palpable Sabellianism —that there was no personal distinction in the Godhead; that the Logos was nothing else than the Divine attribute of wisdom, which at length was manifested in Jesus—a mere man, although supernaturally born; and that the Holy Ghost was only an influence.[k] For these tenets Photinus was repeatedly condemned, and in 351 he was deposed by a synod held in his own city.[l] Many orthodox bishops were ejected about the same time. Paul, of Constantinople, who had recovered his see before or soon after the Council of Sardica,[m] was again driven out, and was carried off to Cucusus, a savage place in the lesser Armenia, where, after having been for some time deprived of food, he was strangled. Macedonius was intruded into the see, and behaved with such violence—branding, fining, banishing, and

A.D. 350.

A.D. 351.

A.D. 351.

Lowth (not. in loc.) supposes that here, as elsewhere, Gregory is confounded with the later intruder, George.

[g] Ath. Tracts, 239; Möhler, ii. 83.

[h] Ath. Tracts, 14-16; Soc. ii. 24; Soz. iii. 23; Pagi, iv. 478; Kaye, 106. Gibbon's doubts (ii. 224) are refuted by Dean Milman in his note,—by Möhler, ii. 82, and by Dr. Newman in Ath. Tracts, 86.

[i] Tillem. vi. 350.

[k] See Mosh. i. 405-6; Walch, iii. 34-8; Schröckh, vi. 187-8; Neander, iv. 95, vi. 431; Gieseler, I. ii. 55-6; Newman on Ath. Tracts, 114; Hagenbach, i. 254-5. Dr. Newman (note on Ath. Orat. 502, seqq.), followed by Bp. Kaye (268-9), thinks that the so-called "Fourth Oration against the Arians" is chiefly meant against Marcellus and Photinus, although, as in the parallel case of Apollinaris (see below, c. iv.), St. Athanasius does not name his opponent. A document published by Montfaucon leads to the opinion that Marcellus shortly before his death recanted his errors, and was again acknowledged by St. Athanasius. See Walch, iii. 254-5.

[l] Pagi in Baron. iv. 478, 503; Walch, iii. 61-2; Gieseler, I. ii. 55-6.

[m] Pagi in Baron. iv. 463; Tillem. vii. 257-8.

even putting to death, those who were opposed to him, both in Constantinople and in other places to which his power extended,—that the emperor himself remonstrated with him. The Novatianists were equally exposed to his persecution with the Catholics; when these were deprived of their own churches, they resorted to the three which the Novatianists possessed within the city; but, although a temporary communion was thus established, the principles of the sect prevented a permanent reunion with the Church.[n]

On the 8th of September, 351, a great battle was fought between the troops of Constantius and Magnentius near Mursa (now Essek), the episcopal city of Valens. During the engagement, Constantius was praying in a church, with the bishop at his side; and Valens, it is said, having learnt the defeat of the enemy by means of a chain of scouts, announced it as having been revealed to him by an angel.[o] He thus gained an influence over the emperor's mind, and diligently used it for the furtherance of the opinions which he had for a time pretended to disown. By him and others Constantius was persuaded that Athanasius was proceeding tyrannically in Egypt and Libya against all who would not submit to him; much was made of the fact that on his way to Alexandria, after his late exile, he had conferred ordination in dioceses where the bishops were opposed to his views;[p] it was said that he had caused the death of the younger Constantine; that he had exasperated Constans against Constantius; and—a charge which he repelled with especial horror and indignation—that he had corresponded with the murderer of Constans, the usurper Magnentius.[q]

Julius, bishop of Rome, died in April, 352, and was succeeded by Liberius.[r] The new bishop was immediately assailed by complaints of the Orientals against Athanasius, but a letter from an Egyptian synod determined him to disregard them as unfounded.[s]

Aug. 10, 353. The final defeat of Magnentius, however, by which Constantius came into undisputed possession of the West, increased the power of the Alexandrian patriarch's enemies. Their object now was to procure a condemnation of him from the western bishops, most of whom, although sound in faith, were

[n] Soc. ii. 26-7, 38; Soz. iv. 2; Ath. Tracts, 224; Tillem. vi. 397-402.

[o] Sulpic. Severus, Sac. Histor. ii.; Tillem. vi. 350; Gibbon, ii. 96, 213; Kaye, 109.

[p] Soz. iii. 21. Such a transgression of the usual rules could only be justified by necessity. See Bingham, IV. vi. 5.

[q] Ath. Tracts, 156, 164; Soc. ii. 26; Soz. iii. 21, iv. 2, 11; Tillem. viii. 142.

[r] Baron. 352. 1; Pagi, iv. 505.

[s] There is an improbable story that Liberius at first took part against Athanasius, and altered his policy on learning the true state of the case. See Tillem. vi. 352, viii. 138-140, 695-6; Dupin, ii. 75-6.

liable to be imposed on through their ignorance of the Greek theological subtleties, and through fear of their new sovereign, who studiously represented the matter as a personal question between himself and a refractory bishop.[t] A synod was held at Arles, where Liberius was represented by two deputies, one of whom was Vincent, bishop of Capua—perhaps the same who had appeared as a legate of Sylvester at the Council of Nicæa.[u] The emperor insisted on the condemnation of Athanasius. Vincent proposed by way of compromise that the opinions of Arius should at the same time be anathematised; but he was told that these were not then in question; and at length he yielded and subscribed.[x] Liberius was deeply distressed on hearing of this. He requested the emperor to call a free council for the investigation of the case; and the Eusebians, although with very different objects, also urged the assembling of a council. A.D. 353.

About three hundred western bishops, and a few from the east, met at Milan in 355. The sessions of the council were held in the palace, and it was overawed by Constantius and his soldiers. An edict of Arian purport was read—the substance of which the emperor professed to have received by revelation in a dream; and he dwelt on the success of his arms as a proof of the Divine blessing on his opinions.[y] The condemnation of Arius was signed by all but Eusebius of Vercelli, Lucifer of Cagliari, and Dionysius of Milan, and these three were banished. Many other bishops were sent into exile, and their places were filled with intruders whose heterodoxy was their only qualification for the episcopate. A general persecution was carried on for the purpose of enforcing conformity to the emperor's opinions, while the orthodox cried out that the days of Nero and of Decius had returned.[z]

There were still two important persons in the West to be gained—Liberius, conspicuous for his position, and Hosius, the "Father of the Bishops,"[a] who had been a confessor under Maximin, had sat in the council of Eliberis half a century before, and had been president of the councils of Nicæa and Sardica. Overtures were made to Liberius in vain; the influential chief of the eunuchs, Eusebius, was sent to Rome, for the purpose of tempting

[t] Newman, 329; Neander, iv. 32.
[u] Tillem. vi. 358.
[x] Baron. 353. 18; Tillem. vi. 357-9.
[y] Soc. ii. 36; Baron. 355. 2, seqq.; Tillem. vi. 362-3; vii. 532, seqq.; Möhler, ii. 124; Kaye, 110.
[z] Baron. 353. 17-23; Tillem. vi. 353, 371, 366-380; vii. 525, 544; Gibbon, ii. 226.
[a] Athan. Tracts, 255.

him by offers and by threats. At length, as he refused to wait on the emperor, he was forcibly carried off from his city in the middle of the night. He had several interviews with Constantius at Milan. He demanded that a free council—unrestrained by the imperial influence—should be summoned, to investigate the case of Athanasius. Constantius reproached him as being the only bishop who still adhered to the Alexandrian prelate—whose removal the emperor professed to consider more important than the victories which had been gained over Magnentius and other pretenders to the throne. Liberius was firm; he refused the offer of three days for consideration; and, on receiving sentence of banishment to Beroea, in Thrace,[b] he indignantly rejected large sums of money which the emperor, the empress, and the chief of the eunuchs had sent as contributions towards the expenses of his journey.[c] Hosius also withstood all attempts to shake his constancy, and, after having been kept under restraint a year, was banished to Sirmium.[d] In the room of Liberius, the Archdeacon Felix—who, however, is said by some authorities to have been orthodox in faith—allowed himself to be consecrated by three foreign bishops, the chief of whom was Acacius of Cæsarea, in Palestine.[e]

The Arians now thought themselves strong enough to proceed to the ejection of Athanasius. Several attempts were made to draw him away from his see by the use of the emperor's name; but he refused to attend to anything short of a warrant as express as that which had authorized his restoration, or as the assurance of protection which Constantius had voluntarily given him after the death of Constans.[f] Such a warrant the emperor seems to have been afraid to grant—dreading an insurrection of the Alexandrians and a stoppage of the corn supplies on which Constantinople depended.[g] Syrianus, duke of Egypt, who was charged with the removal of Athanasius, lulled him and his flock into security by promising to write to the emperor for distinct instructions, and, about three weeks later, proceeded to effect his purpose. In the night of the 9th of February, 356, Athanasius with many of the Alexandrians was preparing for a

A.D. 356. January.

[b] A different place from that of the same name in Acts xvii. Tillem. vi. 768.

[c] Ath. Tracts, 249; Soz. iv. 11; Baron. 355. 45-9; Tillem. vi. 381-6; Gibbon, ii. 228; Kaye, 112-3.

[d] Baron. 355. 61-8; Möhler, ii. 130-3.

[e] Soc. ii. 37; Baron. 355. 55-7; 357, 62-3; Tillem. vi. 386-7. On the question whether Felix should be recognized in the Roman church as pope and martyr, there is a curious story in Schröckh, viii. 105.

[f] Ath. Tracts, 171-7.

[g] Gibbon, ii. 229; Milm. iii. 26.

celebration of the Eucharist by keeping vigil in the church of St. Theonas, when Syrianus, with 5000 soldiers and a mob of Arians, surrounded the building.[h] The bishop, hearing the noise without, calmly seated himself on his throne, and desired that the 136th Psalm should be sung—the whole congregation joining in the response "For His mercy endureth for ever." The soldiers forced the doors, and a fearful confusion ensued. Many persons were trodden under foot, crushed to death, or killed with javelins; the virgins were stripped and beaten; the soldiers approached the choir, and Athanasius was urged to save himself by flight. He declared that he would not depart until his people were safe, and, rising, desired them to join in prayer and to withdraw as quickly as possible. When most of them had left the church the clergy closed around their bishop, and carried him away, exhausted and in a swoon. The soldiery and the mob continued their outrages, and the ornaments of the church were plundered or defaced. The Catholics addressed the emperor in a protest against the violence which had been committed; but he replied by justifying Syrianus, and ordering them to discover and give up Athanasius.[i]

In the beginning of Lent, a new Arian bishop, George of Cappadocia, arrived at Alexandria. This intruder, although he was recommended in extravagant terms by imperial letters, is described by the Catholic writers as a man who had behaved discreditably in low secular employments—rude, illiterate, and disdaining even to put on an outward show of piety.[k] The heathen Ammianus Marcellinus' testimony is also unfavourable; indeed George, by his exactions, made himself no less odious to the pagans than he was to the orthodox. Supported by the civil power, he raged against the Catholic bishops, clergy, monks, virgins, and laity—plundering, scourging, mutilating, banishing, and committing to the mines. Some bishops died in consequence of the cruelties which were inflicted on them. One renegade, who joined the intruder's party, submitted to reordination. After a time, George was driven out by his people, and took refuge with the emperor; but he returned with ampler powers, and made himself more detested than ever.[l]

[h] Ath. Tracts, 175, 216; Pagi, iv. 558-561.

[i] Ath. Tracts, 206-7, 294; Soc. ii. 24, 28; Soz. iv. 2; Theod. ii. 13; Tillem. viii. 152-7; Schröckh, vi. 105; Kaye, 119-121.

[k] Ath. Tracts, 267; Baron. 356. 14; Pagi in Baron., iv. 564; Tillem. viii. 160; Gibbon, ii. 321; Schröckh, vi. 105-6; Möhler, ii. 161. He had, however, a library so valuable that after his death it excited the interest of the emperor Julian. Baron. 362. 170; Kaye, 135.

[l] Soz. iv. 10, 30; Theod. ii. 14; Tillem. vi. 394; viii. 170; Newman on Ath. Orat. 134; Kaye, 135-6.

The aged Hosius—worn out by imprisonment, severity, and even tortures—at length yielded, and in 357 subscribed at Sirmium a heterodox creed, of which it was even pretended that he was the author; but he did not, apparently, sign the condemnation of Athanasius. He recovered his see, and died shortly after at the age of a hundred or upwards. Athanasius, who speaks of him with tenderness and pity, states that on his deathbed he protested against the violence which had been used towards him, and abjured the errors to which he had yielded a forced assent.[m]

The fall of Liberius followed in the same year. In April Constantius visited Rome, where no emperor had been seen since 326. A number of ladies of rank, after having in vain endeavoured to persuade their husbands to undertake the office of intercession, waited on him with a petition for the recall of Liberius. Constantius answered that the bishop might return if he could agree with his brethren of the court party, and proposed that he and Felix should jointly govern the Church.[n] This compromise did not satisfy the petitioners; but in the following winter Liberius, weary of his Thracian exile, entreated in abject terms that he might be recalled. He professed to concur heartily with Ursacius, Valens, and their oriental partizans; he appeared even greedy of humiliation in disavowing his former opinions; and, after subscribing an Arian or Semiarian creed,[o] he was allowed to return to Rome. Felix was expelled—not without bloodshed between the parties of the rival bishops, according to some accounts; and he did not long survive.[p]

[m] Ath. Tracts, 123, 260; Val. in Soc. iii. 31; Tillem. vi. 318-321, 417; vii. 317; Neander, iv. 65; Kaye, 114.

[n] Soz. iv. 11; Baron. 356. 113.

[o] Some Romanists, as Baronius (357. 43-53), endeavour to make it appear that the creed which he signed was the *first* Sirmian—the production of the synod which condemned Photinus in 351—a form which was not heretical. Tillemont (vi. 772-4), Fleury (xiii. 46), and Bishop Kaye (113), incline to this opinion—Tillemont avowedly on the ground of charity, and the bishop with some misgivings. Its improbability is shown by Schröckh (vi. 138), and by Neander (iv. 65). Neander says that the creed was certainly not the *first* Sirmian; that it *may* have been the *third*, which condemned both the *homoöusion* and the *homoiousion;* but that it was most likely the second—the same which Hosius had signed. Dupin (ii. 77) and Möhler (ii. 204) consider the matter doubtful. Rohrbacher (vi. 429-432, 438-9), following some earlier writers of his church (see Schröckh, vi. 139), boldly denies the pope's lapse altogether! See Newman on Ath. Orat. 161-2.

[p] Soz. iv. 15; Theod. ii. 17. "The adherents of Felix," says Gibbon (ii. 237), "were inhumanly murdered in the streets, in the public places, in the baths, and even in the churches; and the face of Rome, upon the return of a Christian bishop, renewed the horrid image of the massacres of Marius and the proscriptions of Sylla." Sozomen (iv. 11-15) and Sulpicius Severus (Hist. Sac. l. ii. p. 107. ed Elzev. 1656) mention tumults and bloodshed *before* the restoration of Liberius; but Gibbon's statement, although made in such terms as if the matter had never been questioned, rests on no better authority than that of the Pontificals, which is allowed to be worthless. See Labbe, Concilia, ii. 739-740; Tillem. vi. 437-8; Bower, i. 141.

Arianism appeared to be everywhere triumphant; but now internal differences, which had hitherto been concealed, began to show themselves openly.[q]

(1.) The formulas under which the Arians or Eusebians had studied to veil their heterodoxy—abstaining from any distinct declaration on the most critical points, and putting forth professions which in themselves were sound, although short of the full Catholic belief—these formulas, dishonestly intended by their framers, had in the course of years been forming a party which honestly held them, without the errors which the more advanced Arians had been careful not to express. This party, which is known as the Semiarian or Homoiousian,[r] held that the Son was "like in all things" to the Father; that his essence was *like* that of the Father—differing from it only in not being identical with it; that He was truly a Son, begotten beyond time and before all worlds.[s] Eusebius of Cæsarea was the precursor of Semiarianism; but its appearance as the badge of a party was not until long after his death. There was much of respectability and piety among the Semiarians. Athanasius and Hilary speak of them as brethren—being willing to believe that they were not really heterodox, but only scrupled at the use of the word *homoëusion*, as apparently savouring of Sabellianism, and as having been condemned in Paul of Samosata.[t] To this party—of which Basil of Ancyra and George of Laodicea were the leaders—the majority of the eastern bishops now belonged.[u]

(2.) On the other hand, Arianism for the first time came forth without disguise in the doctrines of Aëtius and his pupil Eunomius. The former, a man of very low origin, notorious for a disputatious character, and ignorant of ecclesiastical learning, was ordained deacon by Leontius of Antioch, and was afterwards deposed by him. He unflinchingly carried out the principles of Arianism to their conclusions, so as to offend and annoy the more cautious of its professors, who spoke of him as "the godless." He maintained that the Son, as being a creature, was necessarily *un*like the Father, not only in substance but in will;[x] hence his

[q] Tillem. vi. 411: Schröckh, vi. 140; Neander, iv. 58-9; Kaye, 123.

[r] From ὁμοιούσιος, "of like essence or substance."

[s] Newman, 317-9.

[t] See p. 124.

[u] Ath. Orat. and Notes, 17, 63, 103, 129, 138; Soz. iii. 13; iv. 19; Schröckh, vi. 109-112; Möhler, ii. 230; Newman, 318-20; Gieseler, I. ii. 58, 66; Kaye, 108, 132. Athanasius argues strongly against scrupling at terms when the belief is the same. Orat. 130, 156-7—in the latter place, with reference to the Semiarians.

[x] Soc. ii. 35; Soz. iv. 12; Theod. ii. 24; Tillem. vi. 403-410; Schröckh, vi. 115-9; Guericke, i. 432; Newman, 360 al; n. on Ath. Orat. 3, 11; Kaye, 130.

party were called *Anomœans*.[y] Eunomius went still further in the same direction. Although he professed to refer to Scripture, his system was not founded on it, but was merely a work of reasoning. It was purely intellectual, excluding all reference to the affections. He discarded the idea of mystery in religion; he held that God knows no more of his own nature than man may know of it; that the Son resembles the Father in nothing but his working; that the Holy Spirit was created by the Son. He denied all sacramental influences, and—unlike Arius, who was himself a man of rigid life—he opposed everything like asceticism.[z]

(3.) Between the Anomœans and the Semiarians stood the crafty, secular, and unscrupulous party now called after Acacius, who in 341 had succeeded Eusebius in the see of Cæsarea.[a] Agreeing in principles with the Anomœans, they by turns favoured them when it was safe, and disavowed them when convenience so required; and for a time they endeavoured to conceal their differences from the Semiarians as to the essence (οὐσία) of the Son by proscribing the term as unscriptural and as having been the source of trouble to the Church.[b] The emperor's own opinions were Semiarian; but the policy of Acacius and the personal influence of Valens counterbalanced his doctrinal convictions.[c]

Leontius of Antioch died in the end of 357. Eudoxius, bishop of Germanicia, who was in attendance on the emperor in the West, requested leave to go into Syria on false pretences, and got possession of the vacant see. The favour which he openly showed to Aëtius provoked the Semiarians to hold a council at Ancyra, where they condemned the Anomœan doctrine and the second creed of Sirmium;[d] and Constantius ratified their decisions.[e]

A.D. 358.

The emperor, at the desire of the Semiarians, resolved to summon a general council for the final settlement of the questions which had so long distracted the Church.[f] The Acacians took

[y] From ἀνόμοιος, *unlike*.

[z] Soc. iv. 7; Schröckh, vi. 122-132; Neander, iv. 50; vi. 420; Newman, 363. The Eunomians are said to have been the first to introduce single instead of trine immersion in baptism. They had some strange baptismal rites, and rebaptized converts not only from Catholicism, but from other forms of Arianism. Soz. vi. 26; Schröckh, vi. 131; Newman, 363.

[a] Kaye, 108.

[b] Neander, iv. 64-5; Gieseler, I. ii. 58. Acacius said that the Son was "like" the Father—not "like in substance." Newman on Ath. Orat. 7.

[c] Newman, 359.

[d] See above, p. 212, note [e].

[e] Soc. ii. 36; Soz. iv. 12-14; Pagi in Baron. iv. 626; Tillem. vi. 422-3; 431-3; 775; Neander, iv. 66; Newman on Ath. Orat. 162.

[f] Soc. ii. 36; Gieseler, I. ii. 59-60; Newman on Ath. Orat. 163.

the alarm, and, fearing that both Catholics and Semiarians might unite to condemn them, they fell on the expedient of dividing the council, in the hope that they might be able to manage its separate portions. They represented to Constantius the difficulties and the expense of bringing bishops from all parts of his dominions to one place, and their arguments were successful. It was resolved that the Western branch of the Church should assemble at Rimini, and the Eastern at Seleucia, the capital of Isauria; and that ten deputies from each division should afterwards meet in the presence of the emperor.[g]

About four hundred and fifty bishops met at Rimini in May, 359. A creed, drawn up by some Acacians and Semiarians at a previous meeting, and known as the Third Creed of Sirmium, was offered to the council by Valens and Ursacius. It proscribed the term *essence* (οὐσία) as unscriptural, and liable to misapprehension, and declared the Son to be "like the Father in all things, according to the Scriptures." The Acacians hoped that the Catholics would subscribe these words according to their most obvious sense, while for themselves they interpreted them as meaning *like in all things to which Scripture extends the likeness.*[h]

The bishops, although for the most part unskilled in theological subtleties, were animated by a strong distrust of the Acacians. They declared that the Nicene Creed was sufficient for them, and excommunicated Ursacius, Valens, and four others, who refused to sign it.[i] They then sent twenty deputies to the emperor, with a request that no innovation on the faith might be attempted, and that they might be allowed to return to their homes. Constantius deferred seeing the envoys, professing that his mind was at the time so occupied by political business as to be unfit for the due consideration of Divine things. He set off towards the seat of the Persian war. During his absence the bishops were practised on by his courtiers; and thus after a time they were drawn into signing the same creed which had been produced at Rimini, but rendered more objectionable by the omission of the words "in all things."[k] Their brethren at Rimini meanwhile were sedulously plied with arguments from the emperor's character and intentions, the desirableness of peace, the inexpediency of contending about

[g] Ath. Orat. 74; Soz. iv. 16-7; Theod. ii. 26; Neander, iv. 66-7; Newman, 366-7; Kaye, 121-2.

[h] Ath. Orat. 82-4; Newman, ibid. 163; Soc. ii. 36; Soz. iv. 17; Tillem. vi. 444-5; Neander, iv. 67-8; Kaye, 123. The explanation of the evasion is not uniform.

[i] Soc. ii. 36; Soz. iv. 17; Tillem. vi. 448-450; Kaye, 124-5.

[k] Soc. ii. 36-7; Tillem. vi. 456; Schröckh, vi. 149-150; Möhler, ii. 211; Kaye, 126-7, 131.

(as was said) a mere question of words, the hopelessness of bringing the Orientals to adopt the term *coessential.* Valens, by way of dissipating their suspicions, uttered anathemas which seemed to be altogether irreconcilable with Arianism; and at length, pressed by solicitations, desirous to return to their homes before winter, and deluded as to the meaning of their act, they also subscribed the formula which was presented to them.[l] "The whole world," says St. Jerome, "groaned, and was astonished to find itself Arian."[m] On returning to their dioceses, the bishops began to understand the import of their submission. Many of them then repudiated the creed which they had signed, and wrote letters of sympathy to Athanasius.[n]

The Seleucian Council met in September. The whole number of bishops was about a hundred and sixty, of whom a hundred and five were Semiarians, thirty-five Acacians, and the rest orthodox.[o] The last of these parties was composed of Egyptians, together with Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, one of the most powerful champions of the Catholic faith, who had been banished into Phrygia in the year 356, and was now summoned to take part in the deliberations of his Eastern brethren.[p] The Acacians, finding themselves outnumbered, attempted on various pretences to break up the assembly. The imperial commissary, Leonas, dissolved it on account of the dissensions which arose in it. The majority signed the "Creed of the Dedication."[q] The Acacians condemned both *homoëusion* (of the same essence) and *homoiousion* (of like essence) as inexpedient, and anathematized the term *anomoion* (unlike).[r] Both Semiarians and Acacians sent off deputies to the court; and, although Constantius agreed in opinion with the former, and the council had been convened for the purpose of establishing their ascendancy, the Acacians were the first to reach him, and succeeded in winning his ear.[s]

A council was held at Constantinople in the emperor's presence, where each party preferred charges against its opponents. Aëtius was deposed from the diaconate, being given up by the Acacians as a scapegoat. On the other hand, Basil of Ancyra and other

[l] Soz. iv. 19; Tillem. vi. 456; Schröckh, vi. 153; Möhler, ii. 212; Newman, 373-4.

[m] Adv. Lucif. 19.

[n] Tillem. vi. 460. Liberius, who was not present at the council, is said to have recovered himself by a strenuous opposition to its creed. Baron. 359. 46-8; Tillem. vi. 464.

[o] Soc. ii. 39; Soz. iv. 22; Tillem, vi. 466-7; Schröckh, vi. 155; Newman, 368, and n. on Ath. Orat. 88. The general proportions are alike in the several accounts, although with differences of detail.

[p] Schröckh, xii. 61, 308; Neander, iv. 53-4; Möhler, ii. 134-5.

[q] See above, p. 203.

[r] Soc. ii. 39-40; Tillem. vi. 492-3.

[s] Tillem. vi. 477-9; Schröckh, vi. 164; Neander, iv. 70; Newman, 366.

Semiarians were deposed and banished as insubordinate.[t] It was ordered that the Creed of Rimini should be signed everywhere. The greater part of the bishops complied, and recusants were treated with severity.[u] Macedonius, bishop of the capital, had entered into connexion with the Semiarian party, and thus had become obnoxious to the Acacians. The emperor had been displeased with him on account of the tumults excited by his violent proceedings against the Catholics and the Novatianists,[v] and a new cause of offence was now added. The church in which the body of the great Constantine had been deposited was likely to fall. Macedonius removed the coffin to another church; and Constantius was irritated both by his presuming to take such a step without the imperial permission, and because the factions of Constantinople had made the removal the occasion for a serious disturbance.[x] The bishop was therefore deposed on various charges of misconduct (for the Acacians, out of fear lest the emperor's sympathy should be excited, were careful to avoid the question of doctrine in their proceedings against the Semiarians); and Eudoxius of Antioch was appointed his successor.[y] A.D. 360.

A council held at Antioch in the beginning of 361 appointed to the bishopric of that city Meletius, who some time before had resigned the see of Sebaste[z]—a man of high reputation, who had until then been reckoned among the Arian party.[a] Meletius, it is said, on taking possession of Antioch, at first confined his preaching to practical subjects; but when he had thus obtained some hold on his flock, he began openly to teach the Nicene doctrine.[b] The council, which was still sitting,[c] deposed and banished him within thirty days after his installation, and in his room appointed Euzoius, formerly a deacon of Alexandria, who had been the associate of Arius in the early stages of the heresy.[d] Ever since the deprivation of Eustathius an orthodox party had been kept up within the church of Antioch, notwithstanding the

[t] Soz. iv. 24; Theod. ii. 27; Tillem. vi. 480, 492.

[u] Tillem. vi. 499-500; Neander, iv. 70; Kaye, 130-1.

[v] Sup. p. 208.

[x] Soc. ii. 38; Soz. iv. 21; Walch, iii. 89.

[y] Soc. ii. 42-3; Schröckh, vi. 164.

[z] Walch, iv. 426.

[a] Soz. iv. 28; Tillem. vi. 517-9; Neander, iv. 72. It is a high testimony to the character of Meletius, that neither his orthodox nor his Arian opponents ever make any moral imputation against him. Walch, iv. 429.

[b] Soc. ii. 44. Theodoret (ii. 31) tells the story differently, and its truth is questioned by Tillemont (viii. 346 and note). See Walch, iv. 432-3; Möhler, ii. 216; Kaye, 139.

[c] Pagi, in Bar. v. 12-13, says that there were two councils within a very short time; that Constantius was not at that which appointed Meletius, but probably at that which deposed him.

[d] Sup. pp. 193-6; Walch, iv. 435-8.

Arianism of the bishops. This party now formed a separate communion, which regarded Meletius as its head; but the old Eustathians, who had throughout stood aloof, refused to communicate with them, on the ground that Meletius had received his appointment from Arians, and that his followers had been baptized in heresy.[e]

The council of Antioch set forth an undisguisedly Anomœan creed, declaring the Son to have been created out of nothing, and to be unlike the Father both in substance and in will.[f] St. Athanasius reckons this as the eleventh creed to which the variations of Arianism had given birth; Tillemont makes it the eighteenth.[g] Amidst such a continual manufacture of new standards of doctrine it was no wonder that the heathens derided the Christians as having still to learn in what their faith consisted.[h]

The reign of Constantius was now near its end. The Cæsar Julian had been proclaimed Augustus by his troops in Gaul, and had advanced far towards the Eastern capital. Constantius set out to meet him, but was arrested by illness at Mopsucrenæ, in Cilicia, where he died on the 3rd of November, 361, at the age of forty-four, and in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. A short time before his death,—but whether at Antioch or at Mopsucrenæ is uncertain,—he was baptized by the Arian bishop of Antioch.[i]

[e] Soc. ii. 44. According to some writers, Eustathius was still alive. See above, p. 194.

[f] Soc. ii. 45; Schröckh, vi. 169.

[g] Tillem. vi. 521-2; Schröckh, vi. 172; see Kaye, 132-5.

[h] Schröckh, vi. 171-2.

[i] Tillem. Emp. iv. 465-6, 691.

CHAPTER III.

JULIAN.

A.D. 361–363.

I.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of the great Constantine, the soldiery at Constantinople committed a massacre among the princes of his house. With the exception of his three sons—of whom two were at a distance, while Constantius was even supposed to have instigated the murderers[a]—the only survivors of the imperial family were two children of the late emperor's half-brother, Julius Constantius, who himself was one of the victims. Gallus was spared because his sickly constitution seemed to preclude the apprehension of future danger from him; Julian, who was only six years of age, is said to have been saved and concealed in a church by Mark, bishop of Arethusa.[b] A.D. 337.

The early education of these brothers was superintended by Eusebius of Nicomedia.[c] When Julian had reached the age of fifteen, they were removed to Macellæ, near Cæsarea in Cappadocia. They lived in the palace of the old Cappadocian kings, and were treated in a manner suitable to their rank, yet were kept in a seclusion which had the nature of imprisonment. They were trained in a strict routine of religious observances; they were even admitted into the order of *readers*, and officiated in the service of the Church.[d] After spending six years in this manner, Gallus was appointed Cæsar, and was established at Antioch. Julian was allowed to study at Constantinople, but, as the popularity which he gained there excited the emperor's jealousy, he was soon ordered to Nicomedia, where he endeavoured to disarm the suspicions of A.D. 346. A.D. 351.

[a] Socrates, ii. 5, says that Constantius did not give the order, but also did not prevent the massacre. See Tillem. Emp. iv. 314: Gibbon, ii. 78, 103. Beugnot (i. 131-6) thinks that it was an outbreak of paganism. Niebuhr (Vortr. ed. Isler, iii. 303) says that we are in the dark as to the matter, and that Constantius—who was obnoxious both to Catholics and to pagans—has probably been too unfavourably represented.

[b] Soc. iii. 1; Soz. v. 1; Gibbon, ii. 103, 316. Julian was born Nov. 6, 331 or 332. Gibbon, ii. 270.

[c] Schröckh, vi. 267.

[d] Soz. v. 1; Tillem. Emp. iv. 487; Gibbon, ii. 285-6; Neander, iii. 53.

Constantius by shaving his head and living like a monk.[e] Gallus in his new elevation displayed both violence and incapacity. In the end of 354, he was removed from his government and was put to death. Julian was summoned to the court at Milan, where he was detained in a state of suspense for seven months; he then, through the influence of the empress Eusebia, who steadily befriended him, obtained leave to attend the schools of Athens.[f]

The Persians on the east, and the barbarian nations on the north, obliged Constantius to seek for assistance in the administration of the empire. Julian was therefore declared Cæsar in November 355. He received in marriage the hand of the emperor's sister Helena, and was sent to undertake the government of Gaul, but with humiliating limitations of his power.[g] Although his life had hitherto been that of a student, he soon distinguished himself by his success both in war and in civil government. Constantius decried him, thwarted and crippled him in his administration, and assumed the credit of his victories.[h] At length, when he was in winter-quarters at Paris, in April 360, Julian received an order to despatch the strength of his troops to the Persian frontier. The soldiers rose in mutiny, and compelled the Cæsar, whose show of resistance may perhaps have been not wholly sincere,[i] to assume the title of Augustus. His proposals for a division of the empire were scornfully rejected by Constantius. Eusebia and Helena, whose mediation might have prevented a breach, were both lately dead. After fruitless negotiation, Julian resolved to march against his kinsman. Carrying out a brilliant conception with an energy which triumphed over all difficulties, he penetrated through the Black Forest to the Danube, embarked his army on the great river, and landed at a point within a few miles of Sirmium.[k] He had already become master of almost all the West, when the death of Constantius saved the empire from the miseries of a civil war.

A.D. 355-360.

Nov. 3, 361.

The policy of Constantius towards Paganism was, on the whole, a continuation of his father's. Laws are found which forbid sacrifice even on pain of death; and under Julian the pagan

[e] Soz. v. 1; Gibbon, ii. 103.
[f] Gibbon, ii. 108-111; Schröckh, vi. 280.
[g] Gibbon, ii. 110-3.
[h] Gibbon, 129-130, 251. Niebuhr (Vortr. iii. 307), however, refers the measures of jealousy to court intrigues, of which he supposes Constantius probably innocent.
[i] See Niebuhr, iii. 308.
[k] Gibbon, ii. 251-266.

orators complained of severities exercised against their religion in the late reign.[l] It is, however, certain that the severer laws, even if they were actually published at the time, were not generally acted on.[m] Paganism was still largely cherished, especially among the aristocracy of the older capital, among the philosophical and literary class, and among the peasantry.[n] Its rites appear to have been freely practised, even by persons in authority.[o] The first Christian emperor was, like his predecessors, enrolled among the gods. Constantius retained the style of Pontifex Maximus; on his visit to Rome, in 357, he respected the old religion, and even made appointments to priestly offices.[p] He was, indeed, unintermitting in his hostility to the arts of astrology and divination; but it was on account of their dangerous political character.[q] Some temples were given up for Christian purposes, or were bestowed on favourites of the court, but there were enactments against destroying any, and against defacing heathen monuments.[r] The doctrinal controversies of the time diverted the attention of the Christians from paganism, and, moreover, rendered each party unwilling to provoke the multitude which was without the Church.[s] Some of the more intemperate Christian writers, of whom Firmicus Maternus is the most noted, in vain attempted to urge the government to more vigorous measures for the suppression of idolatry.[t]

Before setting out on his expedition, Julian, although he had but lately celebrated the Christian festival of the Epiphany, declared himself a votary of the "Immortal Gods," and claimed their assistance for his arms.[u] It is not difficult to understand the motives of this defection, on account of which the epithet *Apostate* has become the usual accompaniment of his name. His Christian training, with its formal and constrained devotion, had been so conducted that it could hardly have failed to alienate a mind like his—quick, curious, and vain. His desire of knowledge had been

[l] Soz. iii. 17; Pagi in Baron. iv. 401; Schröckh, vi. 8-10; Beugnot, i. 145.

[m] Gibbon, ii. 246-7; Beugnot, i. 141-2.

[n] Beugnot, i. 151. The name of *pagan*, which I have often used by way of anticipation, began probably to be applied in a religious sense about this time, when the strength of the old religion was in the *pagi* or villages. The first *legal* use of it is by Valentinian I. A.D. 368. Gibbon, ii. 248; Gieseler, I. ii. 12.

[o] See the inscriptions in Beugnot, i. 152-4.

[p] Symmachus, ap. Ambros. ii. 968; Schröckh, vi. 10; Neander, iii. 46; Beugnot, i. 164; Gieseler, I. ii. 11.

[q] Baron. 353. 32; Pagi in Baron. iv. 557; Tillem. Emp. iv. 417; Beugnot, i. 142-3.

[r] Baron. 340. 45; Beugnot, i. 136-8, 142.

[s] Gibbon, ii. 248; Schröckh, vi. 9; Neander, iii. 44-5.

[t] Neander, iii. 48-9; Beugnot, i. 148; Gieseler, I. ii. 10, 316.

[u] Gibbon, ii. 261.

thwarted in its direction; in his earlier years he had been forbidden to seek instruction from the heathens who were most celebrated as professors of rhetoric; and the prohibition had lent a charm to their opinions. He had come to view the system in which he was educated according to the imperfection in which it was realised by those around him, while heathenism appeared to him in ideal brightness, as embodied in the lives of its worthies,—as connected with literature, philosophy, and art. The eyes of the pagans had early been fixed on him as the hope of their religion. At Nicomedia, and afterwards in Ionia and at Athens, he was courted by philosophers and rhetoricians. As he moved from place to place, he was handed over by one of them to another. They not only entangled his mind in their speculations, but practised on it by the arts of theurgy and divination, flattering him with the idea of one day becoming master of the empire. During his residence at Athens, he was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. He himself dates his conviction of the falsehood of Christianity from the age of twenty-one, although it was not avowed until nine years later.[x]

Julian arrived at Constantinople on the 11th of December, 361, and left it in the middle of the following May. He reached Antioch in the end of June, 362, and remained there until March 5, 363, when he set out on his fatal expedition into Persia.[y] Thus the greater part of his short reign was spent in two cities especially unfavourable to his religion. Constantinople had never until his time been polluted by public sacrifice. At Antioch—although the inhabitants were too commonly licentious, luxurious, and fond of frivolous diversions,—Christianity was generally professed, and there were only a few aged people who remembered the days when Paganism was the national creed.[z]

Julian's paganism was very unlike the old political religion of Rome; it was eclectic, philosophical, enthusiastic, and more akin to Gnosticism than even to the Greek system.[a] He believed in one supreme God, whom he identified with the Mithra or Sun-god of Oriental worship. Under this deity he acknowledged others—the tutelaries of nations, sciences, and the like. The worship of

[x] Soc. iii. 1; Gibbon, ii. 291-4; Schröckh, vi. 269, 272-8, 285, 300; Niebuhr, ed. Isler, iii. 306, 309; Neander, iii. 50-7, vi. 371-2; Beugnot, i. 180.

[y] Gibbon, ii. 269, 337; Clinton.

[z] Schröckh, vi. 330-2; Neander, iii. 87; Niebuhr, ed. Isler, iii. 311. On going to the temple of Daphne, near Antioch, on the day of a great local festival, the emperor found in attendance only a single priest, with no other sacrifice than a goose. Soc. iii. 18; Gibbon, ii. 318.

[a] Beugnot, i. 215; Niebuhr, iii. 310.

images was defended on philosophical grounds, very remote from the popular belief.[b] The emperor's zeal far outstripped that of others. Ammianus Marcellinus, the pagan historian of the time, describes him as rather superstitious than religious;[c] and his heathen subjects in general looked with surprise and disrespect on the profusion of his costly sacrifices, and on the share which he himself took in them—performing even the coarsest and most repulsive functions.[d] In other respects, too, his vanity displayed itself in an ostentatious disregard of the form and dignity which are usually associated with sovereign power. He affected a cynical roughness in his appearance and habits. He reformed the luxury of the court with an unwise and precipitate severity; he disbanded the host of eunuchs and parasites who had been attached to it during the late reign, and replaced them by philosophers and professors of divination, many of whom proved unable to bear with equanimity the honours and employments which were bestowed on them.[e]

The religious policy of the last two reigns was now reversed. The immunities and endowments which had been conferred on the Christian clergy were transferred to the heathen priesthood; but, whereas Constantine, in restoring church-property to the rightful owners after the persecution, had indemnified the existing holders at the expense of the state, Julian ordered that Christians who had been concerned in the destruction of temples should rebuild them at their own expense, and that money received from property which had formerly belonged to the pagan religious establishment should be refunded. Even if the means of such restitution had been in their hands, the restoration of temples—which would in many cases have involved the demolition of churches erected on their sites—was intolerable to the consciences of the Christians, and in consequence of the edict many of the clergy were subjected to tortures, imprisonment, and death.[f] The case of Mark, bishop of Arethusa, is especially noted. "The magistrates," says Gibbon, "required the full value of a temple which had been destroyed; but, as they were satisfied of his poverty, they desired only to bend his inflexible spirit to the promise of the slightest compensation. They apprehended the aged

[b] Gibbon, ii. 289-290; Schröckh, vi. 297, 345-6; Neander, iii. 59-60.
[c] Gieseler, I. ii. 19.
[d] Tillem. Emp. iv. 557-8; Gibbon, ii. 297; Beugnot, i. 196-7.
[e] Soc. iii. 1; Soz. v. 3; Baron. 362. 4; Tillem. Emp. iv. 509, 513-5, 528-530, 554-6; Gibbon, ii. 273-4, 335; Milman, iii. 78-9, 104.
[f] Soz. v. 5; Gibbon, ii. 315; Neander, iii. 66.

prelate, they inhumanly scourged him, they tore his beard; and his naked body, anointed with honey, was suspended in a net between heaven and earth, and exposed to the stings of insects and the rays of a Syrian sun. From this lofty station Mark still persisted to glory in his crime, and to insult the impotent rage of his persecutors. He was at length rescued from their hands; Julian spared his life; but if the bishop of Arethusa had saved the infancy of Julian, posterity will condemn the ingratitude, instead of praising the clemency, of the emperor."[g]

Julian knew from the experience of former times that the employment of force against Christianity, far from suppressing it, had a contrary effect. He was unwilling to indulge the Christians and to animate their zeal by martyrdom; he was unwilling to sully his own reputation by harsh measures; he wished to gain credit by a display of toleration which might contrast with the persecutions of Constantius.[h] The stories of martyrdom which are referred to this reign are probably for the most part fabulous; and, although much of oppression and outrage was committed against the Christians, it does not appear that the emperor was directly concerned in such acts. It is, too, very evident that the Christians sometimes provoked the ruling party by needlessly offensive conduct; and that their complaints are not always free from exaggeration.[i] But, although Julian declared that argument and persuasion were the only means to be employed for the furtherance of his opinions, he allowed proceedings of a very different kind. He refused justice to the Christians with a shameless partiality, and made the refusal offensive by sarcasm. Thus when George of Cappadocia was murdered by the pagans of Alexandria, he took no further notice of the deed than by very slightly reproving them. When Christians appealed to him against the illegal violence of governors or of mobs, he reminded them that their religion enjoined on them the duty of patience under wrong. He deprived them of civil and military employments, and excluded them from the courts of law; and he alleged as his reason that the Gospel forbids worldly ambition, bloodshed, and lawsuits.[k] Although he professed to consider the devotion of the heart essential in religion, he sometimes used

[g] Gibbon, ii. 316; Soz. v. 5, 10; Theod. iii. 7; Baron. 362. 132-3; Neander, iii. 73, 86; Milman, iii. 98.

[h] Soz. v. 4; Tillem. vii. 330; Schröckh, vi. 290; Neander, iii. 72. M. Beugnot's attempt to show that the changes effected or contemplated by Julian were comparatively slight, appears unsuccessful.

[i] See Soc. iii. 15; Gibbon, ii. 327-8; Gieseler, I. ii. 20.

[k] Soc. iii. 2, 13-14; Baron. 362. 162-9; Fleury, xv. 5; Schröckh, vi. 296, 311, 324, 328; Gibbon, ii. 315, 320, 323; Niebuhr, iii. 310.

artifices in order to obtain some merely outward, and even unconscious, acts of homage to the heathen gods; thus he surrounded his own picture with pagan figures and emblems, so that the usual obeisance to it should involve an appearance of idolatry. In like manner, on the occasion of a donative, he required his soldiers to cast a few grains of incense into the fire —representing the act as merely an old custom, without any explanation of the import which he attached to it.[l]

By a strange exercise of tyranny, Julian issued an edict that no "Galilean"—for thus he required by law that the Christians should be styled—should become a professor of classical literature. By way of giving a reason for this order, he denounced the immorality and covetousness of persons who taught a system which they themselves did not believe. As it seems incredible that the emperor could have seriously confounded the religion with the literature of Greece, other motives have been conjectured—as jealousy of the eminence which some Christian rhetoricians had acquired, and a wish to deprive the Christians of the controversial advantages which they might derive from an acquaintance with the absurdities of pagan mythology.[m] Some Christians endeavoured to evade the edict by clothing the Scripture history in the forms of Greek composition—as epic, drama, Platonic dialogue; and these they substituted for the forbidden textbooks.[n] It has been said that Julian went so far as to prohibit "Galileans" even to *study* the classical writers—overlooking the Divine element of the Gospel, ascribing its success to human culture, and thinking to defeat it by reducing its professors to the condition of an illiterate sect. This, however, appears to be a mistake, except in so far as the law against teaching must also have operated as a bar to learning; for many of those who in other times would have resorted to pagan masters for instruction in secular studies must have felt themselves excluded from their schools now that an attack was made on the Christian teachers, and that classical learning was to be used as a temptation to apostasy.[o]

While the emperor thus exerted himself against the Gospel, he

[l] Baron. 362. 31-7; Tillem. vii. 334; Schröckh, vi. 323; Gibbon, ii. 303; Neander, iii. 68.

[m] Soc. iii. 12; Soz. v. 18; Theod. iii. 8; Tillem. vii. 344-6; Warburton's 'Julian,' 28, ed. Lond. 1766; Schröckh, vi. 314-6; Ullmann's Gregory of Nazianzum, by Cox, 88-90; Neander, iii. 80; Gieseler, I. ii. 19; Beugnot, i. 192-4; Milman, iii. 82-5. Socrates (loc. cit.) well defends the Christian use of heathen literature.

[n] Soc. iii. 16; Soz. v. 18.

[o] See Pagi in Baron. v. 142-3; Tillem. vii. 717-9; Warburton's 'Julian,' 26-7; Gibbon, ii. 313; Schröckh, vi. 318; Neander, iii. 80.

yet paid it the remarkable tribute of attempting to reform paganism by borrowing from Christian institutions. He pointed to the Christians as distinguished by their obedience to the rules of their religion. He admonished the heathen priests to a stricter life than that which had been usual—charging them to abstain from secular business and amusements; to take care that their wives and families should not be Christians; to be diligent in study, and to abstain from the perusal of unedifying books. He attempted to imitate the system of episcopal superintendence, that of commendatory letters, the monastic orders, the penitential discipline, the arrangement of churches, the liturgy, the hours of prayer, the expositions of religious doctrine by preaching, the care of the poor and distressed, of the sick and of the dead.[p]

The edict of Hadrian, which forbade the Jews to approach their holy city,[q] was still in force; and the legislation of Constantine and his son had pressed severely upon them. Julian was favourably disposed towards their religion; he respected it as an ancient national faith, although he considered it to be wrong in representing *its* God as the only deity; and the Mosaic sacrifices accorded with his ideas as to outward worship.[r] It is said that he summoned some of the most eminent Jews into his presence, and asked why they did not offer sacrifices according to their lawgiver's command. They answered that it was not lawful to sacrifice except in the Temple of Jerusalem, of which they had been long deprived. On this the emperor gave them leave to rebuild the Temple, and appointed one of his own officers to superintend the work. The dispersed Jews assembled from all quarters.[s] The women gave their ornaments towards the cost of the undertaking, and themselves carried burdens of earth in their silken dresses; even tools of silver are said to have been used. The long-depressed people were loud in proclaiming their expectations of a triumphant restoration, when the attempt was defeated in a terrible manner. The newly-laid foundations were overthrown by an earthquake; balls of fire burst forth from the ground, scorching and killing many of the workmen; their tools were melted by lightning: and it is added by some writers that the figure of a cross surrounded by a circle appeared in the sky,

[p] Soz. v. 16; Baron. 362. 302-7; Tillem. vii. 416; Schröckh, vi. 301; Neander, iii. 62-3; vi. 372; Milman, iii. 72. M. Beugnot (i. 203-4) denies the truth of these statements—apparently for no other than theoretical reasons.

[q] See p. 19.

[r] Gibbon, ii. 304-7; Neander, vi. 374.

[s] In the beginning of A.D. 363. Warburton, 54.

and that garments and bodies were marked with crosses, which it was impossible to efface.[t] The truth of some of these phenomena is attested by Ammianus, as well as by Christian writers. As the rebuilding was avowedly undertaken in defiance of the Christian religion—as its success would have falsified the evidence borne to the Gospel by those words of Scripture which had declared that Judaism was passed away and that the Temple should be desolate—we may reverently believe that the occasion was one on which the Divine power might be specially put forth. It will, however, remain a question how much of the story ought to be regarded as fabulous embellishment—how far the occurrences which produced the impression of miracles may have been the result of ordinary physical causes, and how far there was a mixture of that which is more properly to be styled miraculous.[u]

Julian spent the long winter evenings of 362-3 in composing an elaborate attack on Christianity, which he continued and finished after setting out on his expedition into Persia.[x] He had intended, on his return, to resume the building of the Jewish Temple.[y] What his policy might have been in other respects, if his life had been prolonged, can only be conjectured; but, as his enmity against the Christians had evidently increased, it is probable that the course which he had hitherto pursued with so little success would have been exchanged for a system of undisguised persecution.[z] His death, in consequence of a wound received in a night skirmish, was hailed by the Christians with joy. Prophecies and visions of his end had before been current among them.[a] Some referred his wound to an angel. Sozomen, in reporting the groundless[b] insinuation of Libanius, that it was inflicted not by a Persian but by a Christian, so far forgets his own Christianity as to argue that such an act may be laudably done for the cause of God and religion.[c]

June 27, 363.

II.

We now turn to the internal history of the Church.

[t] Soc. iii. 20; Soz. v. 22; Theod. iii. 20.

[u] See Warburton's 'Julian;' and Newman's Essay on Miracles, 165-175. Dr. Newman is able in this case to conduct his argument without the subtleties which mark other parts of the same essay. See also Schröckh, vi. 376-7; Guizot and Milman, in Gibbon, ii. 310-1; Neander, iii. 71; Gieseler, I. ii, 21; Guericke, i. 335.

[x] Fleury, xv. 45; Schröckh, vi. 340; Neander, iii. 120; Milman, iii. 103.

[y] Neander, iii. 71.

[z] Neander, iii. 94.

[a] Soz. vi. 2; Theod. iii. 23-4. The Christians believed that Julian offered many young persons as victims in order to discover the future. Soc. iii. 13; Till. Emp. iv. 527. Schröckh (vi. 332-3) rejects these stories.

[b] See Gibbon, ii. 378.

[c] Soz. vi. 1-2.

Julian on his accession recalled all who had been banished on account of religion. His object was twofold—to gain the praise of liberality, and at the same time to damage the Christian cause by giving free scope to the dissensions of the various parties. In the latter hope, however, he was disappointed. The Arians, when deprived of court support, lost all spirit and vigour; and the common danger from the ascendancy of paganism moderated the controversies which had raged so long and so violently.[d]

A.D. 362.

Athanasius, when expelled from Alexandria in 356, withdrew into the deserts of Egypt, and found a refuge among the monks, who had always steadily adhered to his cause.[e] Constantius attempted to arrest him, and exerted himself to prevent his finding a retreat in Ethiopia if he should flee into that newly-converted country.[f] During an exile of six years[g] he kept a watchful eye on all the fortunes of the Church, and by seasonable writings combated the heresy which had driven him from his see.

A.D. 356-362.

On receiving the news of Constantine's death, the heathen populace of Alexandria murdered the Arian bishop, George, who had made himself even more hateful to them than to the Catholics. Athanasius soon after returned, and was received with triumph.[h] He obtained possession of all the churches, so that the Arians, who had set up one Lucius as their bishop, could only assemble in private houses.[i] Athanasius forthwith held a council, at which Lucifer of Cagliari and Eusebius of Vercelli, who had been released from banishment in the Thebaid, were invited to attend.[k] One important subject to be considered by the council was the healing of the schism which distracted the church of Antioch. Lucifer at once repaired to that city, sending two of his deacons to represent him at Alexandria.[l]

A.D. 362.

[d] Soc. iii. 11; Soz. v. 5; vi. 4; Amm. Marcel. in Gieseler, I. ii. 61.

[e] Tillem. viii. 180; Möhler, ii. 145.

[f] Tillem. viii. 183. See below, c. vi. § 1.

[g] The story which is told by Sozomen, v. 6, and which is so attractive to Gibbon's taste (ii. 234),—that Athanasius was entertained during all the time by a beautiful virgin—is generally rejected as fabulous. (Tillem. viii. 698; Schröckh, xii. 147.) The notion of his having been present, incognito, at Rimini or Seleucia, or both places, while the councils were sitting, is a needless and improbable inference from some words of his tract on those councils. See Tillem. viii. 705; Schröckh, xii. 205; Newman on Ath. Orat. 73.

[h] Soc. iii. 2; Soz. v. 6-7; Gibbon, ii. 322; Tillem. viii. 204; Neander, iii. 85; Milman, iii. 93-5; Kaye, 136-7. Sozomen says that he suddenly appeared by night in his cathedral, immediately after the death of Constantius—a manifest fable. Gibbon dates his return on Feb. 21; Pagi (v. 103), in August.

[i] Schröckh, xii. 7; Kaye, 137.

[k] Soc. iii. 5.

[l] Walch, iii. 348.

The case of the clergy who had conformed to Arianism in the late reign was decided with that wise consideration for persons which in Athanasius always accompanied his zeal for the truth. It was enacted that those who had erred through simplicity or ignorance should be allowed to retain their positions on subscribing the Nicene Creed; and that such as had taken a more active part on the Arian side should, on repentance, be admitted to communion, but should be deprived of ecclesiastical office.[m]

Another question related to the use of certain theological terms. The words *ousia* (οὐσία, essence) and *hypostasis* (ὑπόστασις, subsistence) had in the beginning of the controversy been used by the Orientals as equivalent. Both had been translated in Latin by *substantia*, and had been understood by the Latins as signifying the *nature* of God. But in course of time a distinction had been introduced in the East, so that, while *ousia* denoted *nature*, *hypostasis* was used in the sense which we are accustomed to express by the term *Person*; and this distinction was especially characteristic of such theologians as had come out of the Arian connexion to embrace the Nicene faith. The Latins, then, hearing that three *hypostases* were maintained by some of the Orientals, took alarm, as if the words signified three different *grades* of nature; while the other party insisted on the necessity of using *hypostasis* in the new sense—considering that the Latin *persona*, which answered to the Greek *prosopon* (πρόσωπον, character), savoured of Sabellianism, as expressing rather three *manifestations* of the Godhead than that distinction which is asserted in the Catholic doctrine.[n] The council endeavoured to settle this dispute by ascertaining and explaining that those who held one *hypostasis* and those who held three really meant and believed alike; and by recommending that the Nicene Creed should be adhered to, and that the terms in question should be avoided, except when opposition to particular heresies might render it necessary to use them.[o]

Eusebius and others proceeded from Alexandria to Antioch with a commission to mediate in the healing of the schism. But in the mean time Lucifer had rashly taken a step which tended to exasperate and prolong it, by consecrating Paulinus, a presbyter of the Eustathian party, in opposition to Meletius, who

[m] Tillem. viii. 206-7; Fleury, xv. 27; Möhler, ii. 236; Newman, 379-382.

[n] Sabellius himself admitted three *prosopa* in the sense to which the Orientals objected. See above, p. 82.

[o] Soc. iii. 7; Soz. v. 12; Baron. 362. 188-9; 372. 29-31; Fleury, xv. 27; Schröckh, xii. 10-11; Möhler, ii. 237-8; Newman, 390-6; Gieseler, I. ii. 64; Kaye, 139.

had just returned from exile.[p] Thus Antioch had three rival bishops—the Arian Euzoius, with the orthodox Meletius and Paulinus: and to these a fourth, of the Apollinarian sect,[q] was soon after added. It was impossible to enforce any ecclesiastical discipline, since offenders, if threatened with censure in one communion, found the others ready to welcome them as proselytes; and in the meanwhile the wide patriarchal jurisdiction of Antioch, and the authority in the general affairs of the Church which belonged to the third of Christian sees, were in abeyance.[r]

Eusebius mildly expressed his regret at the late proceeding, and forthwith quitted Antioch; but the vehement Lucifer disavowed the act of his representatives who had signed the Alexandrian decrees, and broke off communion with all bishops who should accept those decrees.[s] He then retired to his own diocese in Sardinia, and founded a schism, on the principle that no one who had subscribed the creed of Rimini should be admitted to reconciliation.[t] This sect, which is not charged with any heretical doctrines, found a considerable number of adherents in Italy and Spain. It even set up a bishop at Rome; but Luciferianism became extinct in the beginning of the following century, if not earlier.[u]

The schism of Antioch continued. Meletius was supported by the Eastern orthodox; Paulinus by Egypt and the West; and notwithstanding the exertions of the Alexandrian Council, the difference of usage as to the term *hypostasis* continued to be a badge of the parties respectively.[x]

On leaving Antioch Eusebius returned into the West. Hilary of Poitiers had been allowed to resume his bishopric soon after the councils of Rimini and Seleucia,—the court party thinking it desirable even on such terms to remove so formidable an opponent to a distance from the principal scene of action.[y] He now, in conjunction with Eusebius, exerted himself for the re-establishment of orthodoxy on the terms of the Alexandrian synod, in which Western councils, at Rome and elsewhere, concurred.[z]

The effects of Athanasius' labours after his return to Alexandria soon drew on him the notice of Julian, who knew and dreaded his

[p] Soc. iii. 6; Soz. v. 12; Theod. iii. 5.
[q] See below, pp. 247-8.
[r] Tillem. x. 530; Möhler, ii. 249; Kaye, 141.
[s] Walch, iii. 350-3.
[t] Soc. iii. 9; Soz. v. 13; Tillem. vii. 521; Kaye, 142. Some of his followers even rebaptized converts from the church.
[u] Baron. 362. 221; 371. 127; Walch, iii. 370-1; Schröckh, vi. 209-217.
[x] Theod. v. 3, with Valois' note; Walch, iv. 492-7; Newman, 397.
[y] Schröckh, xii. 309-11.
[z] Soc. iii. 10; Fleury, xv. 30; Tillem. vii. 455-8; Schröckh, xii. 14-5, 317-8; Newman, 383.

energetic character. The emperor, in the end of 362, directed against him a special mandate, stating that Athanasius had lately presumed to baptize some Greek (*i. e.*, heathen) ladies of high rank; and declaring that the edict by which exiles were allowed to return to their country had not been intended to restore them to their ecclesiastical offices—a distinction which appears to have been invented for the occasion, as it was not enforced in any other case.[a] The Christians of Alexandria petitioned in favour of their bishop; but Julian was only the more exasperated. He styled Athanasius an "insignificant mannikin;"[b] he told them that they were at liberty to make another bishop, but that so mischievous a person must not remain among them; and, whereas the former sentence had been limited to banishment from the city, it was now extended to all Egypt.[c] On hearing of this, Athanasius said to his friends, "Let us withdraw; this is a little cloud which will soon pass over." He sailed up the Nile, until, on being told that a vessel was in pursuit, he ordered the steersman to turn round, met the pursuers, who had not observed the movements of his boat, baffled their inquiries, and returned in safety to Alexandria. A renewal of the search soon after compelled him to leave his place of concealment there, and he found an asylum among the monks until he received the tidings of Julian's death.[d]

[a] Tillem. viii. 214; Gibbon, ii. 326-7; Kaye, 143.

[b] ἀνθρωπίσκος εὐτελής.

[c] It is even said that the emperor wished to kill him, and Möhler (ii. 240) is inclined to believe the story.

[d] Soc. iii. 13-4; Soz. v. 15; Theod. iii. 9; Tillem. viii. 215-8; Kaye, 144.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE DEATH OF JULIAN TO THE END OF THE SECOND GENERAL COUNCIL.

A.D. 363–381.

The forced ascendancy of Paganism ended with the life of its patron. Next day Jovian, a Christian, was chosen emperor. The army declared itself Christian; the Labarum, which had been disused during the reign of Julian, was again displayed at its head.[a] The philosophers and soothsayers, who had basked in the favour of the late emperor, retired into obscurity.[b] Jovian, however, allowed full toleration to his Pagan subjects;[c] and, with respect to the divisions among Christians, he declared that he would molest no one on account of religion, but would love all who should study the Church's peace.[d]

June 28, 363.

On his arrival at Antioch, after an ignominious, though necessary, accommodation with the Persians, and a disastrous retreat, the new emperor was beset by representatives of the various Christian parties, each hoping to gain him. His mind was, however, already decided in favour of the Nicene faith; he wrote to Athanasius, requesting instruction and advice, and inviting him to visit the court. The bishop complied, and by personal intercourse he gained an influence over Jovian which his enemies in vain attempted to disturb.[e] The Acacians, with their usual suppleness, resolved to conform to the spirit of the time. They attended a synod held by Meletius at Antioch, and signed the Nicene Creed, evasively explaining *coessential* as meaning "begotten of the Father's essence, and like the Father in essence."[f]

[a] Soc. iii. 22; Baron. 363. 124; Tillem. Emp. iv. 579; Gibbon, ii. 380-2. M. Beugnot (i. 222) denies La Bleterie's inference, that the soldiers really had no religion; the army, he says, was made up of Christians and pagans, and, as a whole, followed the religion of the emperor.

[b] Soc. iii. 24.

[c] It would seem, nevertheless, from the complaints of Libanius, that they suffered in this reign from the populace in some places. Tillem. Emp. iv. 585-7.

[d] Soc. iii. 25.

[e] Soc. iii. 24; Soz. vi. 5; Theod. iv. 2; Tillem. Emp. iv. 589; Mém. viii. 218-221; Gibbon, ii. 281; Kaye, 145. Athanasius, while at Antioch, communicated with Paulinus. Walch, iv. 447.

[f] Soc. iii. 25; Soz. vi. 4; Baron. 363. 139-143; Tillem. vi. 530; Schröckh, xii. 20; Möhler, ii. 246-7; Kaye, 145. St. Jerome says in his Chronicle that they rejected both *homoüsion* and *anomoion*, and took the middle term, *homoiousion*. The truth seems to be that they interpreted *homoüsion* as if it were *homoiousion*.

The reign of Jovian lasted somewhat less than eight months; he was found dead in his bed at Dadastana, in Bithynia, on February 17, 364.[g]

Valentinian was elected by the army on February 26, and a month later he associated with him his brother Valens, to whom he assigned the Eastern division of the empire.[h] Both brothers are said to have exposed themselves to danger by the profession of Christianity in the reign of Julian.[i] Valentinian was possessed of many great qualities. He vigorously and successfully defended the northern frontiers against the barbarians who were pressing on the empire; he was the author of wise and important regulations for its internal government.[k] But the justice on which he prided himself was relentlessly severe, and the manner of its execution was often inhuman. He was also subject to violent fits of passion, by one of which his death was occasioned.[l] Valens, until elevated by his brother's favour, had been a person of little note. His capacity was inferior to that of Valentinian; he is described by Gibbon as "rude without vigour, and feeble without mildness."[m]

Valentinian adhered to the Nicene faith;[n] but, warned by the ill success of Constantius in enforcing conformity, he adopted a policy of general toleration. He invariably declined all interference in questions of doctrine, which he professed to leave to those who had been trained for the consideration of them.[o] He allowed Auxentius, an Arian, to retain the important see of Milan—whether deceived by the bishop's specious professions, which might have been enough to satisfy an uncritical and somewhat indifferent soldier, or swayed by the influence of the Empress Justina, who was a zealous Arian.[p] But with this exception the Western sees were, during Valentinian's reign, in the possession of orthodox bishops.

In the East it was otherwise. Valens is said to have been originally a Catholic, and appears to have been alike ignorant and careless of religion: but he was won over to Arianism by his wife, who, in 367, as he was about to set out for the Gallic war, persuaded him to receive baptism from Eudoxius of Constantinople. It is said that the bishop exacted of him an oath to persecute the

[g] Tillem. Emp. iv. 592.
[h] Tillem. Emp. v. 7, 20.
[i] Soz. vi. 6; Tillem. Emp. v. 3; Gibbon, ii. 386.
[k] Gibbon, ii. 395-401.
[l] Tillem. Emp. v. 14-5, 73-4; Gibbon, ii. 398.
[m] ii. 391.
[n] Kaye, 146.
[o] Soc. iv. 1; Soz. vi. 21; Tillem. Emp. v. 9; Gibbon ii. 401-2.
[p] Baron. 369. 36; Tillem. Emp. v. 11; Schröckh, xii. 22-3.

Catholics. It is certain that the hostility which he had already shown towards them became from that time more bitter and active.[q]

Macedonius, on his ejection from the see of Constantinople by the Acacians, had connected himself with the Semiarians, and, although he himself died soon after, the party thenceforth took its name from him.[r] They had requested Jovian either to establish the Creed of the Dedication, agreeably to the original and unbiassed decision of the Council of Seleucia; or, reverting to the position in which things had stood before the meetings at Seleucia and Rimini, to summon a general synod, which should be free from all secular control.[s] They now obtained leave from Valens to hold a council at Lampsacus — the emperor supposing that they would agree with Eudoxius and the Acacians, who had by this time retracted their subscription to the Nicene Creed.[t] The bishops who met at Lampsacus, however, took up the same position with the majority of the Council of Seleucia. They signed the Creed of the Dedication, with the word *homoiousios*, which they declared to be necessary for preserving the personal distinction of the Godhead; they cited Eudoxius and his party before them, and on their nonappearance sentenced them to deposition. But on applying to Valens for a confirmation of their proceedings, they found that the Acacians had preoccupied his mind, and that they were themselves condemned to deprivation and banishment unless they would subscribe an Arian creed.[u]

A.D. 365.

The zeal which Valens soon after manifested in favour of Arianism induced the Semiarians to look towards the West for sympathy and support. Deputies were sent into Italy with letters for Valentinian and Liberius. They found that the emperor was in Gaul, and did not follow him into that country. Liberius was at first distrustful of them; but on their anathematizing all heresies, and signing the *homoüsion* (which they interpreted as equivalent to *homoiousion*), he acknowledged them as being in communion with him, and wrote to the bishops by whom they had been commissioned. A like recognition was obtained from other Western bishops; and thus the Semiarians,

A.D. 366.

[q] Soc. iv. 8; Soz. vi. 9; Theod. iv. 12-3; Pagi in Baron. v. 228; Tillem. Emp. v. 89; Mém. vi. 532, 550. His enmity is said to have been mitigated after a time by an unexpected mediator —the heathen orator Themistius, who addressed to him a plea for toleration. Soc. iv. 32.

[r] Soz. iv. 26; Schröckh, vi. 192.

[s] Soz. vi. 4; Tillem. vi. 529.

[t] Tillem. vi. 533; Möhler, ii. 246-7.

[u] Soc. iv. 6; Soz. v. 7; Baron. 365. 2, seqq.; Tillem. vi. 533-6.

with the exception of a few who disavowed the late proceedings, were reunited with the orthodox.[x]

In 367 Valens issued an order that such bishops as had been banished by Constantius, and had returned to their sees under Julian, should again be ejected. At Antioch, where he established his residence, he drove out Meletius, although he allowed Paulinus to remain.[y] It was attempted under the same law to expel Athanasius, and he is said in consequence to have taken refuge for a time in his father's tomb; but his people represented to the emperor that his case did not fall under the letter of the edict, and made such demonstrations of their attachment to the bishop in other ways, that Valens thought it well to permit his return;[z] and thus, while the cause to which his life had been devoted was oppressed in all other parts of the Eastern empire, the great champion of orthodoxy was allowed to spend his last years in undisturbed possession of his see.[a]

The elder actors in the Arian controversy were now passing away. Liberius died in 366, and the succession to the see of Rome was disputed by Damasus and Ursinus, or Ursicinus. This contest, which arose out of the old rivalry between Liberius and Felix, and did not involve any question of doctrine, occasioned violent tumults, and even great slaughter. On one occasion a hundred and sixty partisans of Ursinus were killed in a church. At the end of three years Ursinus was banished to Gaul; but he repeatedly revived his claim to the bishopric of Rome both during the lifetime of Damasus and at his death.[b] Acacius died in 366;[c] Hilary in 367-8.[d] The last mention of Ursacius and Valens as living is in the condemnation pronounced on them by a Roman synod in 369.[e] Eudoxius of Constantinople died in 370;[f] Lucifer of Cagliari in 371;[g] Euzoius of Antioch in 376.[h]

On the death of Eudoxius the Catholics of Constantinople set up Evagrius as his successor, and the Arians Demophilus. Evagrius was soon driven out, and his adherents were subjected to a variety of outrages. Eighty presbyters of the party carried a

[x] Soc. ii. 8; Soz. vi. 10-12; Tillem. vi. 540-5; Newman, 404; Kaye, 149.

[y] Soc. iv. 2; Tillem. vi. 548-9, 566-571.

[z] Baron. 370. 3-5; Tillem. viii. 235; Kaye, 147.

[a] Soc. iv. 13, 20; Soz. vi. 12.

[b] Soc. iv. 29; Soz. vi. 23; Tillem. viii. 387-396; Schröckh, viii. 107-110; Neander, iii. 313-5.

[c] Tillem. vi. 535.

[d] Pagi in Baron. v. 265: Tillem. vii. 463.

[e] Tillem. viii. 396; Schröckh, xi. 33.

[f] Tillem. vi. 553.

[g] Baron. 371. 121; Walch, iii. 354.

[h] Tillem. vi. 603.

complaint to Valens at Nicomedia; they were compelled to embark on board a ship, which the crew, it is said, by command of one of the emperor's officers, set on fire and deserted; and the whole company of ecclesiastics perished.[i] Other barbarities are related of Valens—as that at Antioch he ordered many of the orthodox to be drowned in the Orontes.[k] The monks of Egypt and Pontus were especially obnoxious to him—partly because the monastic profession afforded to many an excuse for indolence, and withdrew them from their duties to the state, and partly on account of their steady adherence to the Nicene faith and the exertion of their great influence in its behalf. He ordered in 373 that monks should be compelled to bear arms, on penalty of being beaten to death. The Egyptian deserts were invaded by soldiers commissioned to enforce the edict, and many of the monks suffered death in consequence.[l]

Athanasius is supposed by the best authorities to have died in May 373.[m] He had named as his successor Peter, one of his presbyters. The Arian Lucius, who had been set up as bishop after the murder of George, and had held possession of the see during the exile of Athanasius under Julian, was now brought back by his party, and Peter was driven out with circumstances of outrage and profanation similar to those which had accompanied the expulsions of his great predecessor by Gregory and George. He took refuge at Rome, and after a time returned with letters of recommendation from the bishop, Damasus; whereupon, as Valens was then at a distance—having been diverted from theological controversies by the Gothic war—the people rose against Lucius and reinstated the orthodox bishop.[n]

Valentinian was succeeded in 375 by his son Gratian, who had been named Augustus[o] eight years before. The new emperor, whose own age was only sixteen, admitted as a nominal colleague

[i] Soc. iv. 15-6; Soz. vi. 14; Tillem. Emp. v. 97; Mém. vi. 554-5. Dean Milman (iii. 125) thinks it doubtful whether such orders had been given. Gibbon (ii. 404) of course makes as little as possible of the persecution by Valens. The old ecclesiastical historians connect the story of the emperor's own death—that he was *burnt* in a cottage where he had taken refuge—with the fate of these victims. Such tracings of a connexion between misdeeds and calamities are of continual occurrence in these writers.

[k] Soc. iv. 2; Soz. vi. 18; Theod. iv. 24.

[l] Soc. iv. 21: Soz. vi. 20; Tillem. vi. 602; Gibbon, ii. 406; Schröckh, xii. 48.

[m] Pagi in Baron. v. 371; Tillem. viii. 250, 719; Schröckh, xii. 237; Clinton.

[n] Soc. iv. 21, 33-7; Soz. vi. 19; Theod. iv. 20-2; Tillem. vi. 580-5.

[o] Not *Cæsar*, according to earlier practice. Tillem. Emp. v. 30.

his half-brother, the younger Valentinian, a child four years old. By the death of Valens, at the disastrous battle of Adrianople, Gratian became in 378 master of the whole empire; but he hastened to relieve himself of a part of his cares by bestowing the sovereignty of the East on Theodosius, son of a general of the same name, whose distinguished services in Britain and in Africa had been rewarded by his execution at Carthage three years before.[p] The younger Theodosius had since lived in retirement on his estates in Spain, until summoned to share the empire, in the hope that his talents might avert the dangers with which it was threatened by the Gothic invaders.[q] Aug. 9, 378. Jan. 379.

Gratian in 378 proclaimed liberty of religion to all except Manichæans, Eunomians, and Photinians, and recalled the banished bishops of the East.[r] The Semiarians, on being thus freed from the oppression of Valens, broke off the connexion which they had so eagerly formed with the orthodox; but many refused to join in this movement and remained united to the Catholic body.[s] It would seem to have been about this time that a denial of the divinity of the Holy Ghost became the chief characteristic of the party.[t] Heterodox opinions on that subject had been implied in all the varieties of Arianism; but the nature of the Third Person in the Trinity had not been brought into discussion while the Godhead of the Son was in question; thus nothing had been defined respecting it in the Nicene creed.[u]

Athanasius, however, with his characteristic perception of consequences, had always strenuously asserted the equal and co-essential Godhead of the Spirit, as well as that of the Son, and, in a treatise written from the desert during his exile under Constantius (about 360), had confuted the error of the *Pneumatomachi* (adversaries of the Spirit), which was then acquiring distinctness.[x] The name of *Macedonianism*, which was afterwards attached to this heresy, would naturally convey the idea that it was invented by Macedonius. It was not, however, properly speaking, an invention; it was a remnant of Arianism retained by

[p] Gibbon, ii. 428.
[q] Gibbon, ii. 488, 495.
[r] Soc. v. 2; Soz. vii. 1; Tillem. Emp. v. 154.
[s] Soc. v. 4; Soz. vii. 2; Tillem. vi. 613; Schröckh, xii. 52.
[t] It had not become conspicuous when the Semiarians were admitted to communion by Liberius, in 366. Tillem. vi. 543.
[u] Walch, iii. 100.
[x] Soz. vi. 22; Baron. 360. 25; Tillem. ix. 144; Schröckh, vi. 192; Neander, iv. 84; Gieseler, I. ii. 69-70; Guericke, i. 442; Hagenbach, i. 258-260.

a party which had shaken off the other errors of that system; for the Semiarians now acknowledged the Godhead of the Son, while they maintained that the Spirit was as a servant—as one of the angels.[y] Nor do we know what opinion Macedonius held on the question; his name is connected with the heretical tenet only through the circumstance that the Semiarians were called after him at the time when this came into prominence as the mark of their party—he himself having died some years before.[z]

In the meanwhile the Nicene faith had made progress. The consistency of its supporters stood in advantageous contrast with the continual variations of their opponents. The monks lent to it the great and growing authority of their reputation for sanctity; and, as has been mentioned, a large portion of the Semiarians adhered to the orthodox connexion into which they had been driven by the tyranny of Valens.[a] Throughout all the long controversy the belief of the great mass of Christians had been very little affected. In their pastoral teaching, as in their creeds, the Arian bishops and clergy had usually studied to observe orthodoxy of statement and language, so that their doctrine, although incomplete, was not untrue. Thus their flocks received the words in the sound meaning which was apparent on the surface, so that, according to a celebrated expression of St. Hilary, "The ears of the people were holier than the hearts of the priests."[b] And now, although Athanasius was gone, the great weight of talents and learning among the Christians was on the side of orthodoxy, which had gained a very important accession in the East. A class of theologians had arisen, who, born and educated in countries where Semiarianism prevailed, had in their earlier years been connected with that system—trained up according to its sound, though imperfect, creeds, in such a manner that one of them,[c] when he had become an eminent champion of the Nicene doctrine, could yet speak of his opinions as having undergone no other change than a development like that of the plant from the seed. The members of this school maintained the identity of *homoüusion* with *homoiousion*;[d] they brought with them into the orthodox communion many of their old associations; and through their influence it was that several Semiarians have been acknowledged by the Church as saints, and that the

[y] Soz. iv. 27; Kaye, 148. Walch (iii. 98) thinks that some Macedonians held the Spirit to be a *creature*, and others, an *influence*.

[z] Soc. ii. 45; Soz. iv. 27; Theod. ii. 6; Gieseler, I. ii. 70.

[a] Gieseler, I. ii. 61-2.

[b] Neander, iv. 83; Möhler, ii. 85-6.

[c] Basil, quoted by Gieseler, I. ii. 66.

[d] Gieseler, I. ii. 66.

canons of the Semiarian councils of Antioch (A.D. 341) and Laodicea (A.D. 372?) gained a reception in the East, and eventually in the West.[e] The most distinguished of the "later Nicene" teachers were three Cappadocians—Basil, his brother Gregory of Nyssa, and his friend Gregory of Nazianzum. The first and the last of these must be here more particularly noticed.

Basil and Gregory were born about the same time—probably in the year 329.[f] Basil was of a noble Christian family. The father of Gregory had belonged to the Hypsistarian sect—whose creed was a strange medley of Jewish and Persian notions;[g] he had been converted by his wife Nonna, a woman of remarkable piety, and had been raised to the bishopric of Nazianzum.[h] An acquaintance formed between the youths at the schools of Cæsarea, in their native province, ripened into the closest intimacy at Athens, where they spent several years. They were distinguished in all the studies of that city, and withstood the influences by which many who, like themselves, had been trained in the Christian faith, were there drawn away to heathenism.[i] During a part of the time Julian was their fellow-student; and Gregory professes to have already observed in him indications of his future evil course.[k] Both Basil and Gregory resolved to renounce the hopes of secular eminence, and embrace a religious life. Each was baptized after leaving Athens; Gregory promised at the font to devote all his gifts and powers to the service of God.[l] Basil, after travelling in Egypt and elsewhere, became one of the clergy of Cæsarea. He withdrew for five years into the desert of Pontus, where he founded monastic establishments—the monastic life having lately been introduced into that country by Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste.[m] The system which Basil adopted was the cœnobitic,

A.D. 351-5.

A.D. 357-362.

[e] Schröckh, xiii. 87-92; Gieseler, I. ii. 67-8.

[f] As to Basil there is little question—Tillem. ix. 2. But Romanist writers, unwilling to suppose that Gregory was born after his father had become a bishop, are inclined to place his birth earlier—some of them (as Pagi in Baron. vi. 41), in 300, which would make his life extend to ninety years. See Gibbon, ii. 510; Schröckh, xiii. 269-270; Clinton, ann. 325, 390; Theiner, Einführung d. erzw. Ehelosigkeit. i. 265; Ullmann's Gregory of Nazianzum (transl. by G. V. Cox, Lond. 1851), 299, 308. Dupin's date (ii. 201) is 318.

[g] See Ullmann, 308-311; Gieseler, I. ii. 17; Guericke, i. 536; Matter, Hist. du Gnosticisme, iii. 110-4.

[h] Tillem. ix. 309; Ullmann, 18-9; Neander, iii. 321.

[i] Soc. iv. 26; Soz. vi. 17; Tillem. ix. 11-18; Schröckh, xiii. 10; Ullmann, 24, 34.

[k] Tillem. Emp. iv. 494-5.

[l] Ullmann, 49.

[m] When Eustathius afterwards fell into disrepute, the beginning of the work was generally ascribed to St. Basil. Walch, iii. 552-3; Schröckh, xiii. 25-7.

not the eremitical. Practical industry was combined with religious exercises, and by the labours of his monks a barren tract was brought into cultivation and fertility.[n] Basil returned to Cæsarea in 362, and was ordained presbyter, but after a short time he again retired into the desert for three years in consequence of some unexplained jealousy on the part of his bishop, Eusebius.[o] In each of his retreats he was accompanied for a time by Gregory, who, however, was on both occasions called away by disagreements between his father and the monks of Nazianzum, originating in the circumstance that the aged bishop had been induced to sign the creed of Rimini.[p] Gregory by his ascetic life had gained a powerful influence over the monks; he convinced them that his father had been deceived through ignorance of controversial subtleties, and had acted without any heretical intention; and he twice succeeded in establishing peace.[q] He also reconciled Basil with Eusebius; and on that bishop's death he effected the promotion of his friend to the see of Cæsarea, to which was attached the primacy of the greater part of Asia Minor.[r]

A.D. 370 or 371.

The indefatigable labours of Basil, his controversies, his endeavours to unite the orthodox among themselves, to gain over sectaries to the Church, and to establish peace between the East and the West, must be passed over with a mere allusion.[s] During the short time between his elevation and the death of Athanasius he enjoyed the confidence of that great prelate, and he succeeded him as leader of the Eastern orthodox.[t] Like Athanasius, he was able to preserve his Church from the Arianism which was triumphant throughout the East during the reign of Valens. While a presbyter under Eusebius, he had baffled the theologians of the emperor's train in disputation.[u] Soon after his advancement to the episcopate a fresh attempt was made on him. Valens, determined that Cæsarea alone should not continue to resist him, sent a prefect with a commission to expel Basil if he should refuse to conform to the dominant religion. The prefect summoned the archbishop to appear before him. To his threats Basil replied that he did not fear them; confiscation, he said, could not touch a man who had no property except a single

A.D. 366.

[n] Tillem. ix. 44; Ullmann, 55; Milman, iii. 195-6.
[o] Tillem. ix. 67-71.
[p] Tillem. ix. 40, 60, 347; Schröckh, xiii. 278, 280-1, 307; Ullmann, 72.
[q] Ullmann, 65.
[r] Pagi in Baron. v. 270, 289, 297; Tillem. ix. 90-2, 104; Ullmann, 112-8.
[s] The life of St. Basil fills 368 pages in Tillemont's quarto (vol. ix.), and 214 in Schröckh's octavo (vol. xiii.).
[t] Tillem. viii. 245.
[u] Tillem. ix. 90, 654; Schröckh, xiii. 63.

suit of ragged clothes and a few books; as for banishment, he denied that such a thing was possible—go where he might, he could find a home, or rather he regarded the whole earth as God's and himself as a stranger everywhere; his feeble body could bear no tortures beyond the first stroke; and death would be a favour, since it would conduct him to God.[x] The prefect reported the conference to his master, who soon after arrived at Cæsarea. Valens himself was awed by the presence of Basil and by the solemnity of the Catholic worship, which he witnessed, but without being admitted to communicate. The impression thus made is said to have been heightened by miracles; and not only was Basil left unmolested in his see, but the emperor bestowed a valuable estate as an endowment on a large hospital which the archbishop's charity had founded.[y]

Soon after this Valens divided Cappadocia into two provinces. Anthimus, bishop of Tyana, which became the capital of the second division, hereupon asserted that the ecclesiastical government ought to follow the arrangements of the civil, and claimed for himself the rights of a metropolitan.[z] A.D. 372. Basil found that the claim revived some jealousies which had been felt at his election to Cæsarea; and he resolved to strengthen himself by erecting new bishoprics. One of the places chosen for this purpose was Sasima, an outpost on the border of his opponent's province—the meeting-place of three great roads, and the seat of a frontier custom-house; a wretched little town, dry, dusty, and continually disquieted by the brawls of carters, travellers, and revenue-officers.[a] Here Basil determined to place Gregory, who had some years before been forcibly ordained a presbyter by his father.[b] In this Basil appears to have made the grievous mistake of setting up his own energetic character as a

[x] Tillem. ix. 155-6; Schröckh, xiii. 101.

[y] Soc. iv. 26; Soz. vi. 6; Tillem. ix. 161. In connexion with the scene between Basil and Valens, Gibbon quotes from St. Jerome's Chronicle (A.D. 380) — "Basilius . . clarus habetur . . qui multa continentiæ bona uno superbiæ malo perdidit." "This irreverent passage," says the historian, "is perfectly in the style and character of St. Jerome. It does not appear in Scaliger's edition of his Chronicle; but Isaac Vossius found it in some old MSS., which had not been reformed by the monks" (ii. 405). The editors do not deny the genuineness of the words "qui . . perdidit," but are indignant with Vossius, and transfer them to the preceding line of the Chronicle, which has Photinus for its subject. But if the words related to so friendless a reputation as *his*, why should they be wanting in any copies? They are, however, too "perfectly in the style and character of St. Jerome" to affect St. Basil's good name very seriously. He was obnoxious to Jerome as an abettor of Meletius, and as having had some disagreements with Damasus.

[z] Tillem. ix. 176; Ullmann, 120.

[a] Tillem. ix. 179; Gibbon, ii. 519.

[b] Tillem. ix. 352; Schröckh, xiii. 281; Ullmann, 67.

law for a person of different nature. Gregory said that his old friend's elevation had caused him to forget himself; he resisted until he was overpowered by the united urgency of his father and Basil, and long after he traced all the troubles of his life to the consent which was at length extorted from him.[c] After his consecration he felt himself oppressed by his high views of the episcopal responsibility, his love for a life of contemplation, and the sense of his unfitness to dispute his position with Anthimus. He refused to proceed to Sasima, and was then persuaded by his father to assist him in the care of Nazianzum.[d] The old man died in 374. Gregory continued for some time to administer the diocese, while he endeavoured to obtain the appointment of a regular bishop; but, finding his exertions for this purpose vain, he withdrew to Seleucia, where he spent three or four years in retirement.[e]

Theodosius, as a Spaniard, was of the Nicene party, but at the time of his elevation to the empire was only a catechumen. In the beginning of 380, he fell dangerously sick at Thessalonica; when he sent for the bishop of the place, and, after having ascertained his orthodoxy, received baptism at his hands.[f] His admission to the Church was followed by an edict, which was at first limited to Constantinople, but in the following year was extended to all his dominions—that those only should be acknowledged as Catholic Christians who adhered to the faith of the coessential Trinity, as it had been taught by St. Peter to the Romans, and was then held by Damasus of Rome and Peter of Alexandria; that all who denied this doctrine should be reputed as heretics and discouraged.[g] Gratian also—at the instigation of St. Ambrose, it is supposed—limited by later edicts the toleration which he had announced in 378.[h]

Feb. 28, 380.

Jan. 10, 381.

In November 380, Theodosius arrived at Constantinople. About two years before, Gregory of Nazianzum had been persuaded by Basil and other leaders of the Catholics to undertake a mission to that capital.[i] He entered on the enterprise with much distrust of his qualifications.[k] Arianism was in great strength at Constantinople, where the see had for nearly forty years been

[c] Tillem. ix. 179, 387.
[d] Tillem. ix. 180-1, 390-9; Schröckh, xiii. 316, 327; Ullmann, 127.
[e] Tillem. ix. 404-5; Schröckh, xiii. 329; Ullmann, 151.
[f] Soc. v. 6; Tillem. Emp. v. 97.
[g] Soz. vii. 4; Tillem. Emp. v. 199; Mém. vi. 619; Gieseler, I. ii. 74.
[h] Tillem. iv. 158-9.
[i] Tillem. ix. 411-12.
[k] Pagi, in Bar. v. 464; Tillem. ix. 414, 707; Ullmann, 166.

filled by its partisans. The Novatianists had some churches; the Apollinarians were gaining a footing in the city; but the orthodox were very few, and even these were divided among themselves by sympathy with the opposite parties in the schism of Antioch.[1] Gregory was obliged at first to officiate in the house of a relation—which, from the resurrection (*anastasis*) of the true faith, acquired the name of *Anastasia*, and was afterwards enlarged into a splendid church. He had to encounter much prejudice. His austere, simple, and recluse life appeared in unpopular contrast with the free and secular habits of the Arian clergy. His doctrine was regarded as polytheistic. He was repeatedly assaulted by the populace, and by the staff of the Arian establishment—monks, virgins, and beggars; he was stoned, he was carried before magistrates as a disturber of the peace, his church was invaded by night and profaned.[m] But he persevered in his mission, and, although the object of it was controversial, he earnestly endeavoured to counteract in his hearers the prevailing habit of familiarly discussing the highest mysteries of religion—exhorting them "not to make a sport of the things of God, as if they were matters of the theatre or of the race-course." By degrees, his eloquence, the practical and religious tone of his doctrinal teaching, and the influence of his mild and serious character, began to tell; the little Anastasia was unable to contain the crowds which resorted to it.[n] The progress of this success had, indeed, been slightly interrupted by one Maximus, an Egyptian, who was orginally a cynic philosopher. This person, after having insinuated himself into Gregory's confidence, was ordained bishop in a disorderly manner by some emissaries of Peter of Alexandria, although Peter had before approved of Gregory's mission. But the pretender was rejected by the people, and in vain endeavoured to find support from the emperor and from the bishop of Rome.[o]

On his arrival at Constantinople, Theodosius summoned before him the Arian bishop, Demophilus, and required him to subscribe the Nicene creed, on pain of deprivation. Demophilus assembled his flock, and reminded them of the charge

Nov. 380.

[1] Tillem. ix. 436; Schröckh, xiii. 336; Ullmann, 162-3.

[m] Soz. vii. 5; Fleury, xvii. 50; Tillem. ix. 414, 418, 425-8, 431-3, 708-9; Schröckh, xiii. 381; Ullmann, 169, 175, 194; Neander, iv. 79.

[n] Soz. vii. 9; Tillem. ix. 421, 425; Gibbon, ii. 520; Schröckh, xiii. 389-90; Newman, 412; Ullmann, 159-162; Neander, iv. 80.

[o] Theod. v. 7; Tillem. ix. 443-7. Maximus contrived to get St. Ambrose into his interest (Ambr. Ep. 14). Ullmann (203) and Dean Milman (iii. 202) suppose that by this consecration the Alexandrians meant to set up a claim of supremacy over Constantinople.

"when persecuted in one city" to "flee to another." The Arians were forthwith turned out of all the churches, and began to hold their meetings without the walls of the capital.[p] A few days after this, Theodosius formally put Gregory into possession of the principal church of Constantinople. The morning was gloomy, Gregory was suffering from illness, and, as the procession passed through streets lined with troops, he was dismayed by the thought that a bishop should need such a protection against his own flock. But at the moment of his entrance into the choir, a sudden burst of sunshine lighted up the building, and the people, catching enthusiasm from the change, cried out that he should take his seat on the episcopal throne. This, however, he refused to do, and, from agitation and bodily weakness, he felt himself unable to address the congregation.[q]

Theodosius proceeded to assemble a council, which met at Constantinople on May 2, 381. It was composed of oriental bishops only; but its decrees were afterwards gradually received throughout the west, and it is consequently acknowledged as the Second General Council.[r] A hundred and fifty orthodox prelates attended. Among them were Meletius, Gregory of Nyssa (whose brother Basil had died in the preceding year),[s] and Cyril of Jerusalem, who had formerly been connected with the Semiarian party. The Macedonians had been invited, in the hope that they might renew the union which they had formed with the Catholics in the reign of Valens; thirty-six of them appeared accordingly, but it was found that they would not submit to a reconciliation.[t]

A.D. 381.

Meletius, to whom the see of Antioch had lately been adjudged by an imperial commissary, presided in the earlier sessions;[u] and by him, after an examination of the pretensions of Maximus,[x] Gregory was solemnly installed as bishop of Constantinople.[y] But Meletius died while the council was sitting,[z] and deplorable dissensions followed. With a view to healing the schism which had

[p] Soc. iv. 7.

[q] Tillem. Emp. v. 208; Mém. ix. 459; Gibbon, ii. 521; Schröckh, xiii. 394-5; Ullmann, 223-5; Newman, 414; Milman, iii. 204.

[r] Pagi in Baron. v. 498-9; Newman, n. on Fleury, vol. i. p. 3. Tillem. Emp. v. 213; Schröckh, ix. 305.

[s] Clinton, A.D. 380.

[t] Soc. v. 8; Soz. vii. 7; Walch, iii. 109.

[u] Theod. v. 3; Tillem. Emp. v. 209; Mém. viii. 370; ix. 473; Walch, iv. 457.

[x] The consecration of Maximus, and his episcopal acts, are annulled by the fourth canon of the council.

[y] Baron. 381. 24-5; Schröckh, xiii. 417; Ullmann, 243.

[z] Tillem. viii. 374. Walch (iv. 465-7) notices the perplexities of Romish writers as to this case of a person who died out of communion with Rome, and yet is regarded as a saint. Comp. Tillem. xvi. 372, 661.

so long afflicted the church of Antioch, six of its clergy, who were regarded as the most likely to be raised to the episcopate, had lately entered into an engagement, which is said to have been even ratified by an oath, that on the death of either Paulinus or Meletius, they would acknowledge the survivor as rightful bishop;[a] but a jealousy which had arisen between the Asiatic bishops and those of Egypt and the West now interfered with this arrangement. The Asiatics objected to Paulinus as having been ordained by a Latin, Lucifer, and as being connected with the Latin party; and, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of Gregory, whose natural inclination towards the Meletian party was overpowered by his desire of peace, and by his sense of the impropriety of the proceeding—they consecrated Flavian, one of the six who are represented as having bound themselves to renounce their pretensions to the see.[b]

Timothy, who had just succeeded his brother Peter[c] at Alexandria, soon after arrived, with a train of Egyptian bishops. They were offended at not having been sooner summoned to the council, and were greatly exasperated by the late proceedings. They resolved once more to set up their countryman Maximus, and to depose Gregory, on the pretext that his appointment to Constantinople was in breach of a Nicene Canon, which forbade the translation of bishops.[d] The malice and unfairness of this objection were palpable. The canon had often been disregarded in practice. Gregory's acceptance of the see hardly came even within its letter, inasmuch as he had neither acted in the diocese of Sasima, nor been appointed to that of Nazianzum; much less did it violate the intention of the canon, which was to check the ambition of bishops. But he was not disposed to contest the question. He was sick both in body and in spirit, and even before the opening of the council had attempted to withdraw from his stormy position of eminence to the quiet life of contemplation which he best loved;

[a] Soz. vi. 7. Theodoret (v. 3) gives a somewhat different account (see Schröckh, xii. 51-2).

[b] Soc. v. 9; Soz. vii. 11; Baron. 381. 44; Tillem. ix. 479; x. 529; Schröckh, xiii. 418; Ullmann, 245; Newman, 417. Tillemont questions the story of the oath (viii. 371; x. 527). Walch thinks the whole account of the arrangement improbable (iv. 462, 471). All that we really know of Flavian is greatly to his honour (ibid. 472-3, 476). The election was not made by the council, but probably by the bishops of the Antiochene patriarchate who were then at Constantinople. See Walch, iv. 471.

[c] Peter seems to have before his death resumed communion with Gregory. Tillem. ix. 456; Schröckh, xiii. 393.

[d] The prohibition had been more particularly repeated in canons of Antioch and Sardica. But it had been so often evaded by distinctions, or overruled, that Gregory styled it a "dead and extinct law." Planck, i. 541-4.

he had accepted the bishopric only in the hope that he might be able to mediate between the eastern and the western (or Egyptian) parties. Both now turned against him—the Asiatics, because he had opposed them in the matter of Antioch; the bishops of Egypt and Macedonia, because, although opposed to the election of Flavian, he had been president of the council by whose members it was determined. He entreated that no one would maintain his rights, and declared that he would gladly become a Jonah to appease the furious waves of party strife. His resignation was accepted—reluctantly by the emperor, but with an indecent eagerness by the majority of the bishops; and he took leave of the council in an eloquent and pathetic discourse—recounting his labours at Constantinople, and strongly denouncing the luxury and secularity, the jealousies and corruptions which disgraced the Church and her rulers.[e] A list of persons qualified to succeed to the bishopric was drawn up, and from it the emperor selected Nectarius, a man of senatorial rank, who was as yet only a catechumen. He was forthwith baptized, and within a few days was consecrated—wearing the episcopal robes over the white dress of a neophyte.[f]

The council of Constantinople condemned some heresies, and, by additions to the article on the Holy Ghost, brought the Nicene Creed to its present form, except that the procession of the Spirit from the Son was not mentioned.[g] Another important canon assigned to the Bishop of Constantinople a precedence next after the Bishop of Rome—"forasmuch as it is a new Rome."[h]

[e] Soz. vii. 7; Theod. v. 8; Baron. 381. 61; Tillem. ix. 399, 482-4; Schröckh, xiii. 420-6; Ullmann, 246-258; Neander, iv. 82; Newman, 418. Gregory, after leaving Constantinople, again assumed the charge of Nazianzum, until he succeeded in obtaining the appointment of a regular bishop. He spent his last years in retirement, soothing himself with the composition of poetry, and died in 389 or 390. Tillem. ix. 505, 555; Ullmann, 271-297. Pagi, in Baron. vi. 39, says 391.

[f] Theod. v. 7; Soz. vii. 8; Bingham, IV. ii. 16. Such sudden elevations had been forbidden by canons—Can. Nic. ii.; Can. Sardic. x. (Hardouin, x. 643); Can. Laodic. iii. (ib. 781). The only thing that seems creditable to Nectarius (says Tillemont, ix. 456-8) is the circumstance that when Theodosius had marched against Maximus, the Arians, on a false report of his defeat, burnt the bishop's house (Soc. v. 13); and (he adds) even of this the meritoriousness is questionable, since the heretics do not appear to have acted from *personal* dislike of the bishop.

[g] The words "and the Son" were added in Spain (Tillem. ix. 495; Schröckh, ix. 301-3). Their first appearance in the creed is at the Council of Toledo, A.D. 589. Neander, iv. 90; Gieseler, II. i. 107.

[h] Can. iii. Baronius (381. 35) asserts that this canon, so inconsistent with the later papal pretensions, is spurious; but he is refuted by Pagi. The last of the seven canons ascribed to the council is spurious, and of date later than 455. The 5th and 6th probably belong to a council held at Constantinople in the year after the General Council. See Schröckh, xii. 58; Routh's Script. Eccl. Opuscula, i. 422; Newman, n. on Fleury, vol. i. p. 20.

Of the heresies condemned by the council, the only one which has not been already noticed is the Apollinarian. The founder of this, Apollinarius or Apollinaris, was son of an Alexandrian rhetorician of the same name, who settled at Laodicea in Syria. Both father and son were distinguished as writers; the latter, especially, had gained a high reputation by his controversial works against various forms of heresy.[i] He was honoured with the friendship of St. Athanasius,[k] and in 362 he was appointed to the bishopric of Laodicea.[l] He and his father were the chief authors of the ingenious substitutes for the classics by which the Christians endeavoured to baffle Julian's intention of excluding them from the cultivation of literature.[m]

An opinion condemned by the Alexandrian Council of 362 has been wrongly identified with the error of Apollinaris, which was not put forth until later.[n] It was, however, current during the last years of Athanasius, who wrote in refutation of it, although—probably from a consideration of old friendship, and of the services which Apollinaris had formerly rendered to the orthodox cause, he abstained from mentioning his name.[o]

While the Arians altogether denied the existence of a human soul in Christ,[p] and employed the texts which relate to his humanity as proofs of the imperfection of his higher nature, Apollinaris followed the Platonic school in dividing the nature of man into body, animal soul (ψυχή), and intellectual or rational soul (νοῦς).[q] From the variableness and sinfulness of man's rational soul he argued that, if the Saviour had had such a soul, He must together with it have had its freedom of will, and therefore a tendency to sin; consequently (he proceeded to say), *that* part of man's nature was not assumed by the Saviour, but the Divine Logos supplied its place, controlling the evil impulses of the animal soul, of which the body is the passive instrument.[r] Some of the followers of Apollinaris, if not he himself, maintained that the

[i] Schröckh, xiii. 223-5.

[k] Socrates (ii. 46) and Sozomen (vi. 23) tell a story as to the formation of the sect, which is clearly inconsistent with known dates.

[l] Tillem. vii. 611, 790.

[m] Schröckh (xiii. 220) points out that there must be some exaggeration as to the amount of these works—Julian's edict having been in force for so very short a period that there was no time for the formation of a very large body of such literature.

[n] See Walch, iii. 170; Schröckh, xiii. 227-8; Neander, iv. 104.

[o] Tillem. vii. 614; Schröckh, xiii. 228, 234; Möhler, ii. 204; Newman, n. on Athan. Orat. 502. Walch (iii. 171-2) and Schröckh (xii. 222) are inclined to think that St. Athanasius did not write against Apollinarianism as such.

[p] See p. 189.

[q] Walch, iii. 183; Neander, iv. 93, 104; Gieseler, I. ii. 72-3.

[r] Tillem. vii. 602; Schröckh, xiii. 230-4; Neander, iv. 99-101, vi. 432, seqq.

flesh of Christ existed before his appearance in the world, and was not taken by Him of the substance of the Blessed Virgin—a notion for which support was sought from such texts as Joh. i. 14; iii. 13; 1 Cor. xv. 47.[s]

After the death of Athanasius, Apollinaris published his opinions more openly.[t] He did not suppose himself to be opposed to the Catholic faith, but rather to have discovered the true grounds on which it was to be maintained.[u] Finding, however, that this view of the matter was not generally accepted, he formed a sect of his own, setting up bishops at Antioch and elsewhere;[x] and, like Bardesanes and Arius, he procured currency for his doctrines by embodying them in hymns and popular songs.[y] Notwithstanding the anathemas pronounced against Apollinarianism by many synods, and at last by the general council of Constantinople, its founder retained his bishopric until his death, which took place before the year 392. His sect did not long survive him.[z]

A.D. 376.

[s] St. Gregory Nazianzen says that he had found this in one of the heresiarch's own writings (Soz. vi. 27). Schröckh (xiii. 236) disbelieves him (comp. Walch, iii. 160, 191-3). Möhler (ii. 265-6) has some good remarks as to the practice of German writers on the history of doctrines, who are very apt to deny the truth of all the statements which do not fall in with their own theories.

[t] Tillem. vii. 615-6; Newman, 302.

[u] Neander, iv. 104.

[x] Tillem. vii. 620; Schröckh, xiii. 255.

[y] Soz. vi. 25.

[z] Vales. n. in Sozom. vi. 25; Pagi in Baron. v. 397, 456; Tillem. vii. 623-6, 630; Schröckh, xiii. 256-7, 262.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE END OF THE SECOND GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE DEATH OF THEODOSIUS.

A.D. 381–395.

I.

IT has been mentioned that the Arian Auxentius was allowed by Valentinian to retain the important see of Milan.[a] On his death, in 374, the emperor was requested to nominate an archbishop, but, agreeably to his principle of avoiding interference in spiritual affairs, he referred the choice to the people. An eager contest ensued between the Catholics and the Arians. While both parties were assembled in the principal church, and it seemed likely that their excitement would break out into deeds of violence, the governor of Liguria, Ambrose, appeared, and made a speech exhorting them to peace. When he ceased, a little child, it is said, was heard to utter the words "Ambrose, bishop!" and immediately the cry was caught up by the whole assemblage.[b] The governor, who, although of Christian parentage, was yet only a catechumen, wished to avoid an office so alien from his former thoughts and studies. He attempted by various devices to convince the Milanese that his character was unsuitable; he fled more than once from the city; but he was brought back, and, as Valentinian approved of the election, was consecrated within a week after his baptism.[c]

Ambrose, son of a prætorian prefect of Gaul, had been educated as an advocate, and was now thirty-four years of age.[d] He forthwith set himself to make up by assiduous study for his previous neglect of theological learning.[e] It would seem that, on his sudden elevation, he unsuspectingly yielded himself to the tendencies of that fashion of religion which he found prevailing; and

[a] Page 233.

[b] Paulinus in Vitâ Ambrosii (printed with St. Ambrose's Works), 6; Soc. iv. 20; Soz. vi. 24; Neander, iv. 90.

[c] Tillemont argues that, as the Scriptural prohibition of promoting a novice was given on account of the danger of pride, it did not apply here (x. 92-3). It is amusing to contrast his remarks on the elevation of Ambrose with those on the parallel case of Nectarius. See above, p. 246.

[d] Pagi in Baron. v. 268; Tillem. x. 82; Schröckh, xiv. 150.

[e] Tillem. x. 97-9; Schröckh, xiv. 155.

from the combination of this with his naturally noble and energetic character resulted a mixture of qualities which might almost seem incompatible—of manliness, lofty dignity, and practical sense with a fanciful mysticism and a zealous readiness to encourage and forward the growing superstitions of the age.[f] "The Old and the New Testament," it has been well said, "met in the person of Ambrose. The implacable hostility to idolatry, the abhorrence of every deviation from the established form of belief; the wise and courageous benevolence, the generous and unselfish devotion to the great interests of humanity."[g]

A.D. 375. After the death of Valentinian, Ambrose acquired a strong influence over the mind of Gratian, for whose especial instruction he wrote some treatises.[h] But in Justina, the widow of the late emperor, and mother of the younger Valentinian (whose chief residence was at Milan), he found a bitter and persevering enemy. This princess was devoted to the Arian creed, and her first disagreement with Ambrose appears to have been in 379, when he defeated her in an attempt to procure the appointment of a heretical bishop to Sirmium.[i] Notwith-

A.D. 383. standing this, when tidings reached Milan that Gratian had been murdered at Lyons by the partisans of the rebel Maximus, Justina placed her young son in the archbishop's arms, and entreated him to become his protector. Ambrose proceeded to Treves, where Maximus had fixed his court, and obtained his consent to a partition of the West—Maximus taking for himself Britain, Gaul, and Spain, while the other countries were left to Valentinian.[k]

A.D. 385. Two years later, however, a fresh contest arose. Ambrose had succeeded in extinguishing Arianism among the citizens of Milan, so that its only adherents in the place were a portion of the court and some Gothic soldiers.[l] To these the archbishop was required, on the approach of Easter, to give up, first, a church without the walls, and afterwards the

[f] This was not, however, without exception. On one occasion he broke down and sold his church-plate for the redemption of captives who had been carried away by barbarians. Dean Milman says (iii. 246) "Even Fleury argues that they were not *consecrated* vessels." But Fleury (xvii. 39) adds that he "reserved those which were consecrated for some greater need;" and in this he is warranted by St. Ambrose himself, who says (De Offic. Ministr. ii. 28)—that unconsecrated plate is to be used for such purposes *first*, although the consecrated may follow if required; in which case the vessels ought to be broken down, to prevent profanation.

[g] Milman, iii. 245.

[h] Schröckh, xiv. 163-176; Gibbon, ii. 529.

[i] Tillem. x. 122-3.

[k] Soc. v. 11; Tillem. x. 153; Gibbon, ii. 529.

[l] Tillem. x. 165.

newest and largest church in the city. He was twice summoned before the council, who told him that he must yield to the imperial power. He replied that he was ready to part with anything that was his own—even his life; but that he was not at liberty to surrender what was sacred: "Palaces," he said, "are for the emperor; churches are for God's priests." [m] The populace of the city were greatly excited. They tore down the hangings which had been put up by way of preparing the churches for the reception of the emperor; they seized an Arian presbyter in the streets, and would probably have killed him, if Ambrose had not interposed to rescue him; they surrounded the palace when the archbishop was before the council. The imperial ministers entreated him to restrain his partisans; Ambrose answered that it was in his power not to excite them, but that it was in God's hand only to appease them; and that, if he were suspected of having instigated the tumult, he ought to be punished by banishment or otherwise. Even the soldiery showed a disposition to take part with the Catholics; some of them, who had been sent to occupy the new church, declared that they were come not to fight, but to join in the archbishop's prayers. The empress at length yielded, and a heavy fine which had been laid on the traders of Milan on account of the first demonstration in favour of Ambrose was remitted.[n]

In the beginning of the following year, an edict was issued, allowing entire freedom of religion to those who should profess the creed of Rimini, and denouncing death against all who should molest them.[o] Soon after its publication, Ambrose was required, on pain of deprivation, to argue his cause with the bishop of the Arian party in the presence of the emperor and some lay judges. He refused, on the ground that matters of faith ought not to be submitted to such a tribunal.[p] When Easter was again at hand, a fresh demand was made for the church within the walls. With an allusion to the story of Naboth, he replied that he would not give up the

Jan. 23, 386.

A.D. 386.

[m] Ep. xx. § 8; Tillem. x. 167-8; Schröckh, xiv. 217-8; Gibbon, ii. 530-1. Ambrose, in allusion to the manner in which Justina carried about her establishment, says that, as the Goths had formerly lived in waggons, they now had a waggon for a church (§ 12). Writers who censure his conduct usually overlook a somewhat important distinction—that the demand was not that he should allow the Arians to exercise their worship, but that he should transfer to them a building which belonged to the Catholics. Neander vindicates Ambrose, and supposes that if the first concession had been made, others would soon have been required (iv. 91).

[n] Ambr. Ep. xx.; Fleury, xviii. 42; Milman, iii. 248.

[o] Soz. vii. 13; Tillem. x. 177.

[p] Ep. 21; Tillem. x. 187; Fleury xviii. 44.

inheritance of his fathers—the holy and orthodox bishops who had filled the see before him. On being ordered to leave the city, he refused to yield except to force, and his flock, in fear lest he should either withdraw or be carried off, anxiously guarded him—passing several nights in the church and the adjoining buildings, while the outlets were watched by the imperial soldiers.[q] During these vigils Ambrose introduced, for the first time in the west, a mode of singing which had lately originated in somewhat similar circumstances at Antioch—that, instead of leaving the psalmody to the choristers, the whole congregation should divide itself into two choirs, by which the chant was to be taken up alternately.[r]

The matter was still undecided, when Ambrose, being engaged in consecrating a new church, was requested by his people to use the same ceremonies as on a certain former occasion. He answered that he would do so if relics of saints should be found, and he gave orders to dig up the pavement near the altar-rails in the church of St. Felix and St. Nabor; when two skeletons were found—of extraordinary size, "such as the olden time produced"—with the heads separated from the bodies, and a large quantity of fresh blood.[s] The relics, after having been exposed for two days, were deposited in the new church. Demoniacs who were brought near to them showed signs of great disturbance. Some declared that the bones were those of martyrs, and proclaimed their names—Gervasius and Protasius—names which had been utterly forgotten, but which old men were at length able to remember that they had heard in former days.[t] In other cases, the demons cried out that all who refused to confess the true doctrine of the Trinity, as it was taught by Ambrose, would be tormented even as they themselves then were.[u] Other miracles are related as having been wrought by the touch of the cloth which covered the relics, and even by their shadow as they were carried along. The most noted was, that a well-known butcher, who had lost his sight, recovered it on touching the hem of the pall, and for the rest of his days became sacristan of the church in which they were preserved. The general excitement was now such, that, although the Arians questioned and ridiculed the miracles,[x] Justina no longer ventured to press her claims

[q] Tillem. x. 179-182.
[r] Bingham, XIV. i. 11; Schröckh, xiv. 313; Guéranger, Institutions Liturgiques, i. 101-5.
[s] Ambr. Ep. xxii. 2, 12.
[t] Ibid. 12.
[u] Ibid. 21.
[x] Ibid. 17, 23.

against the bishop who was supposed to have been distinguished by a Divine interposition in his behalf.[y]

An apprehension of renewed danger from Maximus may perhaps have contributed to this result.[z] In the following year, Ambrose was again sent to the court of Treves, A.D. 387. with a commission to treat for the delivery of Gratian's body. He asserted in a remarkable manner the dignity of the episcopal character, but returned without effecting his object;[a] and soon after Maximus, in violation of his engagements, invaded the territories of Valentinian. The young emperor and his mother fled for protection to Theodosius, who in the summer of 388 marched westwards, defeated and killed the usurper, and for a time fixed his residence at Milan.[b]

The power which Ambrose had exerted over the younger princes was no less felt by "the Great" Theodosius. Soon after his arrival at Milan, the emperor was about to seat himself within that part of the cathedral which was appropriated to the clergy, when the archbishop desired him to withdraw to a position at the head of the laity. Theodosius expressed thanks for the admonition, excused himself on the ground that at Constantinople the imperial seat was within the railings of the choir, and, on his

[y] I have related this affair without making any comment on it in the text. But, even if the probability of a miracle or of a series of miracles on such an occasion be granted, there are serious difficulties in the way of receiving the narrative in its entireness, with Dr. Newman (Church of the Fathers, chap. iii.; Essay on Miracles, pp. 185-200). Le Clerc, Mosheim (i. 352), Mr. Isaac Taylor (Antient Christianity, &c. i. 475, ii. 258-271), and Mr. Henry Rogers (Essays, ii. 215-222) charge St. Ambrose with imposture. This accusation, indeed, must not be rejected merely on account of its offensiveness, without a due consideration of the very dangerous maxims which prevailed as to the lawfulness of using deceit for religious ends—a practice maintained by all the eminent teachers of the age, with the exception of St. Augustine, who held all falsehood to be unlawful for Christians. (See Chrysost. de Sacerdotio, i. 5; Schröckh, ix. 343-358; Neander's Chrysostomus, i. 93-6; Gieseler, I. ii. 307; Gilly's Vigilantius, 266-9, and the quotation from Coleridge, p. 269: and for Augustine, Dupin, iii. 227-8; Schröckh, xv. 319.) But even if we should venture to adopt the supposition of Le Clerc and his followers, the case is still encumbered with difficulties; nor am I acquainted with any theory which will satisfactorily remove them all. (See Schröckh, ix. 214-7; Milman, iii. 253.) Without giving any opinion on the question, I may remark that the variations between the reports as to the finding of the relics will warrant us in making large deductions from similar stories on the grounds of exaggeration and imperfect testimony. St. Augustine—who might be supposed an unexceptionable witness, since he was himself at Milan when the thing took place, while his mother was a zealous adherent of the archbishop—tells us (Confess. ix. 2) that the discovery was announced to Ambrose by a vision, and that the bodies had been preserved uncorrupted; whereas St. Ambrose himself mentions no other previous intimation than that he felt a glow (*ardor*) when the digging was begun, and it is clear from his narrative (Ep. 22) that the bodies were reduced to skeletons.

[z] Dupin, ii. 252.

[a] Ambr. Ep. 24; Tillem. x. 195; Schröckh, xiv. 235-7.

[b] Gibbon, ii. 535-8.

return to the eastern capital, astonished the more courtly clergy by introducing the practice of Milan.[c]

The zeal of Theodosius for unity of faith and worship among his subjects was encouraged and directed by Ambrose. He assumed a right of moral control over the emperor's proceedings, which on one occasion, at least, appears to have been pushed beyond the bounds of equity. The Christians of Callinicum, in Mesopotamia, had destroyed a Jewish synagogue, and, in revenge for an insult offered to some monks as they were on their way to keep a festival, had also burnt a Valentinian conventicle. Theodosius ordered that the bishop of the place, who had encouraged these proceedings, should restore the buildings, or pay the price of them. Ambrose, on hearing of the order, wrote to the emperor by way of remonstrance, and, as his letter had no effect, he followed it up by a personal appeal in a sermon —maintaining that it was inconsistent with the duty of a Christian prince to sanction the employment of Christian funds for such purposes. Theodosius yielded and recalled his sentence.[d] We may be inclined to wonder that Ambrose—if he failed to see the injustice of the position which he advanced, and its inconsistency with any sound principles of civil government—was yet not led to suspect its truth by the consideration that it would warrant the oppression of a Christian minority by heathens, or of an orthodox minority by heretics. But so far was he from feeling any misgiving on this account, that he even ventured to cite the destruction of churches under Julian, and the recent burning of the episcopal house at Constantinople by the Arians, as if these acts were a justification of the Mesopotamian outrages![e]

A.D. 388.

An interposition of a more creditable nature followed. The most prominent defect in the noble and amiable character of Theodosius was a proneness to violent anger. That he could be merciful after great provocation was remarkably shown in his forgiveness of the people of Antioch, who in 387 rose in sedition on account of a tax, burnt some houses, and threw down the statues of the emperor, his deceased wife, and others of his family.[f]

[c] Soc. v. 24. This incident is by some writers (as Theod. v. 18) improbably connected with the *penance* of Theodosius. See Tillem. x. 218-9; Schröckh, xiv. 256-7.

[d] Ambr. Ep. xl.-xli; Paulinus, 22-3; Baron. 388. 82-92; Gibbon, ii, 546-7.

[e] Ep. xl. 13-15. Tillemont (x. 200-1) appears to rely more on parallels than on arguments for the defence of Ambrose. Schröckh (vii. 391-3) is strongly against the archbishop. Comp. Bayle, art. *Abdas*, note C.

[f] Soz. vii. 23; Theod. v. 20; Tillem. Emp. v. 263-280; Gibbon, ii. 544.

But in 390 his passion became the occasion of a fearful tragedy at Thessalonica. The populace of that city, on the occasion of a chariot-race, demanded the release of a favourite charioteer, whom Botheric, commander-in-chief of the district, had imprisoned for attempting an abominable crime. On Botheric's refusal, they broke out into tumult, and murdered him with many of his soldiery and others. The emperor was greatly exasperated by the report of the insurrection, but at the intercession of Ambrose he promised to pardon the Thessalonians. His secular advisers, however, by insisting on the heinous character of the offence, afterwards procured from him an order which was carefully kept secret from the bishop. The people of Thessalonica were invited to a performance of games in the circus, and, while there assembled, were attacked by an overwhelming force of soldiers. Neither age nor sex was regarded; no distinction was made between guilty and innocent, citizen and stranger. For three hours an indiscriminate butchery was carried on, and at least seven thousand victims perished.[g]

Ambrose was filled with horror on hearing of this massacre. Theodosius was then absent from Milan, and before his return the bishop retired into the country, whence he wrote a letter,[h] exhorting him to repent, and declaring that, until due penance should be performed, he had been forbidden by God to offer the eucharistic sacrifice in the emperor's presence. Theodosius was brought to a sense of the guilt which he had incurred by substituting treacherous barbarity for justice. But when he was about to enter the church, the archbishop met him in the porch, and, laying hold of his robe, desired him to withdraw, as a man polluted with innocent blood. The emperor spoke of his contrition; but Ambrose told him that private regrets were insufficient to expiate so grievous a wrong. Theodosius submitted and retired. For eight months he remained in penitential seclusion, laying aside all his imperial ornaments, until at the Christmas season he presented himself before the archbishop, and humbly entreated readmission into the Church. Ambrose required some practical fruit of his repentance, and the emperor consented to a law by which, in order to guard against the effects of sudden passion, the execution of all capital punishments was to be deferred until thirty days after the sentence. He was then allowed to enter the church. He prostrated himself on the pave-

[g] This is the lowest estimate (Theod. v. 17). Gibbon says that some writers reckon the number at more than 15,000, ii. 545.

[h] Ep. 51.

ment with every demonstration of the deepest grief and humiliation; and Ambrose, in his funeral oration over the emperor, assures us that from that time he never passed a day without recalling to mind the crime into which he had been betrayed by his passion.[i]

The behaviour of Theodosius in this remarkable affair was evidently not the result of weakness or pusillanimity, but of a real feeling of his guilt—a sincere acknowledgment of a higher Power to which all worldly greatness is subject. In order to judge rightly of Ambrose's conduct, we must dismiss from our minds some recollections of later times, which may be very likely to intrude themselves. He appears to have been actuated by no other motive than a solemn sense of his duty. He felt the dignity with which his office invested him; he held himself bound, by interposing it in behalf of justice and humanity, to control the power of earthly sovereignty. He has nothing in common with those who, in after ages, used the names of God and his Church to cover their own pride and selfish ambition.

In the autumn of 391 Theodosius returned to the East, leaving Valentinian in possession, not only of his own original dominions, but of those which had been ceded to Maximus after the murder of Gratian. Justina had died in 388, and from that time the young emperor was entirely under the guidance of Ambrose.[k] In 392 he wrote from Vienne, urgently desiring the bishop to visit him—partly in order to establish a better relation with the Frankish general Arbogastes, who had been placed with him by Theodosius as a protector, but had begun to show symptoms of a dangerous ambition; and partly to administer the sacrament of baptism, the reception of which Valentinian, according to the custom of the time, had hitherto delayed. Ambrose set out in obedience to the summons; but before his arrival, Valentinian had been murdered by the Frank.[l] Once more Theo-
May 15, 392. dosius moved into the west, to put down the rhetorician

[i] Ambr. in Obit. Theod. 34 (t. II. i. 1396); Soz. vii. 24-5; Theod. v. 18; Baron. 390. 2-30; Tillem. x. 209-215; Schröckh. xiv. 250-260; Gibbon, ii. 544-8; Neander, iii. 256; Guericke, i. 361-2; Milman, iii. 258, seqq.

[k] Tillem. x. 243.

[l] Till. x. 244; Emp. v. 350. He was buried at Milan, and Ambrose preached a funeral sermon. "On this occasion," says Gibbon (ii. 551), "the humanity of Ambrose tempted him to make a singular breach in his theological system; and to comfort the weeping sisters of Valentinian, by the firm assurance, that their pious brother, though he had not received the sacrament of baptism, was introduced, without difficulty, into the mansions of eternal bliss." Surely there is nothing inconsistent with Ambrose's system in arguing, as he here does (De Obitu Valent. 51-3, t. II. i. 1374-5), that a person who was cut off by a violent death, while preparing for baptism

Eugenius, whom Arbogastes had raised to a nominal sovereignty. But within four months after his victory he died at Milan,—the last emperor who maintained the dignity of the Roman name.[m] Ambrose survived him a little more than two years—dying on Easter-eve, 397.[n] Jan. 17, 395.

II.

Although paganism lost the ascendancy which it had possessed during the brief reign of Julian, it yet for a time enjoyed full toleration.[o] While barbarians threatened the empire, its rulers felt the inexpediency of irritating that large portion of their subjects which adhered to the old religion. Valentinian and his brother, indeed, carried on a searching inquiry after the practice of magical arts,[p] and punished those concerned in it severely—in many cases with death. But the edicts on this subject were only renewals of earlier laws;[q] and the motive of them was not religious but political. The practices of divination and theurgy were connected with speculations and intrigues as to matters of state; they were carried on, not by the ignorant vulgar alone, but by members of the old Roman aristocracy, and by the high philosophic party which had been influential under Julian; and many persons of both these classes were now among the sufferers.[r] But the consultation of the aruspices was still allowed.[s] Guards of soldiers were employed to protect the temples, although Christians were exempt from this service.[t] Valentinian even bestowed on the priesthood privileges exceeding those which they had received from his heathen predecessors, and, in some respects, greater than those which the Christians enjoyed.[u] The orthodox subjects of Valens complained that, while they themselves were subjected to banishment and disabilities on account of their faith, the heathens were freely allowed to practise all the rites of their idolatry—even the frantic and impure worship of Bacchus.[x] In 364, Valentinian forbade nocturnal sacrifices; but, on receiving a representation

and earnestly desiring it, might be judged of in the same way as those who were martyred in their catechumenate. See Bingham, Lett. I. on Absolution, Works, vol. ii. p. 275, folio.

[m] Gibbon, ii. 539-540.

[n] Tillem. x. 365; Pagi in Baron. vi. 240.

[o] Neander, iii. 96-9; Beugnot, i. 233.

[p] Magical books were condemned to destruction, and many works of other kinds unhappily perished through being confounded with them. Schröckh, vii. 31.

[q] Beugnot, i. 244.

[r] Baron. 364, 17; 370, 99-102; Tillem. Emp. v. 6-10, 110; Gibbon, ii. 389, 394-7; Beugnot, i. 247, seqq.; Milman, iii. 112-8.

[s] Neander, iii. 98-9; Beugnot, i. 252.

[t] Baron. 365. 43; Schröckh, vii. 205 6; Milman, iii. 112.

[u] Schröckh, vii. 203; Beugnot, i. 234.

[x] Soc. iv. 16; Theod. iv. 24; v. 31.

that the Greeks could not endure to be deprived of their mysteries, he exempted these from the operation of his law.[y] At a later period, Valentinian and Valens were induced, by political causes, to prohibit all animal sacrifices; the other rites of heathen worship, however, were still permitted, and at Rome, where paganism was strong, the edict was not enforced.[z]

Under Theodosius and the contemporary emperors of the West there was a more decided movement for the suppression of paganism. Theodosius early in his reign renewed the laws against sacrifices.[a] In 386, he sent Cynegius, the prefect of the East, into Egypt, with a commission to shut up the temples.[b] But while the law spared the buildings themselves, the zeal of Christians very often exceeded it. So long as the temples were standing they alarmed one party with the apprehension, and flattered the other with the hope, that a second Julian might arise.[c] Many of them were destroyed in consequence—some under the pretext (true or false) that sacrifice had been illegally offered in them.[d] The work of demolition was chiefly incited or executed by monks; in countries where these did not abound—such as Greece—the splendid remains of heathen architecture were allowed to remain without injury, whether disused, employed as churches, or converted to secular purposes.[e] The celebrated sophist Libanius in 384 composed a plea for the temples, in the form of a speech delivered before the emperor, although it was probably never even presented to him in writing.[f] The orator complains of "black-garbed men, more voracious than elephants, and insatiably thirsty, although veiling their sensuality under an artificial paleness;" that, although the law forbade no part of paganism except bloody sacrifices, these monks went about committing acts of outrage and plunder; that they treated the priests with violence; that they even seized lands under the pretence that they had been connected with illegal rites; and that, if appeal were made "to the shepherds in the cities" (*i.e.* the bishops), the complainants, instead of obtaining any redress, were told that they had been only too gently treated. He traces all the calamities of the time to the change of religion. He appeals to the New Testament precepts in proof that the forcible measures of the

[y] Beugnot, i. 24; Milman, iii. 111.
[z] Neander, iii. 100; Gieseler, I. ii. 22; Milman, iii. 112.
[a] Tillem. Emp. v. 231.
[b] Tillem. Emp. v. 235, 732; Neander, iii. 107; Beugnot, i. 360.
[c] Gibbon, iii. 10.
[d] Neander, iii. 105.
[e] Gibbon, iii. 11; Gieseler, I. ii. 25; Beugnot, i. 361; Milman, iii. 161.
[f] Tillem. Emp. v. 232-3; Neander, iii. 107; Milman, n. on Gibbon, iii. 10.

Christians were contrary to the spirit of their own religion. He endeavours to alarm the superstition of his readers, by saying that the service of the ancient deities was still kept up in Egypt, because the Christians themselves feared to risk the fertility of the country by suppressing it.[g]

In no long time this last assertion was put to the test. Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, a violent man, whose name will be often mentioned hereafter, obtained a grant of a temple of Bacchus, and ordered the site to be excavated with a view to building a church on it. A.D. 391. Indecent symbols used in the worship of Bacchus were found among the ruins, and were publicly paraded in mockery. The offended pagans rose in insurrection, killed a number of Christians, and shut themselves up in the temple of Serapis—which, with its precincts, formed a vast pile of building, and was regarded as one of the wonders of the world.[h] They made sallies from time to time, slew some Christians, and carried off many prisoners, whom they either compelled to sacrifice, or, in case of refusal, subjected to cruel tortures; some were even crucified. The governor of Alexandria reported the matter to Theodosius. The emperor answered, that, as the Christians who had been slain were martyrs, those who had been concerned in their death were not to be punished, but rather, if possible, were to be attracted to the true faith by clemency; but he ordered that the temples of Alexandria should be destroyed. The Serapeum was deserted by its defenders, who had been induced by the governor to attend the public reading of the imperial rescript, and had fled in consternation on hearing the sentence against the temples. The idol of Serapis, the tutelary deity of the city, was of enormous size, and was adorned with jewels and with plates of gold and silver. There was a popular belief that if it were injured, heaven and earth would go to wreck. Even Christians looked on with anxiety, when a soldier, mounting a ladder, raised his axe against the figure. But when it was seen that with impunity he first struck off a cheek, and then cleft one of the knees, the spell was at an end. The head of the god was thrown down, and a swarm of rats rushed forth from it, exciting the disgust and derision of the crowd.[i] The idol was soon broken into pieces, which were dragged into the amphitheatre and burnt. On examining

[g] Gibbon, iii. 10; Neander, iii. 106; Gieseler, I. ii. 24-6.

[h] Baron, 388. 76, seqq.; Tillem. Emp. v. 312-322; Gibbon, iii. 13; Neander, iii. 108-9.

[i] Min. Felix had argued against heathenism from the liberties which birds, &c., took with the images of the gods. Octavius, c. 24.

the temple a discovery was made of infamies by which it had been polluted; and of tricks by which the priests had imposed on the credulity of the worshippers; and in consequence of this exposure many persons were converted to the Church. The pagan party began, however, to exult when it was found that the rising of the Nile was that year delayed beyond its usual time. The emperor was consulted: "Better," he answered, "that it should not rise at all, than that we should buy the fertility of Egypt by idolatry." At length the river rose to a more than usual height; the pagans began to hope that Serapis would avenge himself by an inundation; but they soon had the mortification of seeing the waters subside to their proper level. The Serapeum was demolished, and a church was built on its site. In obedience to the emperor's command, the other temples of Alexandria and those in other parts of Egypt were destroyed. The statues were burnt or melted down, with the exception of one, which, we are told, Theophilus preserved as an evidence against paganism, lest the adherents of that system should afterwards deny that they had worshipped objects so contemptible.[k]

The old religion was more powerful in the West than in the East. Most of the high Roman families clung to it—not, apparently, from any conviction of its truth, but from a feeling of pride in maintaining the traditions of their ancestors, and from unwillingness to undertake the labour of examination. A profession of paganism was no bar to the attainment of high offices in the state; and with these the Roman nobles, like their forefathers, ambitiously sought to combine the dignities of the pagan hierarchy.[l] In the capital a vast number of temples and of smaller religious edifices were still devoted to the ancient worship.[m] In the rural districts of Italy, the system was maintained by the connexion of its deities with every incident in the round of agricultural labours. Bishops are found rebuking the Christian landowners for the indifference which allowed the population of their estates to continue in the undisturbed practice of idolatry.[n] Throughout the

[k] Soc. v. 16, 20; Baron. 388. 86-99; Tillem. Emp. v. 312-322; Gibbon, iii. 13-6; Schröckh, vii. 212-5; Gieseler, I. ii. 27. Socrates says that the excepted statue was that of Jupiter; others, that it was a monkey. Tillem. Emp. v. 322.

[l] Beugnot, i. 342-3, 395, 411.

[m] Gibbon says 424 (iii. 4). M. Beugnot (i. 266) reckons up 152 temples and 183 chapels. But, on the one hand, we cannot know how many lesser buildings were contained in the great *ædes*; on the other, what number of the edifices were then in actual use (iv. 268).

[n] Beugnot, i. 283-290; Milman, iii. 146; Neander, vi. 375.

western provinces generally the old barbarian religions prevailed in some places; the worship of the Roman gods in others.[o] From the fact that many bishoprics of the West are traced to the period between A.D. 350 and 380, it has been inferred that an organised attack on paganism was then first attempted in those regions.[p]

Gratian, in his earlier years, maintained the principle of religious equality; but the influence of St. Ambrose afterwards produced an important change in his policy, so that this young emperor inflicted heavier blows on paganism than any which his predecessors had ventured to attempt.[q] There was in the senate-house at Rome an altar of Victory, at which the senators took the oath of fidelity to the emperor and the laws, and on which libations and incense were offered at the beginning of every meeting.[r] The removal of this altar was the only considerable act by which Constantius interfered with the religion of the capital. Julian restored it, and it continued to hold its place until, in 382, Gratian ordered that it should be again removed. A body of senators, headed by Symmachus, the most eloquent orator of his time—a man of eminent personal character, and distinguished by the highest civil and religious offices[s]—proceeded to Milan for the purpose of requesting that the altar might be replaced. But the Christian party in the senate had already influenced the emperor's mind by means of Damasus and Ambrose; and he refused to see the envoys.[t] At the same time he deprived the temples of their lands, withdrew from them all public funds, rendered it illegal to bequeath real property to them, and stripped the vestals and the priests of religious and civil privileges.[u] Then perhaps it may have been, and with the hope of effectually appealing to his feelings, that a deputation of the priesthood displayed before him the robe of the Pontifex Maximus—a dignity which had been held by all his predecessors, as well since as before the conversion of Constantine. But he rejected it as unbefitting a Christian.[x]

[o] See Beugnot, i. 290, seqq.

[p] Beugnot, i. 318; who supposes that a break in an episcopal line denotes a temporary local ascendancy of paganism, i. 282.

[q] Tillem. Emp. v. 145; Beugnot, i. 326; Milman, iii. 165.

[r] Gibbon, iii. 4; Beugnot, i. 410.

[s] See Beugnot, liv. viii. c. 7.

[t] Ambros. Ep. xvii. 10; Schröckh, vii. 51-2; Neander, iii. 100; Beugnot, i. 413.

[u] Tillem. Emp. vii. 169-170; Schröckh, vii. 207; Neander, iii. 101; Beugnot, i. 328.

[x] See Schröckh, vii. 206; Beugnot, i. 329-330; Gieseler, I. ii. 24. The refusal of the robe is more commonly placed in the beginning of the reign, and it is said, on the evidence of coins, &c., that Gratian nevertheless retained the title of Pontifex Maximus. (Neander, iii. 100.) But Beugnot (i. 341)

In 384 a fresh attempt was made on the young Valentinian. Symmachus appeared at Milan as the chief of a deputation, and delivered to the emperor an eloquent written pleading on behalf of the altar of Victory and the old religion.[y] He drew a distinction between the emperor's personal conviction and his position as the ruler of a state which for centuries had worshipped the gods of paganism. He dwelt on the omens connected with the name of Victory, and traced the famines, wars, and other calamities of recent years to the anger of the gods on account of the withholding of their dues. He urged that it was an unworthy act to withdraw the funds by which the old religion had been maintained. He personified Rome addressing the emperor as a mother, reminding him of her ancient glories, and professing herself unable to learn other opinions than those by which she had acquired her greatness.

Ambrose, who, on hearing of the application of the pagan party, had written to the emperor,[z] earnestly exhorting him to refuse it, followed up his letter by a formal and elaborate reply to Symmachus.[a] He argued that it was unlawful for a Christian sovereign to countenance a system which he must believe to be hateful to God. It would, he said, be a wrong to the Christian senators if they were compelled to take a part in the sacrifices to Victory; and they must be considered as sharing in the acts of the senate whether they were personally present or not. He met the plea as to the misfortunes of the empire by referring to those of princes who had professed idolatry. The ancient glories of Rome could not have been derived from the worship of the gods; for her conquered enemies had been of the same religion. Her hoary age would become not less but more venerable by her embracing the truth of the Gospel. Christianity had grown under oppression, whereas paganism, according to the statement of its own advocates, depended for its life on the endowments and emoluments of the priesthood. Heathenism had difficulty in keeping up the number of its seven vestals, notwithstanding the high privileges attached to the order, whereas multitudes of Christian women had voluntarily chosen a virgin life of poverty and mortification. And what deeds of charity had heathenism to produce against the maintenance of

and Gieseler show that there is no proof of his having held the title after refusing the robe, and that *both* were probably rejected in his latter days. The view of Tillemont (Emp. v. 138-9), and other older writers, that the title, though *given* to the earlier Christian emperors, was not *accepted* by them, appears to be unfounded.

[y] See Ambros. t. II. p. ii. 966.

[z] Ep. xvii.

[a] Ep. xviii.

the needy, the redemption of captives, and other such things which were the daily work of Christians?

In reading these rival pleadings, we cannot but be struck by the remarkable contrast of their tone—the apologetic diffidence of Symmachus, the triumphant assurance of Ambrose, who, in his previous letter to the emperor, had gone so far as to say that if he made the required concession to idolatry, the Church would reject him and his offerings.[b] It is evident that—apart from all consideration of the value of their respective arguments—the Christian champion has gained his cause, and that the petition of Symmachus must be—as it was—unsuccessful.[c]

The pagan party next applied to Theodosius, when in Italy after the death of Maximus. The emperor was at first inclined to yield, but Ambrose swayed him as he had swayed the younger prince.[d] Once more a deputation was sent to Valentinian in Gaul, when he was at a distance both from his colleague and from the Archbishop; but this attempt was also a failure.[e] A.D. 389.

In 392, an important law was issued by Theodosius for the whole empire. With an elaborate specification it includes all persons, of every rank and in every place. Sacrifice and divination —even although performed without any political object—are to be regarded as high treason, and to be capitally punished. The use of lights, incense, garlands, or libations, and other such lesser acts of idolatry, are to involve the forfeiture of the houses or lands where they are committed. Heavy fines, graduated according to the position of the parties, are denounced against those who should enter temples; if magistrates offend in this respect, and their officers do not attempt to prevent them, the officers are also to be fined.[f]

The severity of this enactment probably contributed to swell the party of Eugenius, whom the pagans hailed as a deliverer.[g] Whether he himself apostatized is uncertain; but his master, Arbogastes, was avowedly a pagan, and during the short period of the rhetorician-emperor's power, the A.D. 392-4.

[b] Ep. xvii. 14. He refers to it again, Ep. lvii. 2.

[c] Tillem. x. 161-2; Fleury, xviii. 32; Gibbon, iii. 5-6; Schröckh, xiv. 209; Neander, iii. 102; Beugnot, i. 413.

[d] Tillem. x. 208; Beugnot, i. 433.

[e] Ambr. Ep. lvii. 5; Tillem. Emp. v. 349; Beugnot, i. 434.

[f] Tillem. Emp. v. 325-6; Gibbon, iii. 18; Beugnot, i. 386; Gieseler, I. ii. 28.

[g] Beugnot, i. 406-9. M. Beugnot supposes, but only by way of conjecture, that Maximus had before been supported by the pagans, i. 399.

altar of Victory was replaced, the rites of the old religion were revived in all their completeness, and the confiscated property of the temples was restored.[h] It has been said that Theodosius, on visiting Rome after the defeat of Eugenius, referred the choice between Christianity and paganism to the vote of the senate, and that the Gospel was adopted by a majority; but the story is exceedingly improbable,[i] and is perhaps no more than an exaggeration of some discussion which took place at Milan between the emperor and a deputation of the senate.[k]

It is not correct to say—as has sometimes been said—that paganism was *suppressed* by Theodosius. Its adherents, although debarred from the exercise of its rites, were allowed to enjoy perfect freedom of thought, and the dignities of the state were open to them.[l] The execution of the laws against it was very partial; as they were exceeded where the Christian party was strong, so where that party was weak they were not enforced.[m] At Rome, the emperor himself was complimented, like his predecessors, by being enrolled among the gods at his death.[n] But yet the old system was evidently doomed. Its remaining strength was not in belief but in habit. The withdrawal of public funds told on it to a degree which would have been impossible if there had been any principle of life in it. The priests, when attacked, succumbed in a manner which indicated an utter want of faith and zeal.[o] Although paganism was common among men of letters, no one of these attempted theological controversy; their efforts in behalf of their religion did not reach beyond pleadings for toleration. St. Jerome speaks of the temples at Rome about this time as left to neglect, disorder, and decay.[p]

III.

Among those of his subjects who professed Christianity,

[h] Ambr. Ep. lvii.; Baron. 392. 20; Schröckh, xiv. 291; Beugnot, i. 436; Gieseler, I. ii. 29.

[i] (1) It is all but certain that Theodosius did not visit Rome at the time in question (Pagi in Baron. vi. 185)—a difficulty which has led some writers to refer the incident to his visit after the defeat of Maximus, A.D. 388-9. (Tillem. Emp. v. 304; Gibbon, iii. 7-8.) (2) The question was too important to be entrusted to the senate of those days, when that body had become insignificant. (3) A prince so zealous as Theodosius would hardly have left it to the risk of a vote. See these and other objections in Beugnot, i. 484-7; Comp. Milman, n. on Gibbon, iii. 7; Neander, iii. 111; Gieseler, I. ii. 29.

[k] Beugnot, i. 487; Comp. Tillem. Emp. v. 393.

[l] Gibbon, iii. 20-1.

[m] Beugnot, i. 362-3, 394.

[n] Beugnot, i. 487-8; Gieseler, I. ii. 29.

[o] Gibbon, iii. 19.

[p] Ep. cvii. 1-2; Schröckh, vii. 222-3.

Theodosius was resolved to establish unity of religion. Immediately after the conclusion of the General Council of Constantinople, he ordered that all churches should be given up to the Catholics, that no meetings of heretics should be held, and that no buildings should be erected for such meetings.[q] In 383 he summoned a conference of bishops of all parties, with the hope of bringing them to an agreement.[r] But the difference of creeds was found irreconcilable, and in the same year the emperor issued fresh edicts against the Arians. During the remaining years of the reign, frequent laws[s] were directed against heresy—a term which was now no longer restricted to the denial of the leading doctrines of the faith, but was applied also to lesser errors of doctrine and to separation from the communion of the Church.[t] The especial objects of the emperor's animosity were Arians, Eunomians, Macedonians, Apollinarians, and Manichæans. By various enactments, he deprived them of all right to assemble for worship either in cities or in the country; he confiscated all places in which they should hold meetings; he rendered them

July 30, 381.

[q] Tillem. vii. 623; Gieseler, I. ii. 76; Milman, iii. 140.

[r] Soc. v. 10; Soz. vii. 12; Tillem. vi. 629; Schröckh, ix. 339, xii. 65. An incident which Sozomen (vii. 6) connects with the first arrival of Theodosius at Constantinople is supposed by Baronius (383. 31) and Tillemont (vi. 627, 802) to belong to the time of this conference. The Catholics, it is said, were afraid lest the emperor should admit Eunomius to an interview, and should be won by the heretic's specious discourse. While things were in this state, the bishops one day went to pay their respects at Court. One of them, who is described by Sozomen as an old and homely man, bishop of an inconsiderable town, after having saluted Theodosius with great reverence, turned to the heir of the empire, Arcadius, who had lately been declared Augustus, stroked his head, and spoke to him as if he were a boy of ordinary rank. The emperor, indignant at this disrespect, ordered that the bishop should be turned out; whereupon the old man told him that even so would the Heavenly Father be offended with those who refuse to his Son the honour which they pay to Himself. Theodosius begged the bishop's forgiveness, and the Arians were kept at a distance. Theodoret places this after the defeat of Maximus, and names Amphilochius, of Iconium, as the bishop in question (v. 16). Valois (n. on Soz. vii. 6) and Tillemont (vi. 627) point out that Sozomen's description does not suit Amphilochius. "Yet," says Gibbon, ii. 517, "I must take leave to think that both Amphilochius and Iconium were objects of inconsiderable magnitude in the Roman empire." But the question is how they would have appeared to Sozomen—not to Mr. Gibbon. It seems more likely either that Sozomen erred in describing the bishop, or Theodoret in naming him, than that their accounts should relate to two different affairs—as Valois (loc. cit.) and Schröckh (xii. 67-70) appear to suppose.

[s] Gibbon says that Theodosius published fifteen such edicts in the same number of years, ii. 525.

[t] The so-called 6th Canon of the Council of Constantinople (see above, p. 246, n. [h]) includes among heretics "those who, although professing a sound faith, form congregations separate from the canonical bishops;" and a law of Arcadius, A.D. 395, those who "vel *levi* argumento a judicio Catholicæ religionis et tramite detecti fuerint deviare." In earlier times, the Catholics sought to bring home some heresy to schismatics; now, schism was itself heresy. Schröckh, ix. 311-2; Planck, i. 465. The orthodoxy of the Novatianists and of the Luciferians, however, still procured for the remnants of these sects an exemption from the severity of the new edicts. Tillem. Emp. v. 400, 716.

incapable of inheriting or bequeathing property, and inflicted other civil disabilities; he forbade them to dispute on religion; he condemned those who should either confer or receive sectarian ordination to pay a penalty of ten pounds weight of gold—equal to about 400*l.* of our money.[u] Against some classes of heretics he denounced confiscation and banishment; the "elect" of the Manichæans were even sentenced to death.[x]

Repulsive as such legislation is to the feelings of those who have learnt to acknowledge the impossibility of enforcing religious belief, the effect in a great measure answered the emperor's expectations. Neither heathenism nor sectarianism had much inward strength to withstand the pressure of the laws which required conformity to the Church. Crowds of proselytes flocked in, and, amidst the satisfaction of receiving these accessions, it was little asked whether in very many cases the apparent conversion were anything better than a mask for hypocrisy or indifference.[y]

It would seem that the severest edicts of Theodosius were intended only to terrify, and were never actually executed.[z] But the example of inflicting death as the punishment of religious error had already been given in that part of the empire which was subject to the usurper Maximus.

Priscillian was a Spaniard—well-born, rich, learned, and eloquent. His doctrines were partly derived through Elpidius, a rhetorician, and Agape, a lady of condition,[a] from an Egyptian named Mark, who had travelled into Spain.[b] They are described as a compound of various heresies—Manichæism, Gnosticism, Arianism, Photinianism, and Sabellianism—to which was added the practice of astrology and magic.[c] That he held a dualistic principle, appears certain.[d] He admitted the whole canon of Scripture, but altered the text of such parts as did not agree with his system; and he relied mainly on some apocryphal writings.[e]

[u] Tillem. Emp. v. 364; Gibbon, ii. 525.

[x] Tillem. Emp. v. 307; Fleury, xviii. 9; Gibbon, ii. 526; Gieseler, I. ii. 101.

[y] Soz. vii. 20; Tillem. ix. 441; Newman on Arianism, 408-9.

[z] Gibbon, ii. 526: Schröckh, xii. 61; Planck, i. 465; Milman, iii. 408-411.

[a] See Matter, iii. 36-8, as to the part which women played in the formation of Gnostic sects.

[b] Tillem. viii. 491; Walch, iii. 383-6; Schröckh, xi. 309.

[c] Leo, Ep. 15, init.; Tillem. viii. 491-2; Mosh. i. 411; Walch, iii. 432, 461-9, 475-9; Schröckh, xi. 312-5, xviii. 67-9; Neander, iv. 498-500; Matter, iii. 96. M. Matter infers from a comparison of Sulp. Severus with St. Jerome, that the so-called *magic* was rather *Magianism*, p. 97.

[d] Walch, iii. 462; Matter, iii. 99.

[e] Tillem. viii. 494; Schröckh, xi. 315; Matter, iii. 99.

His followers are said to have regarded falsehood as allowable for the purpose of concealing their real tenets;[f] they attended the churches, and received the eucharistic elements, but did not consume them.[g] Priscillian's precepts were rigidly ascetic; he prescribed separation for married persons; but, like other heresiarchs, he is charged with secretly teaching sensuality and impurity.[h]

It was about the year 378 that the progress of Priscillianism, especially among females, began to attract notice.[i] In 380-1, it was condemned by a council at Saragossa. Two bishops however, Salvian and Instantius, now took part with Priscillian, and consecrated him to the see of Avila. The opposite party appealed to the secular power, and, by order of Gratian, Priscillian and his consecrators were banished from Spain.[k] They set out for Rome, by way of France. At Bordeaux, Priscillian made many proselytes—among them Euchrocia, the widow of Delphidius, a distinguished poet and orator;[l] and he was accompanied onwards by a large train of women. Damasus at Rome and Ambrose at Milan refused to countenance him; but by bribing a person in high office he obtained from Gratian an order that he and Instantius should be restored to their sees—Salvian being already dead. Ithacius and Idacius, the leaders of the opposite party, were banished from Spain as disturbers of the peace.[m]

The murder of Gratian followed soon after. Ithacius, an able man, although of sensual and worldly habits,[n] carried his representation of the case to Maximus at Treves. The usurper referred it to a council, which was held at Bordeaux. Instantius was condemned; when Priscillian, in order to avert a like sentence, appealed to the emperor, and the council allowed the appeal.[o] A.D. 384.

Priscillian and his accusers repaired to Treves. Martin, bishop of Tours, the "Apostle of the Gauls,"—famed for his sanctity, his miracles, and his successful exertions against idolatry[p]—was there. He repeatedly implored Ithacius to desist from prosecuting the heretics before a secular tribunal, on which Ithacius

[f] Tillem. viii. 495. See Schlegel, in Mosh. i. 412; Schröckh, xi. 316; Neander, iv. 501.

[g] Can. Cæsaraug. iii. ap. Hardouin, i. 806.

[h] Tillem. viii. 495; Walch, iii. 467; Gibbon, ii. 527; Schröckh, xi. 313; Matter, iii. 104-5.

[i] Tillem. viii. 498. See Walch, iii. 87.

[k] Tillem. viii. 501; Walch, iii. 390-2; Schröckh, xi. 311-2.

[l] Tillem. viii. 502; Bayle, art. 'Priscillien,' n. C.

[m] Tillem. viii. 503-4; Schröckh, xi. 323.

[n] Tillem. viii. 499; Bayle, art. 'Prisc.,' n. D.

[o] Walch, iii. 397; Schröckh, xi. 324.

[p] See Sulp. Severus, 'Vita Martini,' and Dialogues; also Tillem. x. 310, seqq.

told him that he too was a Priscillianite. Martin also represented to the emperor that the trial of an ecclesiastical offence before secular judges was unexampled, and entreated that the matter might be settled in the usual way, by the deposition of the leading heretics from their sees.[q] His influence was powerful enough to delay the trial while he remained at Treves, and on taking leave of Maximus he obtained a promise that the lives of the accused should be safe.[r] The usurper, however, was afterwards induced—by the hope of seizing on Priscillian's property, it is said—to depart from this resolution.[s] The heretics were brought to trial, and by the use of torture were wrought to a confession of impure doctrines and practices.[t] Ithacius, after having urged on the prosecution with great bitterness until the case was virtually decided, devolved the last formal part of the work on a lay advocate—professing that his own episcopal character forbade him to proceed in a cause of blood. Priscillian, Euchrocia, and five others were beheaded. Instantius was banished to the Scilly Islands, and others of the party were sentenced to banishment or confiscation.[u]

A.D. 385.

Martin again visited the court in order to plead for the lives of some of Gratian's officers. A number of bishops were assembled for the consecration of Felix to the see of Treves; and all but one freely communicated with the instigators of the late proceedings. These, fearing the influence of Martin, attempted, although unsuccessfully, to prevent his entering the city. Maximus endeavoured, by elaborate attentions, to draw him into communicating with Ithacius and his party; but the saint firmly refused, and they parted in anger. Late at night, Martin was informed that orders had been given for the execution of the officers in whom he was interested, and that two military commissioners were about to be sent into Spain, with orders to extirpate Priscillianism. From the manner in which he had himself been charged with that heresy by Ithacius, he knew that the imputation of it would be used as a pretext against orthodox persons of ascetic life. He made his way to the emperor's presence, and, on condition that Gratian's officers should be spared, and that the commission against Priscillianism should be revoked, he promised to communicate with the Ithacians. He shared,

[q] Tillem. viii. 505-6.
[r] Walch, iii. 399; Schröckh, xi. 324-5.
[s] Neander, iv. 494.
[t] Tillem. viii. 506-7.
[u] Tillem. viii. 507; Bayle, 'Prisc.,' n. D.; Gibbon, ii. 527; Walch, iii. 400; Schröckh, xi. 327.

accordingly, in the consecration of Felix next day, but refused to sign the act, and immediately left Treves. It is related that, as he was on his way homewards, thinking sadly on his late compliance, an angel appeared to him, who consoled him, but told him that he had acted wrongly. From that time, says his biographer, Martin felt in himself an abatement of the power of miracles; and for the remaining sixteen years of his life he avoided all councils and assemblies of bishops.[x]

The execution of Priscillian and his companions was regarded with general horror, both by Christians and by pagans.[y] St. Ambrose, when on his second mission to Treves,[z] chose rather to risk and forfeit his object than to communicate with Maximus and the bishops who had been concerned in the deed of blood.[a] Siricius, bishop of Rome, joined in the condemnation of the Ithacians; and their leader was deposed, and died in exile.[b] A.D. 387.

Priscillianism did not at once become extinct. The Church of France was long disturbed by dissensions which arose out of it. The heresiarch's body was carried into Spain, where it was reverenced by his partisans as that of a martyr; and his name was used by them in oaths. Many members of the sect were reunited to the Church after a council held at Toledo in 400, but a remnant of it is mentioned as existing by the council of Braga in 561.[c]

[x] Sulp. Sever., Dialog. iii. 15; Tillem. viii. 511-2; x. 327-330; Gibbon, ii. 527; Schröckh, xi. 329-332. Mr. Clinton (vol. i. 513) would read *undecim* for "*sedecim* annos," in Sulpicius, and, instead of the usual dates for Martin's visit to Treves and his death—384 and 400—gives 386 and 397. Comp. i. 539; ii. 447.

[y] Tillem. viii. 509-510; Walch, iii. 410. The fact that such feelings were shown seems to be a sufficient refutation of Walch's argument (iii. 478-480), that Priscillian and the rest were not executed as heretics, but for other offences, which might have been properly visited with capital punishment, if the proceedings had been more fairly conducted.

[z] See p. 253.

[a] Ambr. Ep. xxiv. 12; Tillem. viii. 512-3; Schröckh, xi. 336-7.

[b] Tillem. viii. 515; Walch, iii. 414-6; Neander, iv. 497. Conc. Taur. Can. vi. in Hardouin, i. 959. While Christianity was persecuted, its professors were earnest for religious freedom. So were the orthodox Athanasius and Hilary, when Arianism was in the ascendant. At the time which we have now reached, the fathers were against punishing heresy with death, but differed as to the question of using measures of constraint. Schröckh, ix. 318, seqq.; xi. 336-7; xv. 366; Neander, iv. 496; Gieseler, I. ii. 320.

[c] Baron. 405. 43, seqq.; Pagi, vi. 493; Tillem. viii. 516-527; Mosh. i. 410; Walch, iii. 405, 416-430; Schröckh, xi. 338-340; Matter, iii. 107.

CHAPTER VI.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

I. *Propagation of the Gospel.*

While the empire was distracted by the Arian controversy, the Gospel penetrated into some countries beyond the bounds of the Roman power.

(1.) The *Abyssinian* Church owes its origin to an expedition made by Meropius, a philosopher of Tyre, for the purpose of scientific inquiry. On his voyage homewards, he and his companions were attacked at a place where they had landed in search of water, and all were massacred except two youths, Ædesius and Frumentius, the relatives and pupils of Meropius. These were carried to the king of the country, who advanced Ædesius to be his cupbearer, and Frumentius to be his secretary and treasurer. The king died, leaving a boy as his heir, and, at the request of the widowed queen, the two strangers acted as regents of the kingdom until the prince came of age. Ædesius then returned to Tyre, where he became a presbyter. Frumentius, who, with the help of such Christian traders as visited the country, had already introduced the Christian doctrine and worship into Abyssinia, repaired to Alexandria, related his story to Athanasius, and requested that a bishop might be sent to follow up the work. Athanasius, considering that no one could be so fit for the office as Frumentius himself, consecrated him to the bishopric of Axum. The Church thus founded continues to this day subject to the see of Alexandria. Its metropolitan is always an Egyptian monk, chosen and consecrated by the Coptic patriarch.[a]

After the expulsion of Athanasius from his see in 356, Constantius wrote to the princes of Axum, desiring that they would

[a] Soc. i. 19; Soz. vi. 24; Mosh. i. 303; Gibbon, iv. 392; Curzon's Monasteries of the Levant, Lond. 1849, p. 71. Tillemont supposes the expedition of Meropius to have been about A.D. 300, and the consecration of Frumentius about 330 (vii. 209). Others make the interval less, and place the consecration after 340. See Pagi in Baron. A.D. 327; Vales. in Soc. loc. cit.; Wiltsch, i. 188.

not shelter the fugitive,[b] and also that Frumentius might be sent to Alexandria, to receive instruction in the faith from the Arian, George. Athanasius, however, was safe among the monks of Egypt, and it does not appear that the request as to Frumentius met with any attention.[c]

An Arian missionary, named Theophilus, is celebrated by Philostorgius, while his labours are not unnaturally overlooked by the orthodox writers. He was a native of the island of Diu,[d] was sent as a hostage to the imperial court, and eventually became a bishop. He preached in Southern Arabia, and apparently also in Abyssinia and India. In the last-named country he found the remains of an older Christianity, which Philostorgius describes as *hetero-ousian*,[e]—an assertion which doubtless had no other foundation than the fact that the Indians were unacquainted with the Nicene terminology.[f] Circa 350.

(2.) The conversion of the *Iberians* (or Georgians) is referred to the reign of Constantine. Some of these barbarians, on an incursion into the empire, had carried off among their captives a pious Christian female. Her religious exercises and mortifications were observed with surprise and awe. After a time, a child—one of the king's children, according to Socrates—fell sick, and agreeably to the custom of the country, was carried from one woman to another, in the hope that some one of them might be able to cure him. The captive was at length consulted. She disclaimed all knowledge of physic, but, laying the child on a couch, said "Christ, who healed many, will heal this child also;" when, at her prayer, the boy recovered. The queen was soon after cured in like manner; and the captive refused all recompense. Next day the king, while hunting among the mountains, found himself enveloped in a thick mist or darkness. After having called on his gods in vain, he bethought himself of applying to the stranger's God, and the darkness immediately cleared away. Other miracles are added to the story. The king and queen gave their people the example of conversion, and the Iberians, on application to Constantine, were supplied with a bishop and clergy.[g] A.D. 320-330.

[b] Sup. p. 228.

[c] Athan. Tracts, 179; Schröckh, vi. 28; Neander, iii. 168-170.

[d] Neander in one place (i. 113) identifies this with Socotra, but elsewhere (iii. 165) with Diu, near the Gulf of Cambay, in Hindostan.

[e] *i.e.*, holding that the Persons of the Godhead differed in essence.

[f] Tillem. vii. 289; Schröckh, vi. 25-6; Neander, iii. 165-6; Gieseler, I. ii. 339.

[g] Soc. i. 20; Soz. ii. 7; Neander, iii. 362.

(3.) The Christian communities of *Persia* have been mentioned as existing in the earlier period.[h] The faith continued to make progress in that country. Constantine, soon after declaring his own conversion, wrote in favour of the Christians to Sapor, who was king of Persia from 309 to 381.[i]

The progress of a rival religion was watched with jealousy and alarm by the Magi; and, on the breaking out of a war between Sapor and Constantius, they represented to the king that the converts were in the Roman interest. Sapor forthwith subjected the Christians to special and oppressive taxes. Their chief, Symeon, bishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, was then seized, carried into the royal presence, and required to conform to the national religion. He refused, and was sentenced to imprisonment. As he was led away, Uthazanes, an old eunuch, who had lately been persuaded to renounce Christianity, saluted him reverentially. The bishop reproached him, and turned away his face; whereupon Uthazanes broke out into lamentation—"If," he said, "my old and intimate friend thus disowns me, what may I expect from my God whom I have denied?" He was summoned before the king, and, after having withstood both threats and entreaties, was condemned to death. Uthazanes had brought up Sapor; he now begged a favour for the sake of his old kindness—that it might be proclaimed that he was not guilty of treason, but was executed solely for being a Christian. Sapor willingly assented, in the hope that the declaration would deter his subjects from Christianity; but an opposite effect followed. Symeon and many others were put to death. In the following year the persecution was more severe; and there are notices of other martyrs in Persia at later periods in Sapor's reign.[k]

A.D. 343.

(4.) We have already seen that the Gospel was introduced among the *Goths* by captives who were carried off during the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus.[l] Theophilus, "bishop of the Goths," was among the members of the Nicene council,[m] and seems to have been the immediate predecessor of Ulphilas, who, notwithstanding his Teutonic name (*Wölfel*), was descended from Cappadocian

[h] P. 142.

[i] Euseb. Vit. Const. iv. 8-13; Soz. ii. 15. Sozomen and others wrongly say that the letter was intended to plead for a cessation of the persecution, which they accordingly place in the reign of Constantine—about 325. See Pagi, in Baron. A.D. 327; Schröckh, vi. 41; Neander, iii. 147; Gieseler, I. ii. 336.

[k] Soz. ii. 9; Tillem. vii. 78, 241; Neander, iii. 155.

[l] P. 142.

[m] Tillem. vi. 604.

captives.[n] Seven years after his consecration, Ulphilas was forced by persecution to lead a large body of Goths across the Danube, and seek a refuge within the Empire. A.D. 355. It would seem that this exodus, as well as his labours and influence among his people, contributed to suggest the title which was bestowed on him,—"the Moses of the Goths."[o]

Ulphilas employed civilization as the handmaid of religion. To him his countrymen were indebted for the invention of an alphabet,[p] and for a translation of the Scriptures,—from which, it is said, the books of Samuel and Kings were excluded, lest their warlike contents should be found too congenial to the ferocity of the Barbarians.[q] The Goths received their bishop's words as law; and through his influence they were unhappily drawn away from the orthodox faith, which they had at first professed. The date and the circumstances of this change are subjects of much dispute.[r] Ulphilas is known to have been associated with Acacius and Eudoxius at Constantinople in 360, and to have signed the creed of Rimini;[s] but it would seem that he nevertheless kept up his connexion with the catholics after that time, and that the reception of Arianism among the Goths did not take place until the reign of Valens.[t] When that heresy had been ejected from the Church—when it had ceased to be debated in councils and to exercise the learning and the acumen of cultivated theologians,—it gained a new importance as being the creed of the Barbarian multitudes who invaded the Empire.[u]

Ulphilas attempted to convert not only his own division of the nation—the Visigoths—but also the Ostrogoths; and many of these were put to death in consequence by their pagan chief, Athanaric.[x]

(5.) The existence of churches among the *Saracens*, on the borders

[n] He was probably born in 318, and consecrated in 348. Neander, iii. 177; vi. 395; Gieseler, I. ii. 339.

[o] Neander, vi. 395. (Quoting a document first published by Prof. Waitz, of Kiel, in 1840.)

[p] It has been supposed that the Goths must have had an alphabet while in the East, and that they lost it in the course of their migrations, so that they retained only the knowledge of the runic characters. These were merely symbolical, and were, moreover, so connected with idolatry, that on that account alone Ulphilas would have found a new character necessary. Milman, iii. 136, and n. on Gibbon, iii. 353; Revillout, 29.

[q] Tillem. vi. 605.

[r] See Soc. iv. 33; Soz. vi. 37; Theod. iv. 37; Tillem. vi. 605-8, 798-9; Schröckh, vi. 33.

[s] Soz. vi. 37; Tillem. vi. 605.

[t] Tillem. vi. 789; Revillout, 42-3 (who, however, is unacquainted with Waitz's document).

[u] Revillout, 2.

[x] Soc. iv. 33; Soz. vi. 37. Socrates says that these victims—having received Arianism in simplicity, and not with a heretical mind, are to be reckoned as martyrs. But Baronius (370.

of Arabia, is mentioned by Eusebius.[y] The roving bands of this wild people were greatly impressed by the life of the monks who had retired to the deserts, and they visited them with reverence.

A.D. 372. In the reign of Valens, Mavia, a Saracen queen, who had been at war with the Romans, stipulated as a condition of peace that Moses, a solitary of renowned sanctity, should be given to her nation as bishop. Moses reluctantly consented to undertake the office, but absolutely refused to receive consecration from Lucius, the Arian bishop of Alexandria. He was eventually consecrated by some of the orthodox bishops who were in exile.[z]

II. *Relations of Church and State.*

(1.) For nearly three hundred years the Church had been providentially left to develop itself as a society unconnected with the powers of this world. By the time when its faith was adopted by the emperors of Rome it had attained the condition of an independent body, with a regular and settled organisation. But, although it had thus far appeared as self-existent, it was not incapable of a connexion with the state, in which the religious element should hallow the secular, while the secular power in turn should lend its influence for the advancement of religion.[a] There was, however, danger lest one or both of the parties should forget that the Church is not a function of the state, but is itself a divinely-instituted spiritual kingdom. There was danger lest ecclesiastics should either rely too much on the secular power, or should assume towards it an authority professedly derived from heaven, but really unwarranted by any Christian principle. And these dangers have been too sadly exemplified in the course of the later history.

When Constantine became a convert to the Gospel, the change found both parties imperfectly prepared for understanding the relations which resulted from it. It was likely that the emperor, who was by office Pontifex Maximus—the highest minister of

10f-7), Tillemont (vi. 606), and Revillout (41), argue that the persecution took place while the Goths were yet catholics. M. Revillout adds, that such heretics as suffered were not Arians but *Audians*. (Udo, or Audius, a Syrian, having been excommunicated on account of the freedom with which he censured the clergy, formed a sect of his own, and was consecrated by a bishop who had separated from the church. He was banished to Scythia, where he converted many of the Goths, and founded monasteries. His followers lived monastically, observed Easter according to the Quartodeciman rule, and are said to have been Anthropomorphites. See Theodoret, iv. 10; Tillem. vi. 692-5; Mosh. i. 412; Walch, iii. 302-320; Schröckh, vi. 213-6; Neander, iv. 483-5; Gieseler, I. ii. 244.

[y] Comment. in Jesaiam, quoted by Neander, iii. 167.

[z] Soc. iv. 36; Tillem. vii. 593; Schröckh, vii. 336; Neander, iii. 167.

[a] Möhler's Athanasius, i. 121-2.

heathen religion, and knowing no authority in that system more sacred than his own,[b]—would be unwilling to accept, or even unable to conceive, the different position which was assigned to him in his new communion. It was likely that the clergy—unused as they had hitherto been to intercourse with persons of such exalted rank—would be dazzled on finding themselves invited to associate with the sovereign of the Empire, and would be disposed to allow him an improper privilege of interference in spiritual affairs. Yet on the other hand, as Constantine became their pupil in religion, the power nominally exercised by the emperor was virtually wielded by those ecclesiastics who for the time held possession of his mind.[c] The party which had the ascendancy during the last years of his reign, and throughout that of Constantius, lent itself to the assumptions of the emperors; yet this servility was not without an eventual good result, inasmuch as the imperial interference, however objectionable in itself, was thus veiled under the appearance of regular ecclesiastical proceedings. The deprivations, ejections, and intrusions of bishops were sanctioned by subservient synods, so that in respect of form the age of Constantine and Constantius has not left the embarrassing precedents which would have resulted if the temporal power had been arrayed on one side and the Church on the other, without the intervention of a secular, unscrupulous, and numerous faction of ecclesiastics. And again—lamentable as it is that almost in the first years of the connexion between Church and State the emperor should be seen on the side of heterodoxy—this also had its advantage. Whereas the patronage and co-operation of the court might have lulled the orthodox into security, and they might thus have silently and unconsciously yielded up their rights, as suspecting no evil from a friend—the disfavour and discountenance which they met with guarded them against such submission; they were forced to declare at the earliest stage that the power of the emperor in spiritual things was not unlimited.[d] And it may be matter of

[b] Gibbon, ii. 168-9.

[c] Schröckh, v. 109-110.

[d] Thus Hosius writes to Constantius—"Intrude not yourself into ecclesiastical matters, neither give commands unto us concerning them; but learn them from us. God hath put into your hands the kingdom; to us He hath entrusted the affairs of His church; and as he who should steal the empire from you would resist the ordinance of God, so likewise fear on your part, lest, by taking upon yourself the Government of the Church, you become guilty of a great offence. It is written, 'Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.' Neither, therefore, is it permitted to us to exercise an earthly rule, nor have you, sire, any authority to burn incense." (Athan. Tracts, 258.) So Eleusius of Cyzicus and Silvanus of Tarsus told Constantius that "it was for him to determine of punishment, but for them, as bishops, to judge of piety and impiety." (Theod.

instruction and of comfort in later times to know that any difficulties which may be experienced in dealing with those earthly powers to which Christians are bound to yield a willing obedience in all lawful things, were not without a parallel in that very age to which the imagination might be disposed to attribute almost an ideal perfection in respect of the relations between the Church and the State.

Eusebius speaks of Constantine as a "general bishop,"[e] and elsewhere relates, that the emperor once told some of his episcopal guests that, as they were bishops within the Church, so he himself was bishop without it.[f] The precise meaning of these words has been disputed with a zeal which seems to attribute far too great importance to a saying sportively uttered at table; but it is at least certain that Constantine acted as if he believed himself entitled to watch over the Church, to determine which of conflicting opinions was orthodox, and to enforce theological decisions by the strength of the secular power. His own appearance in the council of Nicæa while he was yet unbaptised[g]—the presidency of Constantius, while only a catechumen, at the council of Antioch[h]—and his deputation of lay officers to control the synods of

ii. 27.) In like manner St. Ambrose spoke, when required to give up the basilica to the Arians. (Ep. xx. 19.) Comp. Gieseler, I. ii. 179-180.

[e] οἷά τις κοινὸς ἐπίσκοπος. V. C. i. 44.

[f] Ὑμεῖς μὲν τῶν ἔσω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς ὑπὸ θεοῦ καθεσταμένος ἐπίσκοπος ἂν εἴην. (V. C. iv. 24.) A common interpretation is—that he regarded himself as *bishop of things external to the Church*—as charged with the care of its outward relations, entitled to control these, and lending to the Church the support of the civil power. (Mosh. i. 314-5; Heinichen, Excurs. iv. in Euseb. V. C.) Romanists in general understand by τῶν ἐκτ. τ. ἐκκλ. not *things* but *persons* without the Church—viz., heathens and heretics—an interpretation open to the obvious objection that the emperor's power over heathens and heretics was different in kind from that of bishops over their people. Neander (iii. 188) explains Constantine's speech as meaning "that God had made him overseer of that which was without the Church, *i.e.*, the political relations, for the purpose of ordering these according to the will of God; of giving the whole such a direction as that his subjects might be led to pious living." Gieseler (I. ii. 183) says that there is no authority for speaking of a bishop of *things*; consequently, τῶν must mean *persons*—the same with τοὺς ἀρχομένους immediately after; and he gives an explanation which appears to err by too great refinement—"You are overseers of those who belong to the Church, and in so far as they belong to it; I am overseer of those who are without the Church, and in so far as they are without it—whether wholly (as the heathens), or partially (as Christians in their civil relations.") But whatever the strict interpretation may be, the first-mentioned is that which accords with Constantine's conduct in ecclesiastical affairs. It is amusing that Rohrbacher—while he so far departs from the older Roman view of the first Christian emperor's character as to consider that he intermeddled wrongfully in the affairs of the Church,—indignantly rejects the idea that he could have described himself as "l'évêque extérieur de l'église." —"Voilà," exclaims the Abbé, with his usual insolence, "comme on traduit les textes que l'on n'a pas lus!" (vi. 245.)

[g] P. 191.

[h] P. 202.

Rimini and Seleucia[i]—are instances of the manner in which the imperial superintendence was exerted. And yet (as has been before observed) in all these cases, whatever there may have been of lay control, the formal decision of matters was left to the voice of the bishops. The pains which were taken to draw influential prelates—such as Athanasius, Hosius, and Liberius—into a compliance with the measures of the court, are also a remarkable testimony to the importance of the episcopal judgments.

The introduction of general councils contributed greatly to increase the imperial influence. They were necessarily summoned by the emperor, since no spiritual authority possessed the universal jurisdiction which was requisite for the purpose. Their decisions were confirmed by him, promulgated with his sanction, and enforced by civil penalties of his appointment.[k]

(2.) The emperor was regarded as the highest judge in all causes. The bishops of Rome considered it a distinction to be allowed to plead for themselves before his council, after the example of St. Paul.[l] But it soon began to be felt that both bishops and presbyters were disposed to carry to the imperial tribunal matters in which the judgment of their brethren had been, or was likely to be, given against them. In order to check this, the Council of Antioch, in 341, and that of Sardica, in 347, passed canons, by which it was forbidden to haunt the court under pretext of suits, or to appeal to the emperor except with consent of the metropolitan and other bishops of the province to which the appellant belonged.[m]

In the earlier times, it had been usual for Christians, in order to avoid the scandal of exposing their differences before heathen tribunals (1 Cor. vi. 1.), to submit them to the arbitration of the bishops. The influence which the bishops had thus acquired was greatly increased by a law which is usually (although perhaps erroneously) referred to Constantine. It was ordered that, if both parties in a case consented to submit it to the episcopal decision, the sentence should be without appeal; and the secular authorities were charged to carry it out.[n] Many later enact-

[i] Pp. 215-6.

[k] Barrow, 185, seqq.; Gibbon, iii. 181-2; Schröckh, v. 111; Planck, ii. 264; Neander, iii. 188.

[l] Conc. Rom. A.D. 378, ad Gratian. ap. Hardouin, i. 841; Gieseler, I. ii. 181.

[m] Can. Antioch. xi. xii. ap. Hardouin, i. 597; Can. Sardic. vii. viii. ix. (Gr.) ib. 611-4.

[n] Soz. i. 9; Bingham, II. vii. 3; Gibbon, ii. 178; Schröckh, v. 92; viii. 40; Planck, i. 310-5. The earliest extant law of such purport is of 408; but, as the Jewish patriarchs had the privilege in question in 398 (Schröckh,

ments relate to this subject. In some canons, persons who should decline the bishop's jurisdiction are censured as showing a want of charity towards the brethren.[o] The bishops were thus drawn into much secular business, and incurred the risk of enmity and obloquy. To some of them the judicial employment may possibly have been more agreeable than the more spiritual parts of their function; but others, as St. Augustine, felt it as a grievous burden and distraction.[p] Some bishops relieved themselves of the labour by appointing clerical or lay delegates to act for them in such matters.[q]

Constantius in 355 enacted that bishops should be tried only by their own order—*i. e.* in synods.[r] But this privilege was limited by the law of Gratian, in 376, that matters which concerned religion and ecclesiastical discipline should belong to bishops and ecclesiastical synods, but that criminal jurisdiction should belong to the secular courts.[s] Such was the general principle of the age. As, however, crimes are also sins, and the boundaries which separate ecclesiastical from secular questions are not always easy to determine, there arose frequent cases of difficulty between secular punishments and ecclesiastical penance; indeed the legislation of the early part of the fifth century on this subject is inconsistent with itself—evidencing at once the weakness of the emperors and the watchfulness of the ecclesiastical authorities.[t] In cases of crime the clerical office was not as yet supposed to carry with it any exemption from the secular jurisdiction.[u]

(3.) The influence of Christianity began to affect in some degree the *laws* of the empire. Moral offences, of which former legislation had taken no notice, were now denounced; and at the same time

vii. 377), it is probable that the bishops possessed it before that date. (Gieseler, I. ii. 165-6.) An alleged law of 318, by which it was allowed that *one* party in a suit might, without requiring the consent of the other party, carry it before the bishop,—while the bishop's sentence was to be final and was to be executed by the secular power,—is generally given up as spurious. Tillem. Emp. iv. 663-4; Bingham, II. vii. 3; Schröckh, v. 92-3; viii. 39.

[o] Conc. Carthag. III. car. 9. (Hardouin, i. 962); Schröckh, viii. 67-8; Gieseler, I. ii. 165-6.

[p] Tillem. xiii. 242-5; Baron. 398. 64-5; Schröckh, viii. 44-5; Neander, iii. 198. St. Augustine used to say that he would rather judge between strangers than friends, because he might, perhaps, make a friend of a stranger in whose favour he decided, whereas one of his friends would certainly be alienated by an adverse sentence. Possidius, 10.

[q] Planck, i. 516.

[r] Gibbon, ii. 177; Schröckh, v. 18; viii. 65.

[s] Tillem. Emp. v. 345; Bingham, V. ii. 5-12; Schröckh, viii. 37-8, 65; Planck, i. 305.

[t] Schröckh, viii. 42, 66. See Planck, i. 319-324.

[u] Gibbon, ii. 178; Gieseler, I. ii. 167.

a humaner spirit is found to interpose for the protection of the weak and for the restraint of oppression.[x] The bishops were often charged by law with the duty of befriending various classes of persons who might stand in need of assistance; thus, for example, a law of Honorius, A.D. 409, which orders that judges should on every Sunday examine prisoners as to the treatment which they received, imposes on the bishops the duty of superintending its execution.[y]

As magistrates became Christian the Church exercised a supervision over them which was of considerable effect; and sometimes the clergy pronounced its censures on local governors who had exercised their power tyrannically. Thus Athanasius excommunicated a governor of Libya; and Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, a generation later, excommunicated Andronicus, governor of the Pentapolis.[z]

Intercession for offenders became a recognised duty and privilege of the clergy.[a] They often successfully interposed to save the lives of criminals, in the hope that penance might enable them to make their peace with heaven.[b] But this right of intercession was liable to abuse and corruption. Some of the clergy sold their influence for money;[c] monks and others, in the latter part of the century, carried their extravagance so far as forcibly to rescue malefactors on the way to execution; and laws were made to check such perverse and disorderly exhibitions of humanity.[d]

The privilege of *Asylum*, which had belonged to some temples, became attached to all churches. The earliest laws on the subject are in the end of the century; but they recognise the privilege as having long before existed on the ground of popular opinion.[e] In the state of society which then was, the institution had many important uses;[f] but abuses naturally crept in, and against these edicts were issued. Thus Theodosius enacted, in 392, that public debtors who took refuge in churches should be delivered up, or else that their debts should be liquidated by the bishop who sheltered them.[g] The younger Theodosius, in 431-2, extended the right of sanctuary to the whole precinct which sur-

[x] Schröckh, viii. 53-5; Gieseler, I. ii. 328-331.
[y] Schröckh, viii. 53-5.
[z] Baron. 411. 54; Gieseler, i. 168-9.
[a] Bingham, ii. 8; Neander, iii. 201. The vestals had formerly had a like privilege. Gieseler, I. ii. 169.
[b] Aug. Ep. 153; Gieseler, I. ii. 170.
[c] Gieseler, I. ii. 309.
[d] Fleury, xx. 36; Schröckh, viii. 57-8; Neander, iii. 203; Gieseler, I. ii. 171.
[e] Tillem. Emp. v. 364; Bingh. viii. 11; Neander, iii. 204-5; Gieseler, I. ii. 180-1.
[f] Milman, iii. 223.
[g] Schröckh, viii. 58-9; Comp. law of Honorius, A.D. 414, ibid. 63.

rounded churches, and at the same time he guarded it against some misuses.[h]

III. *The Hierarchy.*

(1.) Of the changes among the lower clergy during this period—besides the creation of some new offices which were required by the necessities of the Church—must be mentioned the institution of two local fraternities—the *copiatæ* of Constantinople and the *parabolani* of Alexandria.[i] The *copiatæ*, or *fossarii* (grave-diggers), were employed in burying the dead—especially the Christian poor, whose interment was free of cost. Their number was 1100 under Constantine: a law of the younger Theodosius reduced them to 950.[k] It appears that similar guilds were established in other populous cities. The *parabolani*, so called from the hazardous nature of their duties,[l] were appointed to attend on the sick.[m] In the dissensions of the Alexandrian Church they acquired a character for turbulence,[n] so that, in 416, the inhabitants of the city preferred a complaint against them to the younger Theodosius. The parabolani were therefore laid under some restraints by the emperor, and their number was reduced to 500; but two years later it was raised to 600.[o]

Both the copiatæ and the parabolani were reckoned as belonging to the clergy, and enrolment among them was sought for the sake of the privileges and exemptions which were attached to it. In many cases the membership appears to have been honorary—persons of wealth paying for admission, enjoying the immunities, and taking no share in the duties. Against this corruption a law of Theodosius II. was directed.[p]

(2.) The *deacons*—whose number in some of the greater churches was still limited to seven[q]—acquired an increase of importance in proportion to the greater wealth which was entrusted to their administration. The power of baptizing and of preaching was now occasionally conferred on them.[r] In some cases they claimed precedence of the presbyters,[s] and would have regarded it as a

[h] Schröckh, viii. 62-3; Gibbon, ii. 178.
[i] Planck, i. 334.
[k] Bingham, III. viii.; Gibbon, ii. 174; Gieseler, I. ii. 173.
[l] παραβάλλω, to venture.
[m] Bingham, III. ix. 1-3; Schröckh, viii. 30.
[n] Bingham, III. ix. 4.
[o] Baron. 416. 38; Tillem. xiv. 277-8; Schröckh, viii. 30; Gieseler, I. ii. 173.
[p] Schröckh, viii. 31; Neander, iii. 224-6.
[q] Conc. Neocæsar. A.D. 314, Can. 14. (Hard. i. 285); Bingham, II. xx. 19 Planck, i. 143.
[r] Schröckh, viii. 203.
[s] See Hieron. Ep. cxlvi. 2.

degradation to be ordained to the presbyterate. Canons were even found necessary to check their assumptions.[t] In every considerable church one of the deacons presided over the rest. It is uncertain at what time this office of *archdeacon* was introduced: at Carthage it would seem to have been towards the end of the third century, as it is not mentioned by St. Cyprian, whereas, about fifty years later, Cæcilian is described as archdeacon to Mensurius.[u] The distinction of one deacon above his brethren may perhaps have been originally a matter of personal eminence, and afterwards established as official. The archdeacon was appointed by the bishop; he was his chief assistant in the government of the church, and was generally regarded as likely to succeed to the bishopric.[x] In the end of the fourth century, a similar presidency over the presbyters was given in some churches to an *archipresbyter*—to whom the administration of the diocese was entrusted in the absence or incapacity of the bishop.[y]

(3.) The position of the *chorepiscopi* was found to excite the jealousy of the superior bishops. Their functions were more strictly limited by canons,[z] and in some quarters a movement was made for the suppression of the office. The Council of Laodicea[a] forbids the appointment of bishops in villages and country places (χώραις), and orders that, in their stead, presbyters with the title of *periodeutæ* (circuit-visitors)—answering to the archdeacons or rural deans of our own Church—should be employed.[b] Chorepiscopi, however, are mentioned as sitting in the Council of Chalcedon, although only as delegates of other bishops.[c] The title, indeed, is found in the West, even as late as the ninth century; but the persons to whom it was then given appear to have stood on the footing of presbyters, and probably belonged to that order.[d] A.D. 451.

(4.) The system of distinctions among the bishops was now carried out more fully than in the former period.[e] The religious divisions

[t] Baron. 402. 47; Bingham, II. xxi. 3; Schröckh, viii. 204-5; Neander, iii. 221.

[u] Bingham, II. xxi. 11.

[x] Bingham, II. xxi. 2-11; Schröckh, viii. 204-5.

[y] Schröckh, viii. 202-3.

[z] Planck, 1. 527-9.

[a] This council is commonly dated about A.D. 363; Hardouin places it in 372. See Schröckh, vi. 243.

[b] Can. lvii. ap. Hardouin, i. 761; Bingham, II. xiv. 12; Planck, i. 529; Neander, iii. 227.

[c] Bingham, II. xiv. 12; Schröckh, viii. 201-2; Planck, i. 530; Newman, n. on Fleury, i. 60.

[d] Planck, i. 531; Guericke, Archäologie, 44.

[e] Mosh. i. 312; Schröckh, v. 114-5; viii. 81.

of the Roman world had generally followed the civil, although the rule was not without exceptions;[f] and thus, when Constantine introduced a new partition of the Empire into *dioceses*—each embracing several provinces—a nearly corresponding arrangement naturally followed in the Church.[g] The bishop of the chief city in each diocese rose to a preeminence above the other metropolitans. These bishops usually received the title of *exarch*; the most eminent of them were afterwards styled *patriarchs*—a title which had formerly been given to all bishops, and of which the new and restricted sense appears to have been adopted from the Jews.[h]

The degree of authority exercised by patriarchs or exarchs was not uniform. It was greatest at Alexandria, where the patriarch had the right of consecrating all the bishops of Egypt and Libya without the intervention of metropolitans. The bishop of Rome had a like power within his narrower jurisdiction, where, as in Egypt, the grade of metropolitans had not yet been introduced;[i] but in other countries it was usual that the chief bishop should consecrate the metropolitans, and these the inferior bishops.[k]

With the introduction of the larger ecclesiastical divisions came that of synods collected from their whole extent. The patriarchs or exarchs presided; and these councils became the highest ordinary authorities in the affairs of the Church.[l]

(5.) The Council of Nicæa recognises three principal sees—Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch—as presiding over the churches in their respective quarters.[m] Each of these three was at once the church of a great capital, and was reckoned to have the honour of apostolical foundation.[n] From the time when Constan-

[f] P. 147. See Bingham, IX. i. 8.

[g] Barrow, 162-3; Wiltsch, i. 57. See Planck, i. 601-3. The division of the Empire was as follows:—

I. Prefecture of the East, including the Dioceses of (1) *The East* (Capital, Antioch); (2) *Egypt* (Alexandria); (3) *Asia* (Ephesus); (4) *Pontus* (Cæsarea in Cappadocia); (5) *Thrace* (Heraclea, and afterwards Constantinople).

II. Prefecture of Eastern Illyria—separated from the West in 379; (Capital, Thessalonica.) (1) *Macedonia*; (2) *Dacia*.

III. Prefecture of Italy. (1) *Rome* (Rome); (2) *Italy* (Milan); (3) *Western Illyria* (Sirmium); (4) *Africa* (Carthage).

IV. Prefecture of the Gauls. (1) *Gaul* (Treves); (2) *Spain*; (3) *Britain*. Gieseler, I. ii. 186.

[h] Bingham, II. ii. 9; Schröckh, viii. 85, 90; Planck, i. 608-9; Neander, iii. 230; Wiltsch, i. 64. The title of patriarch, in its special sense, was first expressly given at the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Bingham, II. xvii. 8; Schröckh, xvii. 23.) It was assumed by the chief of the Arian Vandal clergy in Africa. Wiltsch, i. 65.

[i] Wiltsch, i. 62.

[k] Bingham, II. xvi. 23; xvii. 11-12; Gieseler, I. ii. 187; Wiltsch, i. 190.

[l] Can. Cpol. vi.; Bingham, II. xvii. 13; Planck, i. 612; Gieseler, I. ii. 187.

[m] Can. vi.

[n] Neander, iii. 230-2. Alexandria

tine raised Byzantium to its new dignity, the bishopric of that city—which had previously been subject to the metropolitan of Heraclea, the civil capital of Thrace—necessarily became an important position; insomuch that, even before any formal gift of ecclesiastical privileges or precedence had as yet been conferred on it, Eudoxius was supposed to be promoted by a translation to Constantinople from Antioch.[o] The second general council enacted that the bishop of Constantinople should stand next to the bishop of Rome, "forasmuch as it is a new Rome"[p]—a reason which clearly shows that, in the opinion of the assembled bishops, the secular greatness of the old capital was the ground on which its ecclesiastical precedence rested.[q] The honour thus bestowed on Constantinople was not, however, accompanied by any gift of jurisdiction.[r]

(6.) The causes which, during the earlier period, had acquired for Rome a preeminence over all other churches were, in the fourth century, reinforced by important additions.[s] Although within his own city the bishop was restrained by the prevalence of heathenism among the nobility, the removal of the court gave him a position of independence and importance beyond what he could have obtained if the imperial splendour had been displayed on the same scene with his own dignity;[t] and the Arian controversies greatly increased his influence in relation to the whole Church.[u] In the distractions of the eastern Christians, the alliance of the West was strongly desired by each party. The bishop of Rome, as being the chief pastor in the Western Church, naturally became the organ of communication with his oriental brethren.

was counted apostolical, as having been founded by St. Mark, the companion of St. Peter.

[o] Tillem. xv. 700-1; Schröckh, viii. 93; Planck, i. 605; Wiltsch, i. 168; Gieseler, I. ii. 187.

[p] Can. iii. Hardouin, i. 809.

[q] Baronius tries to throw doubt on the genuineness of the canon—without any better warrant than his dislike of its substance. See Tillem. ix. 490; and for ingenious evasions, Walter, p. 39.

[r] Wiltsch, i. 139.

[s] The fable of Constantine's *Donation* may be here mentioned. According to Gregory of Tours, who wrote towards the end of the *sixth* century, Constantine was miraculously cured of leprosy, in 324, by Pope Sylvester, who then baptized him. To this it was afterwards added that he bestowed on the bishop the Lateran palace, with Italy and other Western provinces, the right to wear a golden crown, &c. The story was believed through the middle ages, but even Baronius (Ann. 324) does not maintain the truth of the Donation (although he treats the matter with a disingenuousness which is exposed by Tillemont, Emp. iv. 142); and *now* even Rohrbacher is ashamed to maintain the tale of the baptism (vi. 284-5). See Pagi, iv. 69-70; Dupin, ii. 20-3; Schröckh, v. 116-121.

[t] Schröckh, v. 115.

[u] Barrow, 175; Wetstein, in Gibbon, ii. 222; Gieseler, I. ii. 205-7; Neander, iii. 191; vi. 406; Milman, iii. 40-2.

He appeared to them as the representative of the whole West, and almost as wielding its entire authority. Even where one of the oriental parties protested against his interference, the Roman bishop gained by the application of the other for his aid, or by its consent to his proceedings.[x] Except during the temporary lapse of Liberius, the Roman influence was steadily on the side of orthodoxy; thus Rome stood in honourable contrast with the variations of the eastern bishops; its constancy acquired for it strength as well as credit, and the triumph of the cause which it had espoused contributed to *its* elevation. Moreover, the old civil analogy introduced a practice of referring for advice to Rome from all parts of the West. The earliest extant answer to such an application is the synodical letter of Siricius, A.D. 385.[y] But by degrees these *decretal epistles* rose more and more from a tone of advice to one of direction and command; they were no longer written in the name of a synod, but in that of the pope alone.[z]

The records of this time, however, while they show the progress of Rome towards the position which she afterwards attained, are utterly subversive of the pretence that that position belonged to her from the beginning, and by virtue of divine appointment. Thus, when the Synod at Nicæa, with a view to the schism of the Egyptian Meletius, ordained that the bishop of Alexandria should, agreeably to ancient custom, have jurisdiction over Egypt, Libya, and the Pentapolis, "forasmuch as this is also customary for the Roman bishop"—and further, that "in Antioch and in other eparchates the privileges of churches should be preserved"[a]—it is evident that no other right over his suffragans is ascribed to the bishop of Rome than that which is also acknowledged to belong to the bishop of Alexandria; and that the privileges of these and of other sees are alike referred to the common foundation of ancient usage.

Again, when the Council of Sardica enacted that any bishop who should wish to appeal from a synod might apply to Julius bishop of Rome, and that if Julius thought fit a new trial should be granted[b]—it is clear that the power assigned to the Roman bishop is not recognised as one which he before possessed, but was then conferred by the council. The Roman bishop had no power of evoking the cause from before another tribunal; he had no personal voice in the decision; he could only *receive* appeals, and

[x] Planck, i. 634-8. Hussey on the Papal Power, 26.
[y] This refers to one of Liberius, which is lost.
[z] Planck, i. 658; Giesseler, I. ii. 200-2; Hussey on the Papal Power, 26.
[a] Can. vi. See Schröckh, viii. 87-90.
[b] Can. iii. Hardouin, i. 637. Comp. Can. vii.

commit the trial of them to judges named by himself, or to the bishops of the appellant's province. Moreover, as the Council of Sardica was composed of western bishops only, there was no pretext for enforcing this canon on the Eastern Church; and, as the occasion which led to the enactment was temporary, so the mention of Julius by name indicates that the power conferred was temporary and personal.[c] In like manner, when Gratian, in 378, with a view of withdrawing the partisans of Ursicinus from secular tribunals, acceded to the request of a Roman synod that the judgment of them should be committed to Damasus,[d] the temporary and special nature of the grant is inconsistent with any such idea as that the jurisdiction of which it speaks had before and ordinarily belonged to the bishops of Rome.[e]

The old Latin version of the Nicene canons, and Ruffinus in his summary of them, define the jurisdiction of the Roman bishop as extending over the "suburbicarian churches."[f] The name *suburbicarian* was given to the provinces which composed the *civil* diocese of Rome—the seven provinces of Middle and Lower Italy, with the islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily.[g] To these the patriarchate of Rome was then limited—Milan, Aquileia, and afterwards Ravenna, being independent centres of ecclesiastical government.[h] And since both language and historical facts combine to support this view, it is needless seriously to consider such constructions of the canon as that, by the "suburbicarian churches" were meant all those of the Western Empire, or even the churches of the whole world![i]

The interference of the Roman bishop was still resisted whenever he attempted to encroach on the privileges of other Churches. Frequent canons were made against carrying causes out of the provinces to which they belonged. The African and the Eastern Churches throughout acted in entire independence of the Roman

[c] Mosheim, i. 318; Schröckh, vi. 85; viii. 104; Planck, i. 640, 646; Gieseler, I. ii. 196-9; Hussey, 1-12.

[d] Labbe, ii. 1000-3.

[e] Schröckh, viii. 111-2: xii. 140; Planck, ii. 643-4; Gieseler, I. ii. 198; Hussey, 14.

[f] Hardouin, i. 329, 333; Gieseler, I. ii. 184, 194.

[g] Bingham, IX. i. 9-11; Schröckh, viii. 103; Palmer on the Church, ii. 538-540; Gieseler, I. ii. 195; Wiltsch, i. 75.

[h] Gieseler, I. ii. 215. As to Ravenna, Tillem. xv. 190; Wiltsch, i. 86-7.

[i] See Baron. 325. 124, and the references, &c., in Gieseler, I. ii. 194. Equally bold is the interpretation which makes the other words already quoted from the same canon (p. 284) to mean—not that the superiority of Alexandria is to be like that of Rome, but—that it had been the custom of the Roman bishops to govern the Egyptian patriarchate by means of the bishops of Alexandria! Bellarm. quoted by Gieseler, I. ii. 184.

authority.[k] There was no idea of any divine right of superiority to other Churches; and, although it was often said that the bishop of Rome ought to be honoured as the successor of St. Peter, that Apostle himself was not yet regarded as more than the first among equal brethren.[l]

(7.) From the time of Constantine the members of the Christian ministry attained a new social position, with secular advantages which had until then been unknown. The exemption from *curial* offices has already been mentioned.[m] The clergy were also exempt from all *sordid* offices, and from some of the public imposts, although still liable to the land-tax, and to most of the ordinary burdens.[n] The taxes to be paid by ecclesiastics who were engaged in trade, were regulated by laws of Constantius, Valentinian, and Gratian: the fact that such laws were passed, rather than a prohibition of trading, seems to prove that resources of this kind were yet necessary for the support of some among the clergy.[o] The wealth of the body, however, was vastly increased. Constantine, besides munificent occasional gifts, bestowed on them an allowance of corn, which was revoked by Julian. Jovian restored a third part of this, and promised to add the rest when the cessation of a famine, then raging, should enable him to do so; but his reign ended before he could fulfil the promise, and it was disregarded by his successors.[p] Tithes were now paid—not, however, by legal compulsion, but as a voluntary offering,[q] so that we need not wonder to find complaints of difficulty and irre-

[k] Gieseler, I. ii. 203-4. See Soz. iii. 8, where some of the Orientals tell Julius, that, as the Eastern Church had not interfered with the Roman in the matter of Novatian, so he ought not to dictate to them. Also the conduct of St. Basil, in Tillem. viii. 403; Barrow, 113; the Council of Constantinople, Gieseler, I. ii. 205-6, &c.

[l] See the interpretations of St. Matth. xvi. 18-9, in Gieseler, I. ii. 209-212. A remarkable *negative* evidence against the papal claims may be found in St. Jerome, Ep. cxxv. 15, where submission to one head is enforced on monks by the instinctive habits of beasts, bees, and cranes, the contentions of Esau and Jacob, of Romulus and Remus, the oneness of an emperor in his dominions, of a judge in his province, of a master in his house, of a pilot in a ship, of a general in an army, of the bishop, the archpresbyter, and the archdeacon in a church; but there is no mention of the one universal bishop.

[m] P. 169; Bingham, V. iii. 13-6; Planck, i. 291.

[n] Bingham, V. iii.; Planck, i. 293-6. Constantine at first exempted them from the land-tax, but afterwards re-imposed it (sup. p. 169); his successors varied in the manner of levying it. The synod of Rimini met with an absolute refusal from Constantius when they attempted to obtain an exemption. (Gibbon, ii. 176; Gieseler, I. ii. 164-5.) When St. Ambrose says that the church-lands pay tribute, Baronius endeavours to show that the clergy had a divine right of exemption from taxes, and that their payments were simply voluntary! (387. 11, seqq.)

[o] Schröckh, vi. 17, viii. 7-10.

[p] Theod. iv. 4; Tillem, Emp. iv. 587; Bingham, V. iv. 7; Gibbon, ii. 175; Planck, i. 278.

[q] Walter, Lehrb. des Kirchenrechts, 513.

gularity in the payment;[r] and a very great addition of riches flowed in on the Church, in consequence of the law of Constantine which allowed it to receive legacies of property.[s]

These changes naturally operated for evil as well as for good. For the sake of the secular benefits connected with the ministry, many unworthy persons sought ordination.[t] The higher dignities of the Church became objects of ambition for persons whose qualifications were not of a spiritual kind. At the election of a bishop, unworthy arts were employed by candidates; accusations which, whether true or false, give no agreeable idea of the prevailing tone of morals, were very commonly brought by each faction against the favourite of its opponents; and disgraceful tumults often took place.[u]

The intercourse of courts was a trial for the bishops: while in many it naturally produced subserviency,[x] in others it led to a mistaken exaltation of spiritual dignity in opposition to secular rank. Thus, it is told with admiration, that St. Martin of Tours, when at the court of Maximus, allowed the empress to wait on him at table; and that when the emperor had desired him to drink before him, and expected to receive the cup back after the bishop had drunk, Martin passed it to his own chaplain, as being higher in honour than any earthly potentate.[y]

Luxury and pride increased among the clergy of the great cities. St. Jerome agrees with the heathen Ammianus Marcellinus as to the excessive pomp by which the Roman hierarchy was distinguished; while Ammianus bears a testimony which is above suspicion to the contrast presented by the virtue and simplicity of the provincial bishops and clergy in general.[z] Praetextatus, an eminent pagan magistrate, who was concerned in suppressing the feuds of Damasus and Ursicinus, sarcastically told Damasus, that he himself would forthwith turn Christian,

[r] Bingham, V. v. 3.

[s] P. 170; Planck, i. 279-282.

[t] Gieseler, I. ii. 308; Planck, i. 333.

[u] Chrysost. de Sacerdot. iii. 15. Gibbon (ii. 176) says that the income of a bishop varied from 2 to 30 lbs. of gold, and that the average was about 600*l*. In order to check the ambition of bishops, many canons were made against translation (e.g. Can. Nic. xv.; Antioch. xxi.; Sardic. i.); but without much effect. (Bingham, VI, iv. 6; Neander, iii. 217. See above, p. 245, [d]) The 27th of the canons which pass under the name of the Fourth Council of Carthage (A.D. 398), and which are supposed to be partly the work of that council, and partly a collection of African canons in force about the time when it was held (Tillem. xiii. 982-5; Schröckh, viii. 196) —forbids that bishops be translated from motives of ambition, but allows translation when it may be for the benefit of the Church. Hardouin, i. 980; Planck, i. 541-5.

[x] Gieseler, I. ii. 175-6, 312.

[y] Sulp. Sever. de Vita Martini, c. 22; Gibbon, ii. 169; Gieseler, I. ii. 176.

[z] Gibbon, ii. 408; Gieseler, I. ii. 308-9.

if he might have the bishopric of Rome.[a] The emperors found it necessary to restrain by law the practices of monks and clergy for obtaining gifts and legacies. Thus Valentinian enacted, in 370, that ecclesiastics should not haunt the houses of widows or female wards; and that they should not accept anything by donation or will from females who were connected with them by spiritual ties.[b] This law was addressed to Damasus, and was read in all the churches of the capital.[c] St. Jerome—who draws many lively pictures of the base devices by which some of his brethren insinuated themselves into the favour of wealthy and aged persons—says, with reference to it, "I do not complain of the law, but I grieve that we should have deserved it."[d] Other acts followed, annulling all dispositions of property which women, embracing a religious life, might make to the prejudice of their natural heirs, and guarding against the evasions which might be attempted by means of fictitious trusteeships.[e]

Such bequests were, however, discouraged and often refused by the more conscientious bishops, such as Augustine.[f] And while we note the facts which show how in this age, as in every other, the Church but too truly realised those parables which represent it as containing a mixture of evil amidst its good, we must not overlook the noble spirit of munificence and self-denial which animated multitudes of its bishops and clergy, or their exertions in such works of piety and charity as the relief of the poor, the redemption of captives, the erection of hospitals, and the adornment of the divine worship.[g]

(8) The tendency of the fourth century was to depress the popular element in the Church.[h] By the civil recognition of their religion—by the increase of wealth—by their intercourse with the highest personages in the state—by the frequency of synods collected from large divisions of the Church, and limited to their own order[i]—by the importance which accrued to them when questions of theology passed into politics, and agitated the whole empire—the

[a] Baron. 367. 10; Gibbon, ii. 409.

[b] Bingham, V. iv. 6; Gibbon, ii. 406; Schröckh, viii. 9-10.

[c] Hence Baronius (370. 123) professes to think that it was probably *solicited* by Damasus!

[d] Ep. iii. 6. So St. Ambrose, in his answer to Symmachus (Ep. xviii. 14), after comparing the state of the clergy with that of the heathen priesthood—"Quod sacerdotibus fani legaverit Christiana vidua, valet; quod ministris Dei, non valet. Quod ego non ut querar, sed ut sciant quid non querar, comprehendi; malo enim nos pecunia minores esse quam gratia." See Gieseler, I. ii. 173, 309.

[e] Schröckh, viii. 11-2.

[f] Possidius, 24; Baron. 409. 33; Tillem. xiii. 230; Schröckh, xv. 329-331.

[g] Neander, iii. 193-4; Gieseler, I. ii. 313.

[h] Schröckh, viii. 42.

[i] Planck, i. 377.

bishops were raised to a greater elevation than before above the rest of the clergy.[k] The administration of the Church was more thrown into their hands; and in the election of bishops the influence of the order became greater,—chiefly in consequence of the factions of the people. Thus, when a vacant see was disputed by exasperated parties, it often happened that the prelates whose business it was to ratify the election, suggested a third candidate by way of compromise, and that their nomination was accepted.[l] In some cases, the election was removed from the city for which a bishop was to be appointed to that of the metropolitan.[m] The privilege of choice, which was often injudiciously used by the multitude, was gradually limited by canons which fixed the qualifications for the episcopate.[n] And, although the right of voting was not yet restricted to persons of superior station,[o] the emperor swayed the elections to the greater sees—especially those of the cities in which he resided—and sometimes directly nominated the bishops.[p]

The orders of the ministry remained as before, but it was not usual to go regularly through the lower grades. Thus we find that very commonly deacons were raised to the episcopate, or readers to the presbyterate, without passing through even a symbolical ordination to the intermediate offices.[q] In some cases unbaptised persons were chosen for bishops, and, after receiving baptism, were advanced at once to the highest order of the ministry.[r]

The practice of *forcible ordinations* was a remarkable feature of this age. The only expedient by which a person could protect himself against the designs of a bishop or a congregation, who considered him fit for spiritual office, was that of swearing that he

[k] See Hieron. Ep. lii. 7. Some of the canons of the Fourth Council of Carthage are intended to protect the presbyters both from their superiors and from their inferiors. Thus, a bishop must not suffer a presbyter to stand while he himself is seated (xxxiv.); in church, and in ecclesiastical assemblies, he is to sit above presbyters, but "intra domum" he is to remember that he is their colleague (xxxv.); the deacons are to understand that they are servants of the presbyters, as well as of the bishop (xxvii.), and are not to sit down without leave of the presbyters (xxxix.).

[l] Gibbon, ii. 171; Planck, i. 439-442. Sometimes the bishops proposed a candidate at first, but the people insisted on having another. No bishop was in any case to be obtruded on an orthodox flock. Bingham, IV. ii. 4; Neander, iii. 216.

[m] Planck, i. 447.

[n] Gibbon, ii. 171.

[o] This is the opinion of Bingham, IV. ii. 8. See Planck, i. 446-8.

[p] Bingham, IV. ii. 16; Gieseler, I. ii. 182; Planck, i. 262-3; Milman, n. on Gibbon, ii. 172.

[q] Tillem. ix. 67.

[r] As Ambrose (p. 249) and Nectarius (p. 246). Tillem. ix. 65; Bingham, II. x. 4-7.

would not submit to be ordained; it was thought that one who had taken an oath of this kind ought not to be compelled to forswear himself.[s] When the custom of such ordinations had been introduced, reluctance to undertake the ministerial function was often feigned for the purpose of gaining importance.[t] Both forced ordinations and the hasty promotion of neophytes were, after a time, forbidden by canons and by imperial edicts.[u] Some of these made a curious distinction between the case of bishops and that of presbyters or lower clergy, who had been ordained without their own consent. The latter were allowed to renounce their orders, but this liberty was denied to the bishops, on the ground that none were really worthy of the episcopate but such as were chosen against their will.[x] In the fifth century ordination began to be conferred by way of disqualifying unfortunate politicians for taking any further part in the affairs of the world. Some of the latest emperors of the West were set aside by this expedient.[y]

(9.) The influence of the monastic spirit tended to advance the practice of *celibacy* among the clergy and the opinion of its obligation. At the Council of Nicæa, it was proposed that married bishops, presbyters, and deacons should be compelled to abstain from intercourse with their wives.[z] Paphnutius, an Egyptian bishop, strongly opposed the motion, representing the holiness of Christian marriage, and the inexpediency of imposing on the clergy a yoke which many of them might be unable to bear, and which might therefore become the occasion of sin, and injurious to the Church. It was, he said, enough to adhere to the older law of forbidding marriage *after* the reception of the higher orders. The argument was strengthened by the character of the speaker. He had a high reputation for sanctity; he was honoured as a confessor, having lost an eye in the last persecution; and his motives were above suspicion, as he himself lived in celibacy and strict asceticism. The council allowed itself to be guided by him, and rejected the proposal.[a]

The Council of Gangra,[b] which was held against Eustathius

[s] Bingham, IV. vii. 1-2; Gibbon, ii. 173. See Aug. Ep. 125-6.

[t] Gieseler, I. ii. 312.

[u] Can. Sardic. xiii. (Hardouin, i. 646); Siric. Ep. iii. (ib. 856); Tillem. x. 360; Neander, iii. 214.

[x] Bingham, IV. vii. 3-4; Schröckh, xvi. 326.

[y] Avitus, A.D. 456; Glycerius, A.D. 475. (Gibbon, iii. 299, 330.)

[z] The proposal was probably made by Hosius, as it agrees with a canon of the Council of Eliberis, at which he had been present. Theiner, 1. 84; Gieseler, I. ii. 255. See p. 164.

[a] Soc. i. 11; Soz. i. 23. Baronius (325. 50) is very angry with these historians for their account of the affair.

[b] Some place this as early as 325; Gieseler, between 362 and 370 (I. ii.

of Sebaste,[c] condemns, among other extravagances connected with this subject, the refusal to communicate with married priests.[d] And in most eastern churches, although the practice of celibacy, or of abstinence from conjugal intercourse, became usual, it continued to the end of the century to be voluntary.[e]

In the West, an important step towards the establishment of celibacy was taken by Siricius, in his decretal epistle of 385, addressed to Himerius, bishop of Tarragona. After stating that some clergymen had had children, and had defended themselves by pleading the Mosaic law, he argues that the cases are unlike, inasmuch as among the Jews the priesthood was hereditary, whereas among Christians it is not so; and, further, that, as the Jewish priests separated themselves from their wives during the periods of ministering in the temple, so for the Christian clergy, who are always on duty, the separation must be perpetual. He ordered that presbyters and deacons should abstain from their wives; that such as had before violated this rule through ignorance should be allowed to retain their places, but on condition of observing continence, and without the hope of promotion; that if any one attempted to defend the contrary practice, he should be deposed; that no man who had married a widow, or who had been more than once married,[f] should be eligible to the ministry; and that clergy contracting such marriages should be deposed.[g] The frequency of enactments in pursuance of this decretal, and the mitigations of its provisions which some of them contain, indicate, in addition to other facts, that great difficulty was found in enforcing it.[h]

In proportion as the marriage of the clergy was discouraged, the practice of having female companions or attendants in their houses increased.[i] The council of Nicæa enacted that no women should be admitted in this capacity except such as from near relationship

245). See n. on Socr. ii. 43; Labbe, ii. 419; Hardouin, i. 529; Schröckh, v. 238-242; Neander, iii. 346.

[c] This has been questioned. (Walch, iii. 543.) Walch supposes that the council was before Eustathius became a bishop (545-6).

[d] Can. iv. ap. Hard. i. 533; Theiner, i. 126. Gregory Nazianzen speaks of persons who, by way of excuse for deferring their baptism, pretended that they could not receive it at the hands of a married bishop or presbyter. This, as Theiner (i. 242) observes, is a proof how common marriage was among the eastern clergy.

[e] Soc. v. 22; Schröckh, viii. 21-2; Theiner, i. 241; Gieseler, I. ii. 260.

[f] It was a question whether a clerk who had married once before and once after baptism were a bigamist. St. Jerome (Ep. lxix. 2) decides in the negative; but his editors observe that the western authorities (such as Innocent and Leo) were generally on the other side.

[g] Hardouin, i. 849-850; Theiner, i. 246.

[h] Theiner, i. 252, 263; Gieseler, I. ii. 258.

[i] Hieron. ap. Baron. 398. 82; Theiner, i. 282, seqq.

or from age might be regarded as beyond suspicion of improper familiarity with the clergy.[k]

IV. *Monasticism.*

The monastic life received a vast impulse during the fourth century. The profession of Christianity was no longer a mark of separation from the mass of men; some further distinction appeared necessary for those who aspired to a higher life. Moreover, with the cessation of persecution the opportunities of displaying heroism in confession and martyrdom had ceased.[l] Hence many persons, seeing the corruption which was now too manifest in the nominally Christian society, and not understanding that the true and more courageous course was to work in the midst of the world and against its evil, thought to attain a more elevated spirituality by withdrawing from mankind, and devoting themselves to austerity of life and communion with heaven.[m]

Paul, who has been mentioned[n] as the first Christian hermit, spent his life in the desert without contemporary fame or influence.[o] In the year of his retirement, A.D. 251, the more celebrated Antony was born at Coma, a village in the Thebaid.[p] In boyhood and youth he showed a thoughtful and religious character. He learnt to read and write his native Coptic, but never acquired even the

[k] Can. iii. From a misunderstanding of the words *subintroductam mulierem* in the translation, it was supposed during the middle ages that this canon was directed against the *marriage* of the clergy. The idea of referring the prohibition of marriage to *apostolical* authority is an invention of the later Romanists. (Gieseler, I. ii. 257.) The Oxford annotator on Fleury (i. 182) gives a highly ingenious view of the matter—"Earnestness and persecution seem at first to have superseded the need of canons, and all but readers and singers observed continence. But no sooner had Constantine granted the Christians in Spain liberty of worship, A.D. 306, than we find a Council at Eliberis, A.D. 309, requiring continence of all clerks;" and the other regulations of the century are represented as occasioned by the relaxation which followed on the cessation of persecution. The assumption as to the date of the Spanish Council—without any hint that there is a question about it—is the smallest of the characteristic points in this specimen of the writer's candour while in the *transitional* state.

[l] Gieseler, I. ii. 235.

[m] Guizot, ii. 18; Neander, iii. 322; Ritter, v. 80.

[n] P. 93.

[o] His life was written by St. Jerome. Antony, it is said, was warned (about A.D. 340) that a solitary more perfect than himself had been living ninety years in the desert. He sets out in quest of him; meets on the way a centaur and a satyr, the latter of whom requests his prayers; finds Paul; is cared for by ravens, who for sixty years had fed the elder hermit, and now bring daily a double allowance of provisions. Antony sees Paul's soul borne upwards by angels, and, with the help of two lions, buries his body.—Neander (iii. 324) is inclined to question the whole story of Paul.

[p] Tillem. vii. 106. The chief authority for the life of Antony is a biography ascribed to St. Athanasius. Its genuineness has been questioned; but it seems to be more generally regarded as interpolated than as spurious. (Schröckh, v. 146; viii. 234-6; Gieseler, I. ii. 408.) Möhler considers it to be an idealised picture of the monastic life, founded on historical fact. (Athan. ii. 90.)

alphabet of Greek.[q] Before reaching the age of twenty he lost his parents, and came into possession of a considerable property. One day he was struck while in church by the Gospel of the rich young man, who was charged to sell all that he had, give to the poor, and follow the Saviour. Antony forthwith made over his land to the inhabitants of his village, turned the rest of his estate into money, and gave all to the poor, except a small portion which he reserved for the maintenance of his only sister. On another occasion, he was impressed in like manner by the command, "Take no thought for the morrow." He parted with the remainder of his property, committed his sister to a society of religious virgins, and embraced an ascetic life.

At first he took up his abode near his own village, and visited all the most famous ascetics whom he could hear of—endeavouring to learn from each his distinguishing virtue, and to combine all their graces in his own practice.[r] After a time he shut himself up in a tomb, from which he removed, ten years later, to a ruined castle near the Red Sea. He increased his mortifications; but temptation followed him from one retreat to the other. He fancied himself beset by devils in all manner of frightful shapes, and at other times by sensual enticements.[s] The noise of his conflicts with the enemy was heard by those who passed by his dwelling; more than once he was found almost dead from the chastisement which had been inflicted on him by his ghostly assailants.[t] Antony became famous. Many persons made pilgrimages to see him; and, after spending twenty years in his castle, without either leaving its walls or admitting any one within them, he went forth and received disciples, who settled around him, studding the desert with their cells.

A.D. 275. A.D. 285. A.D. 305.

The persecution under Maximin drew Antony to Alexandria. He attended on the sufferers and in every way exposed himself to death; but, when the heat of the danger had passed over, he concluded that the crown of martyrdom was not intended for him, and, wishing to escape from the oppressiveness of the admiration which waited on him, he sought out a solitude more remote than that in which he had before lived. His abode was now a cave in the side of a lofty mountain, with a supply of water and the shade of a few palm-trees beside it; he cultivated a small patch of corn

[q] Soz. i. 13; Tillem. vii. 307; Neander, iii. 324-5.
[r] Schröckh, v. 147; Neander, iii. 326.
[s] Schröckh, v. 147; Neander, iii. 327.
[t] Schröckh, v. 147.

and vegetables, for his own subsistence and the refreshment of visitors.[u] The more he withdrew from the world, the more eagerly was he followed. Multitudes flocked to him; imitators arose in great numbers. He reconciled enemies, comforted mourners, and advised in spiritual concerns. His interposition was often requested in behalf of the oppressed, and was never exerted in vain. When any such business had drawn him to leave his cell, he returned as soon as possible; "a monk out of his solitude," he said, "is like a fish out of water."[v] Constantine and his sons sought his correspondence, and invited him to their courts.[w] In the Arian controversies, Antony and his monks were steady and powerful supporters of orthodoxy. In order to aid the cause he paid a second visit to Alexandria, where his appearance made even a greater impression than before, and many pagans were converted in consequence.[x] He wrote to Constantine, urging the recall of Athanasius from his first exile, and received an answer expressed in terms of high respect. He was favoured with visions and revelations for the comfort of his brethren in the faith.[y] Miracles were ascribed to him, and he supposed himself to work them, but he was free from all pride on account of the gift.[z] Severe as his habits were, he had nothing of the savageness which became too common among his followers; he well understood the dangers of the solitary life, and was earnest in warning against a reliance on the mere outward form of monachism.[a]

Antony lived to the age of a hundred and five, and died a few days before Athanasius sought a refuge among the monks of the desert in 356. He desired that he might be buried in a secret place, lest his remains should be embalmed and kept above ground —a manner of showing reverence to deceased saints which he had often endeavoured to suppress.[b]

The *cœnobitic* system—that of ascetics living in an association—originated with Pachomius, who was, like Antony, a native of the Thebaid. He was born in 292, was converted to Christianity, and practised rigid austerities under the direction of a solitary

[u] Schröckh, v. 149-150.
[v] Soz. i. 13.
[w] Gibbon, ii. 343; Neander, iii. 331.
[x] Tillemont (vii. 670; viii. 143, 696) dates this in 355; Neander (iii. 330), in 350; Guericke (i. 384), in 325; others, from 330 to 335.
[y] Tillem. vii. 120-1; Schröckh, xii. 212.
[z] Neander, iii. 330.
[a] Neander, iii. 332; Milman, iii. 298.
[b] Tillem. vii. 133; Neander, iii. 333; Gieseler, I. ii. 265. Rohrbacher wishes us to believe that Antony's injunction proceeded solely from an objection to the Egyptian practice of embalming! (vi. 417). It is said that in the reign of Justinian the body was discovered by revelation, and that it was eventually removed to Vienne. (Tillem. vii. 133-4.)

named Polemon, until he was told by an angel that he had made sufficient progress in the monastic life, and must now become a teacher of others.[c] The angel also gave him a code of rules, written on a brazen tablet, which the disciples of Pachomius professed to preserve.[d] Pachomius then founded a society in an island of the Nile called Tabenne.[e] The institution was soon extended, so that before the founder's death it embraced eight monasteries, with 3000 monks — 1300 of them in the mother-establishment—and in the beginning of the following century the number of monks was no less than 50,000.[f]

The monks lived in cells, each of which contained three. They were under engagements of absolute obedience to the commands of a chief, who was called *abbot* (from a Syriac word signifying *father*), or *archimandrite* (from the Greek μάνδρα, a *sheepfold*.)[g] The abbot occasionally made a visitation of the monasteries subject to him, each of which was governed by a head of its own.[h] The whole society assembled at the chief monastery twice every year—at the Easter festival[i] and in the month of August. The monks were divided into twenty-four classes, named from the Greek letters, and arranged according to the characters of the individuals; thus the simplest were in the class I, while the more knowing were ranked under the letters of more complicated form.[k] They had all things in common.[l] They employed themselves in agriculture, basket-weaving, rope-making, and other kinds of industry. The produce of their labour was carried down the Nile in boats belonging to the society and manned by monks; and the money which it fetched in the markets of Alexandria was not only

[c] Soz. iii. 14; Tillem. vii. 171-4; Schröckh, v. 161-2.

[d] Soz. iii. 14.

[e] There is a variety of reading between Ταβεννη νησῳ (*the island of Tabenne*), and Ταβεννησῳ (*Tabennesus*, which is supposed to be a village), in Soz. iii. 14. Valois prefers the latter. Gibbon (iii. 344) concludes against Tillemont (vii. 678, 688) from that writer's own facts, that the name of the *island* was "afterwards transferred to the great monastery of Bau or Pabau." Tillemont (vii. 174) puts the foundation of the society about 325; so Schröckh (v. 162); but Gieseler's date (I. ii. 230) is about 340.

[f] Hieron. Præf. in Regul. Pachom. 7. (t. ii. 64); Tillem. vii. 177; Neander, iii. 335.

[g] Gibbon, iii. 348; Neander, iii. 349; Giesceler, I. ii. 230.

[h] Tillem. vii. 179; Neander, iii. 335.

[i] Hieron. Præf. 7; Fleury, xx. 9; Tillem. vii. 178.

[k] Soz. iii. 15.

[l] This was a general feature of monachism. St. Jerome (Ep. xxii. 33) tells a story of one of the Nitrian monks, "rather saving than avaricious," who left at his death a hundred *solidi*, which he had earned by weaving flax. The brotherhood, about 5000 in number, held a consultation as to the disposal of the money. Some were for giving it to the poor; some, to the church; others, to the relatives of the deceased. But the fathers of the society, "Sancto in eis loquente Spiritu," quoted the text—"Thy money perish with thee!" and ordered that it should be buried with its owner. Jerome adds, that this was not done out of harshness towards the deceased monk, but in order to deter others from hoarding.

enough for their own support, but enabled them to perform works of charity.[m] They prayed many times a-day,[n] fasted on the fourth and sixth days of the week, and communicated on the Sabbath and on the Lord's day.[o] Their meals were taken in common—each preceded by psalmody. They ate in silence, and with their hoods drawn over their faces, so that no one might see his neighbours, or anything but the fare set before him.[p] The rule of Pachomius was not stringent as to the quantity of food—ordaining only that each monk should labour in proportion to his eating; but most of them went beyond the letter of its requirements.[q] The sick were tended with remarkable care.[r] The monks had a peculiar dress,[s] the chief article of which was a goat-skin, in imitation of Elijah, who, with St. John the Baptist, was regarded as exemplifying the monastic condition.[t] They were never to undress, except that at communicating they unloosened their girdles. They slept with their clothes on, and in chairs so constructed as to keep them almost in a standing posture.[u]

Pachomius founded similar societies for women, who were called *nonnæ*, *i. e.* mothers. He died in 348.[x]

About the same time when Pachomius established his order at Tabenne, the elder Macarius[y] took up his abode in the desert of Scetis—a vast solitude near the Libyan frontier of Egypt[z]—and Ammon on the Nitrian or Nitre mountain. Around them were soon gathered large numbers of monks, living in separate cells, which were either solitary, or grouped together in clusters called *laurœ*.[a] The monks met on the first and last days of the week for public worship; if any one were absent, it was concluded that he must be sick, and some of the brethren were sent to visit his cell. Except on such occasions, they never spoke. The Nitrian monks were reckoned to be about 5000 in the end of the century.[b]

[m] Tillem. vii. 177-8; Schröckh, viii. 394; Neander, iii. 335-6.

[n] Sozomen's account of the number of times (iii. 14) is not clear, and puzzles Valois (n. in loc.) and Tillemont (vii. 183, 683). On the different rules of monastic orders in this respect, see Gieseler, I. ii. 231.

[o] Hieron. Præf. 5; Soz. iii. 14.

[p] Soz. iii. 14.

[q] Gieseler, I. ii. 232.

[r] Hieron. Præf. 5; Regul. Pachom. 40-7.

[s] The rule of Pachomius—unlike some later rules—is very particular on the subject of washing the monks' linen. See Nos. 67-72, 148. (Hier. t. ii. 72-3, 79.)

[t] Hieron. Præf. 64; Soz. iii. 14; Gieseler, I. ii. 238-9.

[u] Tillem. vii. 190. But the 88th rule speaks of sleeping on *mats*.

[x] Tillem. vii. 197; Neander, iii. 336; Gieseler, I. ii. 247.

[y] So called for the sake of distinction from another celebrated monk, his contemporary.

[z] Tillem. viii. 577-9, 806; Schröckh, viii. 290.

[a] Λαύρα meant *a street*.

[b] Soz. iv. 31; Tillem. vii. 154, 159, 160; viii. 577; Neander, iii. 334; Gieseler, I. ii. 230.

The monastic system soon spread beyond the borders of Egypt. In Syria it was introduced by Hilarion, a pupil and imitator of Antony, who lived fifty years in the desert A.D. 306-356. near Gaza.[c] In Mesopotamia, it was eagerly welcomed, and derived especial lustre from the genius and piety of the mystic St. Ephrem.[d] Eustathius of Sebaste established monasteries in Armenia,[e] and, as has been already mentioned, St. Basil organized societies of cœnobites in Pontus and Cappadocia.[f] St. Athanasius, on his visit to Rome in 340, was accompanied by some Egyptian monks, who were the first that were seen in the West.[g] Their wild and rude appearance excited the disgust of the Romans, but with many the feeling was soon exchanged for reverence.[h] The profession of religious celibacy found votaries among the younger ladies of the capital; one of these was Marcellina, the sister of St. Ambrose.[i] The zeal with which Ambrose, after becoming a bishop, advocated the cause of celibacy may perhaps have been in part prompted by his sister. He wrote treatises on the subject, maintaining that young women ought to embrace the virgin life in defiance of the will of their parents, and fortifying his argument by tales of judgments which had befallen persons who dared to dissuade their relatives from such a course.[k] He extolled virginity in his sermons—even (as he says) to the weariness of his hearers. The matrons of Milan forcibly restrained their daughters from attending these dangerous discourses; but crowds of virgins from other quarters flocked to him for consecration—some of them even from Mauritania.[l] The little islands on the coasts of Italy and Dalmatia became sprinkled with monasteries and cells.[m] St. Martin, who had lived as a monk in the island of Gallinaria, introduced monasticism into Gaul, built religious houses near Poitiers and Tours, and was followed to the grave by two thousand of the brethren.[n] In Africa, monasticism made less progress than elsewhere. It did not obtain any footing until it was introduced by St. Augustine, within the last ten years of the century. The authority of that great bishop, and even the example which he gave by living in cœnobite fashion with his clergy, were insufficient to attract to the monastic life any but persons of the lower

[c] Soz. iii. 14; Schröckh, v. 157-9, 250.
[d] Schröckh, viii. 255.
[e] Soz. iii. 14; Schröckh, v. 166-7.
[f] P. 240.
[g] Baron. 340. 7; Mosheim, i. 306; Möhler, ii. 86; Gieseler, I. ii. 248.
[h] Gibbon, iii. 344.
[i] Schröckh, xiv. 161; Gieseler, I. ii. 329.
[k] De Virginib. i. 11; Schröckh, viii. 331; Theiner, i. 135-8.
[l] Tillem. x. 102-5; Schröckh, viii.
[m] Baron. 398. 49-52; Gieseler, I. ii. 251.
[n] Soz. iii. 14; Mosh. i. 306.

ranks; and Salvian, about the year 450, witnesses that it continued to be unpopular among the Africans.[o]

The rules and habits of the monastic societies differed according to circumstances, and according to the judgment of their founders. Industrial occupations—such as field-labour, building, weaving, or the manufacture of nets, baskets, or sandals—were generally required in the East. But St. Martin regarded such things as likely to become hindrances to devotion; the only manual work which he sanctioned was, that the younger brethren should transcribe books.[p] The monks of Gaul, indeed, having ample employment for their energies in combating the idolatry and superstition of the Barbarians among whom they were placed, did not need to have their hours relieved from vacancy in the same manner as the inhabitants of the Egyptian or Syrian deserts.[q] As to food and clothing, also, the varieties of climate were considered. "A large appetite," says St. Martin's biographer, "is gluttony in Greeks; but in Gauls it is nature."[r]

Pachomius required a probation of three years before admission into his order, and a similar rule was adopted in other societies. There was as yet no vow exacted at entrance, although St. Basil suggests that vows should be introduced. The profession of monasticism was not irrevocable: withdrawal was a subject for penance, but yet it was in some cases even recommended as the safest course.[s]

All the great teachers of the age, both in the East and in the West, vied with each other in the praise of celibacy and monasticism.[t] St. Jerome, in particular—the most learned man of his day, who may be regarded as the connecting link between the two great divisions of the Church—was remarkably active and influential in the cause, and the story of his life belongs in great part to the general history of the subject.

This father—in whom we see extraordinary intellectual gifts and a sincere zeal for the service of Christ strangely combined with extravagance, love of power, pride, vanity, extreme irritability, and

[o] Possid Vita Aug. v., xi.; Tillem. xiii. 193-9, 226-8; Schröckh, viii. 379-380; xv. 288, 328; Guizot, ii. 64; Gieseler, I. ii. 253.

[p] Sulp. Sev. Vita Martini, 7; Schröckh, viii. 217, 245.

[q] Beugnot, i. 304.

[r] Sulp. Sev. Dialog. i. 4; Mosh. i. 306; Gieseler, ii. 253.

[s] Soz. iii. 14; Bingham, VII. iii. 7, 22; Schröckh, viii. 277-8; Gieseler, I. ii. 247.

[t] Schröckh, v. 167-8; viii. 233; Theiner, c. xi.; Gieseler, I. ii. 249.

bitterness of temper[u]—was born of Christian parents at Stridon, on the borders of Pannonia and Dalmatia.[x] He studied at Rome under Donatus, the commentator on Virgil, and, after having reached manhood, felt himself called to a religious life and was baptised.[y] After travelling in Gaul and other countries, he withdrew, in 374, to the desert of Chalcis, eastward of Syria,[z] and entered on a course of the most violent mortifications. But the impulses of sensuality—to which he confesses that he had yielded before his baptism[a]—revived in the solitude where he had hoped to find freedom from temptation. He strove against them by fasting and prayer;[b] and, wishing to add some humiliating occupation to these exercises, he began the study of Hebrew, which was recommended for the purpose by the indignity of learning an alphabet, the unmusical sound of the words, and the unadorned plainness of the sacred writings.[c] The acquisition proved valuable in a degree more than sufficient to compensate for the injury which he tells us[d] that his Latin style, and even his pronunciation, had suffered from it.

Jerome had devoted himself with zeal to classical literature, while he despised the Scriptures for their simplicity. The bent of his studies was changed by a remarkable incident, either while he was residing at Antioch before betaking himself to the desert,[e] or during his retirement. He had a severe illness, and was supposed to be dead, when he found himself placed in the presence of the Judge. He was asked his condition, and answered that he was a Christian. "Thou liest," it was said, "thou art not a Christian, but a Ciceronian; for where thy treasure is, there is

[u] Tillemont's Life of St. Jerome (vol. xii.) opens with a prefatory chapter on the character of the saint, in which the biographer is curiously distracted between his own impressions and the authority of his church. On the same subject, Dr. Newman, while yet a member of the English Church, wrote as follows:—"I do not scruple to say that, were he not a saint, there are things in his writings and views from which I should shrink; but as the case stands, I shrink rather from putting myself in opposition to something like a judgment of the Catholic world in favour of his saintly perfection. I cannot, indeed, force myself to approve or like against my judgment or feeling; but I can receive things on faith against both one and the other, and I am willing to take certain characteristics of this learned and highly-gifted man on faith."—(Church of the Fathers, 263-4.) I must plainly avow that the morality of such refinements appears to me very questionable, and that I have throughout held myself at liberty to form and to express an honest opinion as to the personages of ecclesiastical history.

[x] The date is placed in 331 by Prosper, who is followed by Schröckh (xi. 7) and by Clinton. Tillemont's date (xii. 6, 618) is 342.

[y] Tillem. xi. 7-11.

[z] Tillem. xii. 19; Schröckh, xi. 14.

[a] Ep. xlviii. 20.

[b] Epp. xxii. 7; cxxv. 12; Tillem. xii. 8, 21-3; Schröckh, xi. 20-2; Theiner, i. 155-7.

[c] Ep. cxxv. 12; Tillem. xii. 23.

[d] Ep. xxix. 7.

[e] Tillem. xii. 24-7, is for the desert; Schröckh, xi. 14-7, for Antioch.

thy heart also." He was severely beaten, but at his earnest entreaty, and through the intercession of the saints who stood around, his life was spared, in pity of his youth. He swore never again to open a heathen book, and, on returning to the world, found, as he tells us, that his shoulders were black and his body aching from the blows which he had received.[f] Jerome seems to have afterwards dealt with this story according to his convenience—treating it as a solemn reality when he wished to dissuade others from the study of secular learning, and as a mere dream when he found himself unable to deny that he had not strictly observed his oath.[g] In later ages, his vision was often pleaded in favour both of an indolent unwillingness to study and of a fanatical contempt of letters.[h]

The controversies of the time disquieted even the desert. Jerome quarrelled with the neighbouring monks as to the disputes of Meletius, Paulinus, and the Apollinarian Vitalis for the possession of the see of Antioch, and as to the use of the term *hypostasis*.[i] An appeal to Damasus of Rome for instruction seems to have decided him in favour of Paulinus;[k] he left the desert in 377, and in the following year was ordained presbyter by that bishop, with a stipulation that he should not be bound to any particular sphere of duty.[l] He spent some time at Constantinople, during the episcopate of Gregory, whom he greatly revered;[m] and in 382 he settled at Rome, where he acted as ecclesiastical secretary[n] to Damasus, and assisted him in his studies.

This position, with his talents, his learning, and the reputation of religious experience which he had brought from the East, gave him the means of powerfully forwarding the cause which he had at heart—that of monasticism and celibacy.[o] He soon gained an immense influence among the Roman ladies of rank—the Marcellas, Asellas, Paulas, and Fabiolas. He directed their spiritual life; he read and explained the Scriptures to them, while their eager questions often went beyond his power of answering; he

[f] Ep. xxii. 30.

[g] Neander, iv. 452-3; Milman, iii. 325.

[h] Schröckh, vii. 366; xi. 14-7.

[i] Epp. v., xvii.; Tillem. xii. 43-4; Schröckh, xi. 28-9.

[k] Epp. xv.-xvi.; Tillem. xii. 45-9; Schröckh, xi. 30.

[l] Tillem. xii. 49-51; Schröckh, xi. 36.

[m] Tillem. xii. 52; Ullman's Gregory of Nazianzum, 197-9.

[n] So it is generally inferred from Ep. cxxiii. 10. "Cum in chartis ecclesiasticis juvarem Damasum, Romanæ urbis episcopum [et orientis atque occidentis synodicis consultationibus responderem]." Schröckh (viii. 117) follows Buonamici in denying this—interpreting *chartis ecclesiasticis* of scriptural studies—not of ecclesiastical documents. I have no knowledge of Buonamici's argument; but the words in brackets, which Schröckh does not quote, seem to justify the common interpretation of the others.

[o] Tillem. xii. 63; Schröckh, xi. 62; Theiner, i. 161-2.

endeavoured to engage all women in a resolution to preserve their virginity or their widowhood, and to engage in a course of asceticism.[p] When remarks were made on his confining his instructions to the weaker sex, he answered that if men would ask him about Scripture he would not occupy himself with women.[q]

The religion which Jerome taught his female pupils was not without its temptations to pride, from which it may be doubted whether his warnings[r] were sufficient to preserve them. They were charged to seclude themselves from all other persons; the virgin Eustochium was exhorted to avoid all intercourse with married women as corrupting.[s] The pursuits of piety and unusual learning animated them to despise the ordinary amusements of the world; and they were taught to regard such amusements, without any distinction, as sins of the most deadly kind.[t] On those who followed his directions Jerome lavished hyperbolical praises. He tells them that a mother who gives up her daughter to celibacy becomes the "mother-in-law of God"[u]—an expression which not unnaturally gave occasion for charges of profanity. One of his epistles is an elaborate panegyric on Asella, written to Marcella, whom, with an amusing show of gravity, he begs not to show it to her friend the subject of it.[v] His eulogium on Paula after her death begins thus—"If all the members of my body were turned into tongues, and all my joints were to utter human voices, I should be unable to say anything worthy of the holy and venerable Paula's virtues."[x] Eustochium he styles "the precious pearl"—"the precious jewel of virginity and the Church.[y] She," he says, "in gathering the flowers of virginity," answers to the good ground in the parable which yielded an hundred-fold, while her sister Paulina, who had died in wedlock, was as that which brought forth thirty-fold, and their mother, the widowed Paula, as that which brought forth sixty-fold.[z] With no less zeal he extols Demetrias, a member of the great Anician family, who, with her mother, had been driven by the calamities of Rome to seek a refuge in Africa. On the eve of the day appointed for her marriage this "foremost maiden of the Roman world for nobility and wealth"[a] declared her resolution to embrace a life of celibacy. Augustine, Jerome, and other

A.D. 414.

[p] Ep. cxxvii. 7-8; Schröckh, xi. 71; xii. 375.
[q] Tillem. xii. 76.
[r] Ep. xxii. 17.
[s] Ep. xxii. 16.
[t] Schröckh, xi. 76.
[u] Ep. xxii. 20.
[v] Ep. xxiv.
[x] Ep. cviii. 1.
[y] Ibid. 4.
[z] Ep. lxvi. 2. This comparison of the three states is frequent with Jerome.
[a] Ep. cxxx. 1.

eminent teachers wrote to her on the occasion; even the heretic Pelagius endeavoured, by a pamphlet of compliments and exhortations,[b] to establish an interest with her.[c] "What an exultation was there throughout the whole family!" exclaims Jerome. "As if from a fruitful root, a multitude of virgins sprang up at once, and a crowd of dependents and servants followed the example of their pattern and mistress. Through every house ran a fervour of professing virginity. Nay, I say too little—all the churches throughout Africa danced, as it were, for joy. The celebrity of the act penetrated not only to cities, towns, and villages, but even to the very tents of the Barbarians. All the islands between Africa and Italy were filled with the rumour; and the rejoicings, unchecked in their progress, ran further and further." He goes on to say that Rome had put off her mourning garments—regarding the "perfect conversion" of her child as a token of divine favour towards herself; that the shores of the Mediterranean and the regions of the East resounded with celebrations of Demetrias. "Even now," he tells her, in words which admit of more than one application, "You have received, O virgin, more than you have offered. Whereas only one province had known you as the bride of man, the whole world has heard of you as the virgin of Christ."[d] The constant dwelling on the subject of virginity in writing to such correspondents—the strange, and sometimes grossly indecent,[e] comparisons with earthly love by which Jerome illustrates their mystical union with the Heavenly Bridegroom—are singularly at variance with modern ideas of delicacy. Nor, indeed, is it easy to understand why the choice of an unmarried life—which among ourselves is an every-day effect of mere economical prudence—should be extravagantly magnified as the loftiest reach of heroic sanctity.[f]

Paula was born in 347. Her father was said to be descended from Agamemnon; her mother from the Scipios and the Gracchi.[g] Her husband, Toxotius,[h] who traced his lineage through the Julian family to Æneas, died in 380, leaving her with a young son of his own name, and four daughters, Blesilla, Paulina, Eustochium, and Ruffina. Paula had already entered on a course of strict

[b] Printed in vol. xi. of St. Jerome.
[c] Fleury, xxiii. 12.
[d] Ep. cxxx. 6.
[e] E. g. Ep. xxii. 25.
[f] It is always the celibacy that is put forward as the great merit—not the devotion and asceticism which were connected with it.
[g] Hieron. Ep. cviii. 3; Tillem. xii. 84.
[h] Ep. cviii. 4.

religion before she became acquainted with Jerome.[i] Eustochium, who had been trained under the care of the noble and pious widow Marcella, was the first Roman lady of high birth who dedicated her virginity to God.[k] Prætextata, the wife of her uncle Hymetius, by his desire, once more attired her after the fashion of this world, in the hope that she might be persuaded to abandon her resolution; but Jerome tells us that in the same night the matron was visited in her sleep by an angel of terrible countenance and voice, who told her that since she had preferred her husband's command to Christ's, the sacrilegious hands which had touched the virgin's head should wither; that within five months she should be carried off to hell; and, unless she repented forthwith, her husband and sons should be taken from her in one day. These threatenings (he says) were all fulfilled; and he does not fail to draw a moral for others from the fate of Prætextata.[l]

Blesilla, the eldest daughter of Paula, became a widow within seven months after her marriage. She had a dangerous illness, and, on her recovery, devoted herself, by what is styled "a sort of second baptism."[m] to prayer and mortification. Her tears flowed, not for her husband, but for the irreparable forfeiture of the virgin's crown.[n] She learnt Hebrew in a wonderfully short time, and contended with her mother which should commit to memory and chant the greatest number of psalms in the original. After three months of this life Blesilla died, her end having apparently been hastened by her austerities. At her funeral, which was conducted with pomp suitable to her rank, Paula was greatly agitated, and was carried home as if dead.[o] The crowd of spectators burst forth into loud cries, "See how she weeps for her child, after having killed her with fasting!" and they were clamorous for the death or banishment of the monks, by whose arts both mother and daughter had been bewitched. Jerome, who was especially aimed at, wrote to reprove Paula for having, by her exhibition of grief, given this occasion to the enemy. He told her that the devil, having missed her daughter's soul, was now attempting to catch her own.[p]

In addition to the popular excitement, Jerome had provoked the dislike of many Roman nobles, whose female relatives had been under his guidance. He had also made many enemies among the

[i] Tillem. xii. 85.
[k] Hieron. Ep. xxii. 15; lxvi. 3; cxxvii. 5.
[l] Ep. cvii. 5.
[m] Ep. xxxix. 3.
[n] Ep xxii. 15; xxxviii. 4; xxxix. 1; Tillem. xii. 87-9.
[o] Tillem. xii. 91-2.
[p] Ep. xxxix. 5; Tillem. xii. 92; Schröckh, viii. 357.

professed virgins by censuring their inconsistencies in dress and manners,[q] and was deeply engaged in quarrels with the clergy, whom he taxed with ignorance, luxury, rapacity, and selfishness; while they retorted by complaints of his intolerable arrogance.[r] The satirical letters which he wrote against his brethren were eagerly circulated among the heathen as tending to the disparagement of Christianity altogether.[s] Marcella, although his ardent admirer, was unable to approve the scorn and asperity with which he treated his opponents.[t] By the death of Damasus, in 384, he lost his official employment. He tells that, in the earlier days of his residence at Rome, he had been in the highest estimation, and had even been regarded as worthy to succeed to the bishopric;[u] but by this time the general opinion had changed. He had made himself unpopular; he was accused of magic, and of improper familiarity with Paula. "What?" he indignantly asks, "was I ever charged with following after silken dresses, glittering jewels, painted faces, or the desire of gold? Was there no other among the Roman matrons who could subdue my mind, but one who is always weeping and fasting, squalid in filthy rags, almost blinded by her tears? one who spends whole nights in supplications to God for mercy; whose songs are the Psalms, whose speech is the Gospel, whose pleasure is continence, whose life is a fast?"[x] He could not imagine that his own character had been at all to blame for the troubles which had arisen.[y] In 385, after a residence of somewhat less than three years, he left Rome for the East.[z]

Paula soon after followed, with Eustochium. Jerome draws an elaborate picture of her kindred, her marriageable daughter Ruffina, and the young Toxotius, accompanying her to the place of embarkation, and imploring that she would not abandon them.[a] Perhaps indignation may mingle with our other feelings as we read his eulogies on the mistaken heroism which led her, in pursuit of a higher religious life, to cast aside the duties which God and nature had laid upon her.[b]

Jerome and Paula met again at Antioch. They spent some time in travelling, together or apart.[c] Paula visited, with the greatest devotion, all the holy sites;[d] while Jerome employed himself in endeavouring, by the help of local traditions, to bring the

[q] Ep. xxvii. 2.
[r] Ep. xxii. 28; Baron. 385-9.
[s] Schröckh, xi. 77-8.
[t] Ep. xxvii.; Schröckh, xi. 82.
[u] Ep. xlv. 3.
[x] Ep. xlv. 3.
[y] Schröckh, xi. 83.
[z] Tillem. xii. 100.
[a] Ep. cviii. 6.
[b] "Nesciebat se matrem, ut Christi probaret ancillam."
[c] Tillem. xii. 100; Schröckh, xii. 83.
[d] Ep. cviii. 8-14.

topography of Palestine to bear on the illustration of Scripture. They visited Egypt, where they spent some time with the Nitrian monks,[e] and Jerome attended the lectures of Didymus, the last eminent master of the catechetical school of Alexandria, who, although blind from early childhood, was among the foremost men of his age, not only for genius, but for theological and secular learning.[f] In 386-7 the matron and her spiritual guide took up their abode at Bethlehem, then a place of great resort, both for pilgrims from all parts of the Christian world, and for settlers who wished to enjoy such advantages as the neighbourhood of scenes famous in sacred history might be expected to yield for the religious life. Jerome describes in lofty terms the love, the harmony, and the mutual forbearance which reigned among the sojourners in the Redeemer's birthplace; but his praises were perhaps chiefly founded on the improvement in his own position, as compared with that of his latter days at Rome; and it is certain that, if Bethlehem was at peace when he arrived there, his temper soon introduced the elements of discord.[g]

Paula became an object of interest to pilgrims, whose veneration more than compensated for the secular advantages which she had resigned.[h] For a time Jerome lived in a small cell. He was supported by Paula, but would accept only the coarsest clothing, with a diet of bread, water, and pulse.[i] He built a monastery, in which it is supposed that he took up his abode; he also built a hospital, which was open to all strangers except heretics, "lest," he said, "Joseph and Mary, if they were to come again to Bethlehem, should again find no room." In order to defray the cost of these works, he sold the remainder of his patrimony through the agency of his brother Paulinian, whom he sent into the West for the purpose.[k] His chief literary occupation was the translation of the Scriptures. While at Rome he had, at the desire of Damasus, corrected the Latin version of the Gospels by the Greek; he now, in like manner, corrected the Latin of the Old Testament according to the text of the Septuagint exhibited in Origen's Hexapla,[l] which he procured from the library of Cæsarea; but afterwards he entered on a greater undertaking, of vast importance for the ages which were to follow—a direct

[e] Ep. cviii. 14.

[f] Tillem. x. 287, seqq.; xii. 83, 102-4; Schröckh, vii. 81.

[g] Tillem. xii. 104-6; Schröckh, xi. 85-6. Palladius says that his envy drove many persons away from Bethlehem. Tillem. xii. 107: Schröckh, xi. 221.

[h] Hieron. Ep. cviii. 3.

[i] Schröckh, xi. 86.

[k] Ep. lxvi. 14.

[l] See above, p. 98.

translation from the Hebrew. These labours excited great odium against him on the part of persons who ignorantly transferred the sacred character of God's word to the defective versions which they had been accustomed to use. His correction of the Gospels had contributed to make him unpopular at Rome:[m] to improve on the Septuagint—which was supposed to be itself inspired—was regarded as a daring impiety.[n] Even Augustine wrote to dissuade Jerome from prosecuting his task, on the ground that, after the labours of so many translators, there was probably nothing considerable to be done.[o]

By his correspondence Jerome acted as a spiritual director to many religious persons at Rome and elsewhere. Among these was Pammachius, a man of the highest distinction for wealth and rank, who had married Paula's daughter Paulina, and, on his wife's death, became a monk.[p] At home, Jerome superintended the exercises and employments of Paula and Eustochium; their hours were spent in study, devotion, and works of charity. He often found himself perplexed by their pertinacious questionings as to the meaning of Scripture.[q] Paula daily bewailed the vanities of her youth with a profusion of tears;[r] even in illness she refused to depart from her custom of lying on the bare floor in a hair shirt, nor would she taste wine, although the advice of her physician was supported by the spiritual authority of Jerome and Epiphanius.[s] She built three monasteries for women, and one for men.[t] Her property had been greatly reduced by her largesses for pious purposes before leaving Rome and in the course of her travels; she now gave away the remainder, and, when Jerome remonstrated, she answered that it was her wish to die a beggar, without leaving anything for her daughter, and to be indebted to the charity of others for a shroud.[u] Eustochium is celebrated as a model of filial obedience; she never, it is said, slept away from her mother, never ate except in her company, never took a step without her; she never had any money of her own during Paula's lifetime, and, at her death, found herself charged with the maintenance of a multitude of male and female

[m] Ep. xxvii.

[n] Tillem. xii. 94-7, 129-131; Schröckh, ix. 128; xi. 112; Neander, iv. 455.

[o] Ep. xxviii. 2 (or Ep. Hieron. lvi. 23); Baron. 394. 61. In a later letter (Ep. Hier. civ.) Augustine represents the evil results which were likely to follow from the use of a Latin version disagreeing with the Greek. Jerome replies (cxii. 19, seqq.), and Augustine is partly convinced by him. (Ep. Hier. cxvi. 34-5.)

[p] Ep. lxvi.

[q] Ep. cviii. 26; Tillem. xii. 127-8; Schröckh, xi. 87.

[r] Ep. cviii. 15.

[s] Ep. cviii. 20.

[t] Ib. 19; Schröckh, viii. 352.

[u] Ep. cviii. 18.

recluses, and burdened with debts which the devout widow had contracted, at high interest, in order to obtain the means for her extravagant alms-deeds.[x]

After a residence of nearly twenty years at Bethlehem, Paula died in 404, and was buried in the Church of the Nativity. The funeral rites lasted a week. The bier was borne by bishops; others of that order carried lamps; and the attendance of clergy, monks, and laity was immense. The inscription on the grave, composed by Jerome, set forth the illustrious descent and connexions of Paula, with her sacrifice of all for Christ.[y] Eustochium survived her until 419.[z]

The founders of monasticism intended that their disciples should be patterns of the highest Christian life, rather than directly teachers. They were, therefore, originally laymen;[a] but by the repute of sanctity they soon gained an influence which raised them into a rivalry with the clergy. Although, for the most part, little qualified by education to judge of theological questions, they were consulted on the highest and the most difficult. Some of them were resorted to as oracles; thus Theodosius, before resolving on his expedition against Maximus, thought it well to assure himself by the opinion of John, a celebrated solitary of the Thebaid.[b] Ecclesiastical office was regarded by many of the monks as inconsistent with the higher spiritual life. St. Martin of Tours considered that his power of miracles was weakened from the time when he left his monastery for the episcopate.[c] Pachomius charged his brotherhood to shun ordination as a snare; "a monk," he said, "ought to avoid bishops and women; for neither will allow him to rest quietly in his cell."[d] Ammonius, one of those who had accompanied Athanasius to Rome, on being chosen for a bishopric, cut off one of his ears, supposing that, as under the Jewish law, the mutilation would disqualify him. Being told that such was not the case, he threatened to cut out his tongue.[e] Dracontius, an abbot, declined a bishopric as being a hindrance to spiritual advancement; but Athanasius strongly combated his

[x] Ep. cviii. 15, 26-30; Tillem. xii. 263. "Yea," says Fuller, in his account of Paula, "it is necessary that liberality should have banks, as well as a stream." (Holy State, c. xi.) Jerome says that Eustochium hoped to pay her mother's debts (Ep. cviii. 15)—probably through the assistance of others.

[y] Ep. cviii. 28-9, 35.

[z] Tillem. xii. 259; Schröckh, viii. 355.

[a] Bingham, VII. ii. 7; Mosh. i. 308.

[b] Tillem. x. 17-8; Schröckh, viii. 225; Theiner, i. 102.

[c] Tillem. x. 313.

[d] Schröckh, viii. 211; Theiner, i. 120.

[e] Soz. iv. 30. Ammonius will be again mentioned in the next chapter.

view,—"Even when a bishop," he writes, "you may hunger and thirst, and fast as often as Paul. We know of bishops who fast, and of monks who eat; of bishops who abstain from wine, and of monks who drink; of bishops who do miracles, and of monks who do none; of bishops who have never married, and of monks who have had children."[f] Some monks, however, were desirous of ordination as a promotion. St. Augustine intimates that these were not always the persons who were most likely to do credit to the clerical office;[g] but even where no previous objection existed, the effect of transferring monks to the ranks of the clergy was often unsatisfactory. St. Chrysostom,[h] a warm advocate of monasticism, mentions that he had known some who made continual progress as monks, but deteriorated when brought into active life as ecclesiastics. The monastic training may have failed to prepare them for functions which require a knowledge of men, and a sympathy with human feelings.[i]

There is much that is beautiful and attractive in the idea of monasticism:—a life dedicated to prayer and contemplation, varied by labours for the good of mankind; a bond of brotherhood, linking together as equals all who should enter into the society—from the man who had resigned rank and wealth, the commander of armies, or the counsellor of emperors, to the emancipated slave; renunciation of individual possessions for a community of all things, in imitation (as was supposed) of the first Christians after the day of Pentecost. But, while we acknowledge this, and believe that in very many cases the benefits of the monastic institution were largely realized—while we see in the establishment of this system a providential preparation for the ages of darkness, in which it was to be of inestimable service to the Church, to literature, and to civilization—we must notice even thus early some of the evils which were mixed with it. Foremost among these may be placed the danger of the distinction between an ordinary and a more exalted Christian life. This idea St. Chrysostom strongly and frequently opposes. "All men," he says, "should rise to the same height, and that which ruins the whole world is the imagining that a greater strictness of Christian conduct is required in a monk, but that other persons may lead careless lives. . . . A secular man is distinguished from a monk only by marriage; in

[f] Bingham, VII. ii. 6; Schröckh, viii. 210; Möhler's Athanasius, ii. 137-142; Theiner, i. 268. The last words are supposed to relate to some who followed an ascetic life, yet did not refuse marriage. But does not the context rather show that unchaste monks are meant?

[g] Ep. lx. [h] De Sacerd. iii. 15.

[i] Schröckh, v. 211-3; Theiner, i. 106-120.

all other respects he ought to act like a monk."[k] But the distinction was too commonly adopted—not only to the relaxation of religion and morals among the multitude, who learnt to devolve the higher duties on the monks, and were led into a general disregard of the divine laws by finding themselves exempt from the operation of certain rules which claimed a divine authority—such as the monastic precepts on the subject of marriage—but to the danger of those who embraced a course which was thus marked out as far above that required of mankind in general.[l]

The institution was not of Christian origin. It was common to eastern religions; the scriptural patterns of it were all drawn from the days of the Old Testament—Elijah, the Rechabites, St. John the Baptist;[m] a New Testament warrant for it was only to be found by violently distorting the meaning of some passages, or magnifying them beyond their due proportion.[n] The monk was to avoid those trials of life for the bearing of which grace is promised. He was to cast himself on other trials, for which he might possibly be unfit. He was placed in hostility not only to the corruption and evil of the world, but to that which is good in it. He was to renounce its charities and its discipline; he was to become a stranger to his natural affections. Antony himself believed it a duty to overcome his love for his young sister. His disciple Pior, it is said, on leaving his father's house, vowed that he would never again look on any of his relations. After he had spent fifty years in the desert, his sister discovered that he was still alive; she was too infirm to seek him out, but her earnest entreaties set in motion the authority of his superiors, and Pior was ordered to visit her. Having arrived in front of her dwelling, he sent her notice of his presence. As the door opened he closed his eyes, and held them obstinately closed throughout the meeting; and, having allowed his sister thus to see him, he refused to enter her house, and hurried back to the desert.[o] The story of Mucius is a still more extraordinary example of the manner in which the monks were expected to deaden their natural feelings. Mucius desired admission into a monastery, with his son, a boy eight years old. After some difficulty they were received, but, by way of further proving the father's temper, they were separated from each other, the child was ill-treated in every way, dressed in rags, kept in a

[k] See Neander's Memorials of Christian Life, 189-190.

[l] Neander, Mem. 189; Gieseler, I. ii. 306-323.

[m] Hieron. Ep. lviii. 5.

[n] Schröckh, ix. 161; Neander, iii. 323.

[o] Tillem. viii. 569-571. The behaviour of St. Pemen and his brothers to their mother was remarkable in the same way. Tillem. xv. 157.

disgustingly filthy state, and often beaten without any cause. Mucius made no remonstrance; and at length, on being told to throw his son into the river, he obeyed this command also. The child was saved, and it was revealed to the abbot of the house that his new inmate was a second Abraham.[p]

The zeal with which St. Ambrose taught that virginity ought to be embraced in defiance of the will of parents, has already been mentioned.[q] St. Jerome is yet more extravagant. "Although," he writes, in exhorting Heliodorus to become a hermit, "your little nephew should hang about your neck; although your mother, with hair dishevelled and garments rent, should show you the breasts at which she nourished you; although your father should lie on the threshold;—trample on your father, and set out! Fly with dry eyes to the banner of the cross! The only kind of piety is to be cruel in this matter."[r]

An over-valuation of celibacy already called for the censure of some councils. That of Gangra[s] anatheinatises those who condemn marriage as if it were inconsistent with salvation (*Can.* i.). It forbids virgins to exalt themselves above the married (*Can.* ix-x.); and orders that women should not forsake their husbands, as if matrimony were unholy (*Can.* xiv.) The whole tone of its canons is against making a higher religion the pretext for the neglect of natural and ordinary duties.[t] Other councils forbade the reception of married persons into monasteries without the consent of their partners, and the profession of celibacy by females before the age of mature understanding. The Council of Saragossa (A.D. 381) fixes this at forty; the Third Council of Carthage (A.D. 397) at twenty-five.[u]

Some monks lived entirely for contemplation and devotion, depending on others for food—as Paul, called the Simple, a monk of Scetis, who said three hundred prayers a-day, keeping the account of them by pebbles.[x] But in general, the need of some additional

[p] Tillem. vii. 430; Schröckh, viii. 397; Milman, iii. 307.

[q] P. 297.

[r] Ep. xiv. 2; Schröckh, viii. 344. Although, in Ep. lii. 1, Jerome speaks of the letter to Heliodorus as written when he was a young man; and as too rhetorical, he at a later time praises Fabiola for having known it by heart, and acted on it (Ep. lxxvii. 9). Compare a strange medley of Scriptural metaphors in Ep. xxii. 24 (ad Eustoch.). St. Hilary of Poitiers is not answerable for the conduct which is related as to his praise by a writer of the sixth century—that when he returned from exile, finding his daughter inclined to marry, he prayed that she might be taken from the world, and was heard in his petition! Tillem. vii. 449.

[s] See above, p. 291.

[t] Canon xiii. forbids women to assume male attire on pretext of continence—a practice which St. Jerome also mentions (Ep. xxii. 27).

[u] Can. Cæsaraug. viii. (Hard. i. 806); Can. Conc. 3 Carthag. iv. (Labbe, ii. 1167). Schröckh, viii. 644.

[x] This Paul told the younger Maca-

occupation was felt by the fathers of monasticism.[y] It was a saying that "a monk employed is beset by one devil, but an idle monk by a whole legion."[z] The industrial occupations prescribed for the monks, however, were not in general such as very thoroughly to occupy them.[a] There was, after all, much vacant time, and, although some of the monks cultivated learning, there was in most cases a want of mental resources for the profitable use of leisure.[b] Antony, indeed, when a philosopher asked him how he could live without books, was able to reply that for him the whole creation was a book, always at hand, in which he could read God's word whensoever he pleased.[c] But this capacity for the contemplative life was not universal among the multitude who embraced the monastic profession—some, from a mere spirit of imitation; others, from excited feelings of remorse, or in consequence of a sudden shock; some, from a wish to distinguish themselves, and to gain the reputation of holiness; some, from a disinclination to earn their support by any active calling.[d] The means which were taken to avoid temptation rather served to excite it, by placing continually before the mind the duty of combating certain forms in which it might appear. Thoughts of blasphemy and visions of impurity are continually mentioned in the histories of monks.[e] Many were driven into positive insanity by excessive fasting, working on enthusiastic temperaments; many to despair, with thoughts of suicide, which were sometimes carried into act.[f] The biographies are full of fights with devils, visions, and miracles—especially cures of demoniacs, raisings of the dead and compelling them to speak.[g] The brute creatures play a large part in the miraculous tales. Thus it is said that the younger

rius that while he prayed three hundred times daily, a certain virgin prayed seven hundred times, and expressed distress at being so much outdone by a person of the weaker sex. Macarius very sensibly replied, "*I* pray only *one* hundred times a-day, and my conscience never reproaches me on that account: if *your* conscience reproaches you, either you do not pray with your heart, or you *might* pray oftener" (Schröckh, viii. 321). To this may be added a story told by Cassian:—On the introduction of the cœnobitic system into Egypt, under St. Mark (!), some monks were for making the number of psalms to be chanted at a service fifty or more; when one day a stranger appeared among them, sang *twelve* psalms, and then vanished. The monks concluded that their visitor was an angel, and fixed the number of psalms at that which he had sanctioned. Schröckh, viii. 388.

[y] Hieron. Ep. cxxv. 11.

[z] Fleury, xx. 8.

[a] Schröckh, v. 133-5.

[b] See Aug. Ep. xlviii.; Schröckh, viii. 216.

[c] Soc. iv. 23.

[d] Neander, iii. 358-9, 368; Gieseler, I. ii. 235.

[e] Theiner, i. 301; Gieseler, I. ii. 352-3. See a curious story in Hieron. Ep. cxxv. 13.

[f] Hieron. Ep. cxxv. 16, cxxx. 17; Schröckh, viii. 251; Neander, iii. 337-8; Theiner, i. 162; Gieseler, I. ii. 234-5. See Burton, Anat. of Melancholy, ii. 510-2, ed. Lond. 1827.

[g] Schröckh, viii. 293; Gieseler, I. ii. 234-5.

Macarius was visited by a lioness, who laid her blind cubs at his feet, that they might receive their sight. The saint, after praying, performed the work; and the mother expressed her gratitude by a present of sheepskins.[h] It would be difficult to determine in how far these stories are true; how far the phantasies of excited imaginations may have been mistaken for realities; how far ordinary things have been exaggerated into the miraculous; how far the accounts are mere falsehoods, invented for the glory of the heroes and of the institution.

With many the outward imitation of the founders of monachism was all in all, while unhappily the spirit which preserved such men as Antony from the evils of their system was wanting. Austerities, frightful to think of,[i] were too often combined with a want of true Christian faith and purity of heart. Many monks fancied themselves above needing the ordinances of grace; many relapsed from an overstrained asceticism into self-indulgent habits. Spiritual pride and fanaticism abounded.[k]

After a time, monks, forgetting the original object of their institution, began to flock into towns, for the sake of the gifts and other advantages which such places offered. This was forbidden (A.D. 390) by a law of Theodosius, issued, it is said, at the instigation of judges, who found the visitors apt to interfere with the course of justice.[l] Two years later (A.D. 392) the law was relaxed to the extent of allowing them to repair to cities for causes of necessity or charity.[m] The credulity and liberality of the inhabitants were practised on by hypocritical monks, who affected strange dress and savage manners,—loading themselves with heavy chains, exhibiting pretended relics, and telling outrageous fictions of adventures which they professed to have had with evil spirits,—while their private life was spent in luxury or profligacy.[n]

[h] Tillem. viii. 642.

[i] Thus Macarius the Younger, having killed a gnat, resolved to do penance by living naked for six months in the Scetic morass, where the gnats were as large as wasps. At the end of the time he was so disfigured by them that he could only be known by his voice. Schröckh, viii. 316. On this subject see Theiner, i. 98-100.

[k] Schröckh, viii. 347; Möhler's Athanasius, ii. 89-90; Neander, iii. 337-8, 360-3.

[l] See p. 279.

[m] Tillem. Emp. v. 836; Schröckh, v. 168, viii. 222-3.

[n] Hieron. Ep. xxii. 28; Tillem. xiii. 337-8; Bingham, VII. iii. 6; Schröckh, viii. 226, 348; Guizot, ii. 67; Gieseler, I. ii. 254; Neander, iii. 369. There was in Egypt a class of monks called Sarabaites or Remoboth,—apparently corrupt imitators of the earlier ascetics. They lived in towns, in companies of two or three. They are described as worthless and proud—selling their work at extravagant prices, and abusing the clergy. (Bingham, VIII. ii. 4; Mosh. i. 308; Schröckh, v. 169, viii. 365-6). On account of this last feature, Neander (iii. 350-1) is inclined to take up their cause against the general consent of writers.

Few of the monks were able even to read; and in them the ignorance which would have been despised in the clergy was admired as a token of sanctity.[o] In consequence of their ignorance, they were liable to be swayed by any one who might get possession of their minds. Their partisanship was violent. They denounced any deviation from their own narrow views as utterly anti-Christian.[p] They interfered tumultuously in the elections of bishops.[q] In the Arian and Apollinarian controversies, they did good service, but often in a rude and improper manner. Crowds of them went about in the East, destroying temples; and, as such were the specimens of the monastic class which came into contact with the Pagans, we cannot wonder that their illiteracy and their lawless fury excited in these strong feelings of disgust and detestation. The description given of them by Libanius has been already quoted.[r] In like manner Eunapius speaks of them as leading a "swinish life;" he says that any one who chooses to dress in black and to disregard public decency, may acquire a tyrannic power; and he charges them with getting a large portion of the soil into their possession under pretence of helping the poor.[s] If a comparison with the Circumcellions, which St. Augustine is very eager to refute,[t] was undeserved by the monks of Northern Africa, it would have done little injustice to those of some other regions.

The monastic spirit soon began to exhibit itself in extravagant forms. Thus the *Boscoi*, or grazers, whose manner of life originated in Mesopotamia, but was afterwards imitated in Palestine, dwelt in mountains or deserts without any roof to shelter them—exposed, almost entirely naked, to the heat and to the cold, and browsing on grass and herbs until both in body and in mind they lost the likeness of humanity.[u] Others of these Christian fakeers, after having professedly attained to such a degree of perfection as to be above all passion, used, by way (as it was interpreted) of showing their contempt for worldly glory, to feign madness, and to astonish the inhabitants of cities by ostentatious violations of decency.[v] And in the beginning of the fifth century appeared the fanaticism of the *Stylites*, or pillar-saints.

[o] Soz. iv. 28; Schröckh, v. 156.
[p] Gieseler, I. ii. 242; Neander, iii. 358-9.
[q] Gieseler, I. ii. 24°.
[r] P. 258.
[s] Schröckh, v. 172; Gieseler, I. ii. 242.
[t] Walch, iv. 160.
[u] Soz. iv. 33; Evagr. i. 21; Tillem. viii. 292; Bingham, VII. ii. 11; Neander, iii. 366.
[v] Evagr. i. 21. Comp. his accounts of two who feigned folly, iv. 34-5.

The first of these, Symeon,[x] after having been nine years an inmate of a strict monastery, withdrew to a place about forty miles from Antioch, where he lived for ten years in a sort of narrow pen. He then built a pillar, and took up his position on the top of it, which was only about a yard in diameter.[y] He removed successively from one pillar to another, always increasing the height, which in the last of them was forty cubits;[z] and in this way he spent thirty-seven years.[a] His life is compared to that of angels—offering up prayers for men from his elevation, and bringing down graces on them.[b] His neck was loaded with an iron chain. In praying, he bent his body so that his forehead almost touched his feet; a spectator once counted twelve hundred and forty-four repetitions of this movement, and then gave over reckoning. He took only one scanty meal a-week, and fasted throughout the season of Lent.[c] He uttered prophecies, and wrought an abundance of miracles.[d]

Symeon's fame became immense. Pilgrims from distant lands —as Spain, Gaul, and even Britain—flocked to see him.[e] Little figures of him were during his own lifetime set up in the workshops of Rome, as charms against evil.[f] He corresponded with bishops and emperors, and influenced the policy both of church and state. By his life and his exhortations he converted multitudes of Saracens and other nomads of the desert.[g]

Some time after he had adopted his peculiar manner of life, some neighbouring monks sent to ask why he was not content with such fashions of holiness as had sufficed for the saints of earlier days. The messenger was charged to bid him leave his pillar, and, in case of a refusal, to pull him down by force. But Symeon, on hearing the order, put forth one of his feet, as if to descend; and the messenger, as he had been instructed, acknowledged this obedience as a proof that the Stylite's mode of life was approved by God, and desired him to continue in it.[h]

[x] Evagrius, i. 13; Schröckh, viii. 227, seqq.

[y] This seems a necessary correction of *perimeter* in Evagrius, which would allow only a foot for the diameter (Tillem. xv. 361, 365; Gibbon, iii. 356). Theodoret says that Symeon betook himself to the pillar in order to escape the pressure of the crowd who were desirous to touch him. Dupin, iv. 99.

[z] Tillem. xv. 361.

[a] Baronius, 460. 17, says eighty years; but Pagi, in his note, shows that this is a mistake.

[b] Evagr. i. 13.

[c] So Tillemont (xv. 358, 365) construes words which others have supposed to mean that he never ate more than once in forty days. Comp. Dupin, iv. 99.

[d] Tillem. xv. 370.

[e] Theodoret, in Monum. Hist. Britann. c.

[f] Gieseler, I. ii. 284.

[g] Evagr. i. 14; Tillem. xv. 367; Neander, iii. 167.

[h] Evagr. i. 14.

At length, the devil appeared to Symeon in the form of the Saviour, and invited him to ascend to heaven in a chariot drawn by cherubim. Symeon put out his foot to enter the chariot, when the tempter vanished, and, in punishment of his presumption, left him with an ulcer in his thigh, which for the remaining year of his life obliged him to support himself on one leg.[i] He died in 460, at the age of seventy-two. His body was removed with great ceremony to Antioch—the inhabitants of which had requested that it might be given to them as a defence for their city, instead of the walls which they had lost.

On Symeon's death, his disciple Sergius, in compliance with his desire, carried his cowl to the Emperor Leo; but, as the emperor did not appear to be very greatly impressed by the announcement of the legacy, Sergius bestowed it on Daniel, a monk whose sanctity had already been attested by many miracles.[k] Daniel had known Symeon; he was now urged by visions to imitate his manner of life, and set up a pillar in a spot which had been indicated by a dove, about four miles north of Constantinople. The owner of the soil, whose leave had not been asked, complained to Leo and to the patriarch Gennadius. The patriarch suspected Daniel of vanity, and was about to dislodge him, when miracles vindicated the Stylite's motives, and he was allowed to retain his position. After some time Gennadius, whose suspicions were not yet extinct, was directed by a vision to ordain Daniel to the priesthood. Daniel professed himself unworthy, and would not allow the patriarch to approach him; but Gennadius, standing at the foot of the pillar, went through the form of ordination. Daniel then ordered that a ladder should be brought; the patriarch mounted to the top of the column, administered the eucharist to the newly-ordained priest, and received it at his hands. For thirty-three years (361-394) Daniel was regarded as an oracle. Emperors and foreign kings resorted to him with reverence.[l] Like Symeon he had the gifts of prophecy and miracles. By continually standing his feet were covered with sores and ulcers. His disciples in vain endeavoured to discover by what nourishment he supported life.

[i] Neander supposes that the temptation may have passed in Symeon's imagination (iii. 365). Perhaps we may rather consider the story as invented for the sake of the moral—which seems too healthy to have occurred to the Stylite himself.

[k] This account of Daniel is taken from Tillemont, vol. xvi. The tale in Baronius (460. 20) is yet more wonderful—that Symeon sent his cowl to Constantinople while he was yet alive; that it was delivered to Daniel on the very day of Symeon's death, and that Daniel announced that event to the disciple, having learnt it by revelation.

[l] Baron. 464. 3.

The high winds of Thrace sometimes almost blew him from his place, and sometimes he was covered for days with snow and ice, until Leo forcibly enclosed the top of his pillar with a shed.[m] It is said that through all the temptations to pride which he so laboriously courted, Daniel was able to preserve his humility. General assertions of this kind carry little weight; but perhaps a better evidence may be found in the statement that he discouraged all who approached him with complaints against their bishops.[n]

Symeon found many imitators in Syria, where Stylites are mentioned as late as the twelfth century.[o] But, except in the case of Daniel, the stylite life does not appear to have been adopted in other countries. When one Wulfilaich, in the sixth century, attempted to practise it in the district of Treves, the neighbouring bishops ordered his pillar to be demolished.[p]

V. *Rites and Usages.*

(1.) The more general adoption of Christianity was followed by an increase of splendour in all that concerned the worship of God. Churches were built and adorned with greater cost; the officiating clergy were attired in rich dresses; the music became more elaborate, and many new ceremonies were introduced.[q] But, praiseworthy as was the design of making the outward service as worthy of its object as the means of the worshippers allowed, there crept in with the change serious evils, which even already began to have their effects. Multitudes were drawn into the Church by the conversion of the emperor, without any sufficient understanding of their new profession—with minds still possessed by heathen notions, and corrupted by the general depravation of heathen morality.[r] It was intended to recommend the Gospel to such converts by ceremonies which might rival those of their old religion, and so, it was hoped, might attract them to the true and saving essentials with which these ceremonies were connected. But, unhappily, Christianity itself lost in the process—not only being discredited by unworthy professors, but becoming affected in its doctrines and practices by heathenism.[s] Pagan

[m] Baron. 465. 12.
[n] Tillem. xvi. 445.
[o] Evagr. i. 13; Schröckh, viii. 231; Gieseler, I. ii. 254.
[p] Mosh. i. 468; Gieseler, I. ii. 418; Guizot, ii. 70.
[q] Mosh. i. 374; Schröckh, v. 122; Gieseler, I. ii. 291-2.
[r] Gieseler, I. ii. 314; Neander, Memorials, 119-121.
[s] Mosh. i. 347, 369; Schröckh, ix. 292-3.

usages were adopted ;[t] the burning of candles in the daylight, which, even so recently as the time of Lactantius, had been a subject of ridicule for the Christian controversialists—incense, lustrations, and the like.[u] A merely external performance of duties, as it was all that heathenism required, came to be regarded by many as sufficient in Christianity also,[x] and bounty to the Church was supposed to cover the guilt of sins.[y] The monastic institution, as has been already explained, had an unfavourable effect on the religion of persons engaged in secular life.[z] St. Augustine says that an ordinary Christian who professed any seriousness in spiritual things had as much to endure from the mockery of his brethren as a convert to Christianity from that of the heathen.[a]

Many persons were found at church for the great Christian ceremonies, and at the theatres, or even at the temples, for the heathen spectacles.[b] The ritual of the Church was viewed as a theatrical exhibition. The sermons were listened to as the displays of rhetoricians; and eloquent preachers were cheered with clapping of hands, stamping of feet, waving of handkerchiefs, cries of "Orthodox!" "Thirteenth Apostle!" and other such demonstrations. Chrysostom and Augustine often tried to restrain this unseemly fashion, and to persuade their flocks to a more profitable manner of hearing.[c] Some went to church only in time for the sermon, alleging that they could pray at home.[d] And when the more attractive parts of the service were over, the great mass of the people departed, without remaining for the administration of the Eucharist, which in the first ages had usually been received by the whole congregation.[e]

The doctrinal controversies also, which occupy so large a space in the history of the century, acted unfavourably on its religious tone, by bringing the highest mysteries of the faith into

[t] See Conyers Middleton's Letter from Rome, and Professor Blunt's Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs in Italy and Sicily (Lond. 1823). The respected Margaret Professor is in the Roman Index of Prohibited Books, as well as the questionable divine of the last century.

[u] These came in gradually. Incense is spoken of by St. Athanasius in a passage quoted above, p. 275, but seemingly in a figurative sense only. The beginning of the actual use is referred to the fifth century. Schröckh, v. 122; ix. 294-5; Gieseler, I. ii. 291.

[x] Gieseler, I. ii. 261.

[y] Neander, iii. 401.

[z] P. 309.

[a] Gieseler, I. ii. 324.

[b] Neander, iii. 316; Gieseler, I. ii. 323; Beugnot, i. 380.

[c] Bingham, XIV. iv. 27; Mosh. i. 372; Schröckh, x. 318-324.

[d] Schröckh, x. 340; Neander, iii. 449.

[e] Gieseler, I. ii. 320; Neander, Memorials, 167. '"In vain," St. Chrysostom exclaims, "*we* stand at the altar to administer the sacrament; *you* remain aloof." Hence the communion of the clergy sometimes without the people, although they remained present.' Bunsen, Hippolytus, ii. 195.

idle discussion, and by throwing into the background the necessity of a practically religious life.[f]

Usages which had grown up insensibly were now fixed by express regulations; and by this and the other means which have been mentioned, the ritual system was so overlaid with rules and ceremonies as to give occasion for St. Augustine's celebrated complaint, "that they were grown to such a number that the estate of Christian people was in worse case concerning that matter than were the Jews."[g] Things which would have been good either as expressions of devotion or as means of training for it, became, through their multiplication, and through the importance which was attached to them, too likely to be regarded as independent ends.

(2.) The heathen temples were, in some cases, turned into churches,[h] but, intended as they were for a ritual which was chiefly carried on in the open courts, and of which addresses to the people formed no part, their structure was ill suited for the purposes of Christian worship. The type of churches was taken from buildings of another kind, the *basilicas*.[i] These were oblong, separated by two ranges of pillars into a middle part or nave, with an aisle on each side, and having at the farther end a semicircular projection, called the *absis* or *apse*. The lower portion of the building was used as a sort of exchange; in the apse stood the tribunal of the judge,[k] and the administration of justice took place. These arrangements were easily accommodated to the purposes of worship, whether in basilicas which were given up to the Church, or in buildings erected on the same plan.[l]

The part of a church nearest to the entrance was the *narthex*, or *vestibule*, occupied by penitents and catechumens, and open to all comers. This was separated by the "beautiful gates"[m] from the *naos*, *navis* (ship), or *nave*, in which the "faithful" were placed; at the upper end of the nave was the *choir*, which was separated by a railing (κιγκλίδες, *cancelli*) from the innermost portion of the church, the *bema*, or *sanctuary*.[n]

Females were seated apart from the men,—sometimes in enclosed

[f] Gieseler, I. ii. 322; Neander, iii. 318.

[g] Ep. lv. 19, as translated in Pref. to English Prayer-Book. His reason is, that the Jewish burdens were imposed by a Divine law, but the others by human authority.

[h] Bingham, VIII. ii. 4.

[i] Lord Lindsay on Christian Art, i. 11.

[k] Lord Lindsay says that there was also an altar (i. 12).

[l] Bingham, VIII. i. 5; Gieseler, I. ii. 285; Milman, ii. 412-5; iii. 488-490.

[m] The use of this term seems to have varied. See Neale's Eastern Church, Introd. i. 197-8.

[n] Bingham, VIII. iii.; Neander, iii. 403; Gieseler, I. ii, 285. See Freeman's Hist. of Architecture, 157; Neale, i. 175-6, 194.

galleries.[o] The church was usually surrounded by a court, containing the baptistery, the lodgings of the clergy, and other buildings.[p] Churches were now dedicated with great solemnity, and the anniversary of the consecration was celebrated.[q]

(3.) During the fourth century much was done to fix those parts of the Liturgy which until then had been fluctuating.[r] The names of St. Basil in the East, and St. Ambrose in the West, are especially celebrated in relation to this work, although both have been connected with much that is of later date.[s] The hymns of Ambrose became the models for such compositions in the Western Church.[t]

The division of the service into the *missa catechumenorum* and the *missa fidelium* continued, until, in the fifth century, its abolition naturally followed on the general profession of Christianity and the general practice of infant baptism. Now that the celebration of Christian worship was not attended with danger, the earlier portion of the service—including psalmody, reading of Scriptures, prayers, and sermon—was open to Jews and heathens, as well as to catechumens and penitents.[u]

(4.) At baptism some new ceremonies were introduced, as the use of lights and salt, and an unction with oil *before* baptism—significant of the receivers' being "made kings and priests unto God" (Rev. i. 6; 1 Pet. ii. 5-9)—in addition to that with chrism *after* baptism.[x] The previous training was methodized by a division of the catechumens into three classes,—*hearers*, *kneelers*, and *competents*,—the last being candidates who were fully prepared.[y] The Pentecost, or season from Easter to Whitsuntide, was, as before, the usual time for baptism. In the East, the Epiphany became popular as a baptismal season, and the administration at Whitsuntide was disused.[z] When some Spanish bishops baptized at Christmas, Epiphany, and on the festivals of saints, Siricius, in his decretal epistle to Himerius (A.D. 385), noted it

[o] Milman, iii. 490; Lindsay, i. 14; Neale, i. 206.
[p] Bingham, VIII. vii.; Guericke, i. 395; Lindsay, i. 31.
[q] Bingham, VIII. ix.; Neander, iii. 403.
[r] Bingham, VII. v.; Gieseler, I. i. 294.
[s] Palmer's Origines Liturgicæ, ed. 2., pp. 66-7, 125-133; Guéranger, Instit. Liturgiques, i. 195.
[t] Schröckh, xiv. 313-5; Guéranger, i. 114.
[u] Concil. Carthag. iv. can. 84 (Hard. i. 984); Gieseler, I. ii. 293-4.
[x] Bingham XI, ix. 1-2; Mosh. i. 374; Gieseler, I. ii. 295.
[y] Bingham, X. ii.; Neander, iii. 455-7.
[z] Neander, iii. 460.

as a presumption, and ordered that baptism should not ordinarily be given except at Easter and Whitsuntide.[a]

The practice of deferring baptism has been exemplified in many instances[b] in the preceding chapters. The delay, however, did not arise from any opinion that the baptism of infants was unlawful (for in case of danger they were baptised, and the institution was regarded as apostolical), but from fear lest a worse guilt should be contracted by falling into sin after baptism;[c] and the time to which the sacrament was postponed was not, as with modern sectaries, that of attaining to years of discretion; but the season of serious illness or other danger, or, in the case of clergymen and monks, that of entering on a new and strict manner of life. When alarmed by public calamities,—earthquakes, pestilences, or the like,—such multitudes rushed to be baptised, that the clergy were oppressed by the labour of receiving them.[d]

(5.) The customs of churches varied as to the frequency of celebrating the Eucharist.[e] Where there was no daily consecration, it became usual to *reserve* the consecrated bread. This practice gave rise to superstitions. Thus it is said that a brother of St. Ambrose was saved in a shipwreck by tieing a morsel of the holy bread to his neck; and in another case, the application of such bread, by way of a poultice, is said to have opened the eyes of a blind person.[f] When the elements were consecrated, the people partook of both; to refuse the wine was noted as a mark of Manichæan heresy.[g]

(6.) The name of *Agape* was now used in a sense different from that which it had originally borne—to designate festivals held by churches at the tombs of their martyrs, or by families at those of their relatives. These festivals took the place of the heathen *Parentalia*, and were celebrated with so much of unseemliness and excess, that bishops and councils, during the latter part of the century, exerted themselves to suppress them.[h] This, however,

[a] Siric. ad Himer. 2 (Hardouin, i. 847); Bingham, XI. vi. 7-8.

[b] E. g. Constantine, Constantius, Valentinian I., Valens, Gratian, Valentinian II., Theodosius; Gregory of Nazianzum, Basil, Ambrose, Nectarius, Jerome.

[c] Augustin. Confess. i. 11; Schröckh, xiii. 414; Neander, iii. 452-5.

[d] Tillem. xi. 29; Guericke, i. 403.

[e] Neander, iii. 465. On the *doctrine* of the Eucharist, see Gieseler, I. ii. 296-7.

[f] Aug. Op. imperf. c. Julian. iii. 162; Neander, iii. 467; Gieseler, I. ii. 298.

[g] Neander, iii. 467.

[h] Fleury, xx. 11. St. Augustine mentions that his mother, while at Milan, wishing to observe her African custom of carrying cakes and wine to the tombs of the martyrs, was told that St. Ambrose had forbidden it. (Confess. vi. 2.) Augustine himself was very active in en-

was no easy matter—so great a hold had these celebrations on the multitude. Thus, the Third Council of Carthage, in 397, does not venture to forbid them, except "as far as possible;"[i] and notices of them are found as having continued in some places until the following century.[k]

(7.) The Lord's Day was observed with greater strictness than before. Constantine ordered, in 321, that no legal proceedings and no military exercises should take place on it.[l] The Council of Laodicea directed that labour on this day should be avoided as much as possible (εἴγε δύναιντο).[m] Theodosius, in 386, enacted that no civil business should then be done, and abolished the spectacles in which the heathen had found their consolation when the day was set apart from other secular uses by Constantine.[n]

The custom of observing the Sabbath in a similar manner to the Lord's Day was now declining.[o]

(8.) The Quartodeciman practice as to the observance of Easter was condemned by the Council of Nicæa, and was thenceforth regarded as a mark of heterodoxy. The Council, however, did not direct by what means the proper day should be determined, and hence, although Easter was everywhere kept on a Sunday, the reckonings of different churches varied—sometimes more than a month.[p] The science of Alexandria gave the law to the eastern churches in general; and in the sixth century the Alexandrian calculation was adopted at Rome.[q]

The tendency of the age to an increase of ceremonies affected the celebration of Easter. The week before it was observed with great solemnity. On the Thursday the Eucharist was celebrated in the evening; on Easter-Eve, cities were illuminated, and crowds of worshippers, carrying lights, flocked to the churches, where they continued in vigil until the morning of the Resurrection. The following week was a season of rejoicing; the newly-baptised wore their white robes until the Sunday of the Octave.[r]

deavouring to put down the practice of eating and drinking in churches—both within his own diocese, and by urging other bishops to act in the matter. Epp. xxii. 1; xxix. etc.; Tillem. xiii. 165, 206; Fleury, xix. 41.

[i] Can. 30 (Hardouin, i. 964).

[k] Baron. 391. 39; Bingham, XV. vii. 9; Neander, iii. 475; Gieseler, I. ii. 299-300; Milman, iii. 435, 444.

[l] Bingham, XX. ii. 2; Neander, iii. 425.

[m] Can. 29 (Hardouin, i. 785); Neander, iii. 424. See Bingham, XX. ii. 3.

[n] Neander, iii. 425; Beugnot, i. 402.

[o] See p. 158. Neander, iii. 421-2.

[p] Bingham, XX. v. 4; Neander, iii. 426-8; Guericke, i. 399; Kaye, Athan. 23-8.

[q] Gieseler, I. ii. 289-290.

[r] Bingham, XX. v. 12; Guericke, i. 397.

The Epiphany now made its way into the West, where it was kept chiefly in remembrance of our Lord's manifestation to the Magi, but also with a reference to his first miracle and other *manifestations*. As the Donatists rejected the festival, it must have been unknown in Africa until after the date of their separation from the Church. The earliest express notice of its celebration in any western country is in 360, when Julian kept it at Vienne, shortly before avowing his apostacy.[s] In like manner the observance of the Nativity passed from the West to the East. It was introduced at Antioch about 375, and was there kept on the 25th of December, although some churches combined it with the Epiphany.[t] The idea that Christmas-Day was chosen from a wish to compensate for the heathen festivals of the season is refuted by the fact that the policy of the earlier Christians, from whom it had come down, met the festivities of the heathen by appointing not feasts, but fasts. Thus, in the West, a fast of three days, at the beginning of the year, was established in opposition to the Saturnalia.[u]

The festivals of some of the most distinguished saints—such as St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Stephen, &c.,—from having had only a local celebration, became, in the fourth century, general throughout the Church.[x]

The practice of fasting, which had formerly been left in great measure to the discretion of individuals, was now settled by ecclesiastical laws.[y] The Lenten fast, of thirty-six days,[z] became general, both in the East and in the West, although with a difference as to its beginning, from the circumstance that in the East the Sabbath, as well as the Lord's Day, was excepted from the time of fasting.[a]

Acts of mercy were connected with certain holy days and seasons. Thus, Constantine ordered that the emancipation of slaves should take place on Sundays.[b] Theodosius, in 380, forbade the carrying on of criminal law-proceedings during Lent. Nine years later, he issued a like prohibition of all bodily punishments during the same season; and, in 387, he ordered that all prisoners,

[s] Bingham, XX. iv.; Neander, iii. 435.

[t] Tillem. xi. 50; Schröckh, x. 349-356; Gieseler, I. ii. 280; Neander, iii. 437.

[u] Schröckh, ix. 281, 293; Neander, iii. 441-7; Guericke, i. 401.

[x] Neander, iii. 473; Guericke, i. 409-411.

[y] Gieseler, I. ii. 286-7; Neander, iii. 429.

[z] The four days before the first Sunday were added in the West at a later time—some say by Gregory the Great, others by Gregory II. (Bingham, XXI. i. 5.)

[a] Bingham, XXI. i. 4.

[b] Neander, iii. 425.

except those guilty of the very worst offences, should be released at Easter.[c]

(9.) In the course of the century many canons were made on the subject of Penance—carrying it into great minuteness of detail. The regulation of penance was in the East ordinarily left to the consciences of individuals—especially after Nectarius of Constantinople, in consequence of a scandal which had occurred, abolished the office of penitentiary presbyter at Constantinople in 391. The example was followed in other churches. Socrates, who wrote about the year 439,[d] expresses an apprehension of evil results from the abolition, and Sozomen, somewhat later, states that a deterioration of morals had ensued. In the West, the office of penitentiary does not appear to have existed; and there the performance of formal penance came to be regarded as necessary in order to the Divine forgiveness. The ancient division of penitents into classes is not mentioned after the fifth century.[e]

(10.) The honours paid to martyrs were naturally increased, as, from the cessation of persecution, the opportunities of martyrdom became very rare.[f] And the influence of heathenism told most unhappily in this matter. Converts regarded the martyrs as the *heroes* of their new religion; they ascribed to them a tutelary power, and paid them honours such as those which belonged to the lesser personages of the pagan mythology.[g] Moreover, as the great object of orthodox controversialists, in the fourth century, was to vindicate the Saviour's Divinity, his Manhood was comparatively little spoken of. He was in thought removed further from mankind; a want of less exalted intercessors was felt, and a reverence for nearer objects grew up.[h] From the middle of the century, it became usual to deliver panegyrical orations on the days assigned to the commemoration of martyrs. The preachers, feeling themselves bound to make the most of the subject on such occasions, ran out into glorifications of the martyrs, which, if at first intended only as rhetorical ornaments, were soon converted into matter of doctrine.[i] In

[c] Tillem. Emp. v. 200, 363.

[d] This is the year to which his history reaches. Clinton, ii. 471.

[e] Soc. v. 19: Soz. vii. 16; Hooker, VI. iv. 8, seqq.; Fleury, xix. 23; Bingham, XVIII. iii. 12; Planck, i. 511-5; Gieseler, I. ii. 321-6. Tillemont, x. 233, questions some part of the story as to the abolition of penitentiaries, and other Roman Catholic writers question more.

[f] Schröckh, ix. 166.

[g] Gieseler, I. ii. 263.

[h] Milman, iii. 540.

[i] Schröckh, ix. 170-1-8.

addition to the earlier belief that the martyrs interceded for their brethren, it was now supposed that they were cognizant of wishes addressed to them. The popular heathen opinion, that the spirits of the dead continued to hover about the resting-place of their bodies, was combined with the idea that the souls of the martyrs were already in the presence of God; hence arose a practice of invoking them at their graves, and requesting their intercession; and by degrees such addresses came to be put up irrespectively of place.[k] Poetry, too, contributed to advance the movement; the invocations which heathens had addressed to their gods and muses were transferred by Christian poets to the saints.[l] Other holy persons—as the worthies of Scripture and distinguished monks—were soon associated with the martyrs in general reverence.[m] The prayers which had, in earlier times, been offered up for saints and martyrs, in common with the rest of the faithful departed, were retained, notwithstanding their growing inconsistency with the general belief, until in the beginning of the fifth century they were abandoned as derogatory to the objects of them.[n] Heathens, as Julian and Eunapius, began, not without plausible grounds, to retort on Christians the charge of worshipping dead men.[o] St. Augustine repudiated it;[p] he exhorted to an imitation of the saints, and endeavoured, as did also St. Chrysostom, to oppose the tendency towards an undue exaltation of them. But before his time practices nearly akin to worship of the saints had too surely made their way into the popular belief and feeling, as, indeed, Augustine himself is obliged to confess.[q]

The bodies of martyrs began to be treated with special honour. Altars and chapels were built over their graves.[r] Their relics were transferred from the original places of burial, and were deposited under the altars of churches.[s] There is no mention of such translations in the accounts of the churches built by Con-

[k] Schröckh, ix. 173-180, 191; Gieseler, I. ii. 266-8; Milman, iii. 542.

[l] Schröckh, vii. 115; ix. 190; Gieseler, I. ii. 269.

[m] Gieseler, I. ii. 270.

[n] Gieseler, I. ii. 271.

[o] Schröckh, v, 134; ix. 167; Gieseler, I. ii. 275.

[p] As in Ep. xvii. 5.

[q] Aug. de Moribus Eccl. Cath. i. 34; Bingham, XIII. iii. 1-2; Schröckh, vii. 267; ix. 169, 187-9; Neander, iii. 476-7: Gieseler, I. ii. 272-3.

[r] Gieseler, I. ii. 264.

[s] Gieseler, I. ii. 265. Cæcilian, in the beginning of the century, reproved Lucilla for kissing the bone of a supposed martyr (sup. p. 177); yet the reverence for relics is soon after found prevailing throughout the Church. Romanists say that the objection in Lucilla's case was only directed against the paying honour to one who had not been *recognised* as a martyr; and this view is in some degree countenanced by the words of Optatus, from whom the story comes. But it was precisely in the interval between Cæcilian and Optatus that the general veneration of relics was introduced, so that he may unconsciously have given something of a turn to the story. See Schröckh, ix. 209.

stantine; but in the reign of Constantius some bodies, supposed to be those of Apostles, were found, and were solemnly removed to Constantinople.[t] We are told that remains of other Scripture saints, as far back as the prophet Samuel, and even the patriarch Joseph, were afterwards discovered; and, in order to prevent the risk of mistake as to bodies which had been lying in the earth for hundreds or thousands of years, the saints themselves were said to have appeared in visions, and to have revealed the places of their interment.[u] There was a readiness to believe that every grave of an unknown person was that of a martyr. St. Martin, it is said, by praying over a grave which had been thus honoured, called up a shade of ferocious appearance, and forced the supposed martyr to avow that he had been a robber, and had been executed for his crimes.[x]

It has been already related that St. Antony disapproved of the Egyptian manner of showing reverence for saints by keeping their bodies above ground, and took measures for escaping such honours.[y] St. Hilarion, the founder of monasticism in Palestine, having died in Cyprus, one of his disciples, Hesychius (who was himself afterwards canonized) stole[z] his body from the grave, and carried it off to the Holy Land. A rivalry ensued between the places of the first and second interments; miracles were said to be performed at both.[a] In another case, the possession of the remains of some monks, who had been slain by the Saracens, was disputed with bloodshed by the inhabitants of two neighbouring towns.[b]

Relics were supposed to work miracles; the churches in which they were preserved were hung (although perhaps not before the next century) with models of limbs which had thus been restored to strength.[c] Pretended relics were imposed on the credulous, and various abuses arose. For the purpose of restraining these, Theodosius enacted, in 386, that no one should buy or sell the bodies of martyrs, or should translate them from one place to another.[d]

The blessed Virgin Mary was not as yet honoured above other saints. The Collyridians,[e] a party of female devotees, who passed

[t] Fleury, xix. 31; Gibbon, iii. 22.
[u] Soz. vii. 21; Baron. 391. 7-14 (as to St. John Baptist); Pagi in Baron. vii. 70 (as to Joseph); Tillem. Emp. v. 405: Schröckh, ix. 210; Gieseler, I. ii. 269.
[x] Sulp. Sever. Vita Martini, 8; Schröckh, ix. 209.
[y] P. 294.
[z] Κλέψας. Soz. iii. 14.
[a] Schröckh, ix. 217.
[b] Fleury, xx. 7; Gieseler, I. ii. 270.
[c] Bingham, VIII. viii. 2; Gibbon, iii. 28. See Blunt's Vestiges.
[d] Baron. 386. 51; Tillem. v. 233.
[e] From κολλυρίς, diminutive of κολλύρα, a cake.

from Thrace into Arabia in the last years of the century, are noted as heretics for offering cakes to her with rites which were perhaps derived from the heathen worship of Ceres.[f] But with the growing admiration of the virgin life, of which St. Mary was regarded as the type, there was a progress of feeling towards opinions which became more decided during the controversies of the following century.[g] On the other hand, the perpetual virginity of the Saviour's mother was denied by some persons—as Helvidius,[h] a Roman lawyer (A.D. 383); and Bonosus,[i] bishop of Sardica (A.D. 392); and a sect of *Antidicomarianites* (adversaries of Mary)—called forth by the extravagances of the Collyridians, is mentioned as having existed in Arabia.[k]

Anything like worship of angels was as yet supposed to be expressly forbidden by Scripture. St. Ambrose is the only father of this age who recommends invocation of guardian angels.[l]

(11.) The Arts now began to be taken into the service of the Gospel, which had before been compelled to eschew them. The change, however, did not originate with the clergy. Eusebius of Cæsarea, in the early part of the century, expressed himself strongly against the attempt to represent the holy personages of Scripture,—saying that the true image of them is a saintly life.[m] Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia, or Salamis, in Cyprus (whose name will again come before us), while travelling in the Holy Land, in 394, tore a curtain which he found hanging before the sanctuary of a church, with a figure either of the Saviour or of a saint painted on it—declaring such representations to be contrary to Scripture.[n] But the account of the incident shows that new views as to their lawfulness had already obtained a footing among Christians. The walls of many churches were painted with martyrdoms and scriptural scenes, and wealthy persons had their garments embroidered with subjects of the same kind.[o] It was not, however, until the very end of the century that single figures were thus painted—a kind of pictures the most likely to attract

[f] Walch, iii. 623-634; Schröckh, ix. 196; Neander, iii. 482; Gieseler, I. ii. 277.

[g] Schröckh, ix. 198; Gieseler, I. ii. 275-7.

[h] Walch, iii. 586.

[i] Walch, iii. 598.

[k] Walch, iii. 519; Schröckh, ix. 202-4; Gieseler, I. ii. 275-7.

[l] Can. Laod. 35 (Hardouin, i. 787); Schröckh, ix. 192-6; Gieseler, I. ii. 278; Ambros. de Viduis, 9.

[m] Neander, iii. 409-412.

[n] The account is given by himself, in a letter, which was translated by St. Jerome. (Ep. li. 9.) Baronius (392. 249, seqq.) boldly maintains that this is a spurious addition to the epistle. But Dr. Newman (n. on Fleury, i. 231) says that "there seems no question" of its genuineness.

[o] Schröckh, ix. 221-2; Neander, iii. 408; Gieseler, I. ii. 282-3.

the honour which was soon bestowed on them.[p] St. Augustine confesses that in his time many were "adorers of pictures."[q] Statues were not yet erected; nor was the Saviour himself represented, otherwise than in symbolical forms,[r] until the next century; although the teachers of the Church, abandoning the earlier view as to the uncomeliness of his personal appearance, took up one of an opposite kind, and thus prepared the way for the introduction of that type on which the artists of later ages have expressed their ideal of serene majesty and tenderness.[s]

The *cross* was adorned with gems and gold, and was perhaps set upon the altars of churches.[t] Julian charged the Christians with worshipping it.[u] But the crucifix—like all other representations of our Lord which are associated with sorrow and suffering—was not known until some centuries later.[x]

(12.) From the time of Helena's visit to the Holy Land, a great impulse was given to the practice of *pilgrimage*.[y] It was supposed, not only that the sight of hallowed scenes would enkindle or heighten devotion, but that prayers would be especially acceptable if offered up in particular spots; and, as in the heathen system, some places were believed to be distinguished by frequent miracles.[z] From all quarters—even from Britain[a]—pilgrims flocked to the sacred sites of Palestine, and on their return they carried with them water from the Jordan, earth from the Redeemer's sepulchre, or chips of the true cross, which was soon found to possess the power of reproducing itself. Many, it is said, were even led by their uncritical devotion to visit Arabia for the purpose of beholding the dunghill on which the patriarch Job endured his trials.[b] Pilgrimage became a fashion, and soon exhibited the evil characteristics of a fashion. Some teachers attempted to counteract it. The monk Hilarion, during his residence of fifty years in Palestine, visited the holy sites but once, and for a single day—in order, as he said, that he might neither appear to despise them on account of their nearness, nor

[p] Gieseler, I. ii. 284. See on the whole subject Pusey, in Tertullian, i. 109-116.

[q] Schröckh, ix. 223; Neander, iii. 415.

[r] E. 8. As a beardless youth—"to signify the everlasting prime of eternity." Lindsay, i. 42.

[s] Mosh. i. 347; Milman, iii. 503-8; Lindsay, i. 76-7.

[t] Bingham, VIII. vi. 20; Neander, iii. 406.

[u] Schröckh, ix. 223.

[x] Gieseler, ii. 284; Milm. iii. 513-4. Kugler (Handbook of Italian Painting by Eastlake, ed. 2, p. 11) refers it to the eighth century.

[y] Schröckh, v. 135-6, 138-142; Milman, ii. 418.

[z] Mosh. i. 347; Schröckh, ix. 224-5.

[a] Collier, i. 91-2.

[b] Schröckh, ix. 220; Neander, iii. 484.

to suppose that God's grace was limited to any particular place.[c] St. Gregory of Nyssa wrote a treatise for the express purpose of dissuading from pilgrimage. He himself, he said, had neither been made better nor worse by his visit to Palestine; but for others such expeditions might even be dangerous, on account of the viciousness of the inhabitants, which had taught him to value more highly than before the religion of his own Cappadocia; monks (he remarked) ought to endeavour to go out of the body, rather than to drag it from one part of the world to another.[d] Even St. Jerome—although he had fixed his abode at Bethlehem, and although in some of his writings he expatiates on the influence of its hallowed associations—yet elsewhere very earnestly warns against the delusions by which the multitude of pilgrims was led thither.[e] "It is not matter of praise," he tells Paulinus, "to have been at Jerusalem, but to have lived religiously at Jerusalem.[f] The scenes of the Crucifixion and of the Resurrection are profitable to such as bear their own cross and daily rise again with Christ—to those who show themselves worthy of so eminent a dwelling-place. But as for those who say 'The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord'—let them hear the Apostle's words—'Ye are the temple of the Lord, and the Holy Spirit dwelleth in you.' The court of heaven is open to access from Jerusalem and from Britain alike; 'for the kingdom of God is within you.'"[g]

VI. *Opposition to the Tendencies of the Age.*

The new ideas and practices which were introduced into the Church excited the mockery of the older sects—such as the Novatianists and the Manichæans—who loudly charged the Catholics with paganism.[h] The teachers of the age could not but reprobate some of the novel corruptions, and attempted to counteract them. But they bore with, and even encouraged, much that eventually proved mischievous—partly from a desire to facilitate the progress of the Gospel and to deal tenderly with converts;[i] partly from

[c] Hieron. Ep. lviii. 3; Schröckh, v. 159.

[d] Dupin, ii. 230; Tillem. ix. 581-2; Schröckh, ix. 229-231; xiv. 17. This tract has given much trouble to Romanists. Some have attempted to prove it spurious; Baronius (386. 48) allows its genuineness, but contends that it applies only to persons who had embraced the monastic life, and is not meant to discourage others from pilgrimage.

[e] Tillem. xii. 191; Schröckh, ix. 227; xii. 355; Neander, iii. 485; Gieseler, ii. 280-1.

[f] This is imitated from Cicero Pro Murena, sect. 12, "Non Asiam nunquam vidisse sed in Asia continenter vixisse laudandum est."

[g] Ep. lviii. 2-3.

[h] Gieseler, I. ii. 331.

[i] See Aug. Ep. xxix. 9.

a regard to the pious intention which lay under strange and injudicious manifestations, or from a want of that historical experience which would have enabled them to detect the lurking germs of evil.[k] On the other hand, there were persons who decidedly opposed the tendencies of the time; but unhappily with such a mixture of error in their own opinions as excited a general odium, and served to strengthen the cause which they combated. Of such persons, Helvidius and Bonosus have lately been mentioned;[l] the former was encountered by St. Jerome, the latter by St. Ambrose.

Aërius was of earlier date—about A.D. 355. He was a presbyter of Sebaste, in the Lesser Armenia, and, having been disappointed of the bishopric, began to assert that bishops and presbyters were equal—an opinion which in those days was altogether novel, since almost all the sects had at their outset been careful to obtain episcopal ordination for their ministers, and even those which had departed from the usual form of polity had acknowledged the necessity of a graduated hierarchy.[m] He denied the utility of stated fasts, and of prayers for the departed. It has also been said that he opposed the celebration of Easter; but his objections seem rather to have been directed against the practice of eating the *paschal lamb*, which had been retained until his time in some churches, and which he regarded as a remnant of Judaism.[n]

Jovinian began to publish his opinions about A.D. 388.[o] He was a monk of Rome, and continued his monastic profession, although one of his chief tenets was a denial of the superiority usually ascribed to celibacy.[p] He maintained that if single and married persons were equal in other respects, their conditions were also equal.[q] He opposed the over-valuation of the act of martyrdom.[r] He denied the merit of fasting, and the distinctions of

[k] Gieseler, I. ii. 332. See Beugnot, ii. 262-4.

[l] P. 326. For Helvidius, see Theiner, i. 195-8.

[m] Walch thinks that Aërius did not deny the lawfulness of the episcopal government, but only its divine institution (iii. 331).

[n] Tillem. ix. 88; Mosh. i. 364-5; Walch, iii. 333; Schröckh, vi. 227-9; Neander, iii. 286-7; Gieseler, I. ii. 333.

[o] Schröckh, ix. 233.

[p] Walch, iii. 639. St. Jerome says that he had exchanged the monastic temperance for a life of luxury, and draws a ludicrous picture of his sleek, well-dressed, and jovial appearance. He asks (somewhat unfairly), "If you think marriage equally good with celibacy, why do you not marry?" (Adv. Jovin. i. 40.) Even St. Augustine, instead of giving Jovinian any credit on account of the celibacy which in others was held so admirable, says that he remained unmarried for the sake of avoiding the troubles of married life. De Hæres. 72. See Theiner, i. 222.

[q] Theiner, i. 198; Neander, iii. 381-2, vi. 408.

[r] Neander, iii. 384.

food.[s] He maintained, and with a strange perversion of Scripture texts, that there was no other distinction between men than the grand division of righteous and wicked; that there was no difference of grades in either class, and that there would hereafter be no difference of degree in rewards or in punishments.[t] Whosoever had been truly baptised had, according to Jovinian, nothing further to gain by progress in the Christian life; he had only to preserve that which was already secured to him.[u] The true baptism was different from the sacrament of the Church; indeed, Jovinian altogether set aside the idea of the visible Church.[x] The true baptism was a baptism of the spirit, conferring indefectible grace; they who had it could not be overcome by the devil. If any one, after receiving the baptismal sacrament, fell into sin, it was a proof that he had never received inward baptism; and such a person might, on repentance, yet be made partaker of the true spiritual baptism.[y] All sins were equal; nor was there any difference as to guilt between sins before and after baptism. With such doctrines there was naturally connected a want of care as to single sins.[z]

Jovinian's opinions were favoured by the popular feeling at Rome;[a] he made many converts, and induced many persons of both sexes, who had before embraced the celibate life, to marry.[b] But among the clergy he found no adherents. Siricius with a synod condemned and excommunicated him in 390. Jovinian then repaired to Milan, in the hope of finding favour with Theodosius; but Ambrose had been warned against him by Siricius, and the Roman sentence was repeated at Milan.[c] Nothing further is known of Jovinian, although it has been conjectured that he was identical with one Jovian, who, by order of Honorius, was *whipped* and banished in 412.[d] Jerome wrote against him with violent personality, and in so doing exaggerated the merits of celibacy to such a degree as to give Jovinian's cause an advantage.

[s] Neander, 383. It does not, however, appear that he denied the use of fasting as a help to religion. Walch, iii. 652.

[t] Walch, iii, 654; Neander, iii. 386-9.

[u] Neander, iii. 384.

[x] Neander, iii. 389-390.

[y] Tillem. x. 225; Walch, iii. 655-6; Schröckh, ix. 236; Neander, iii. 386; vi. 410.

[z] Neander, iii. 385, vi. 410.

[a] Sup. p. 303; Gieseler, I. ii. 333.

[b] Tillem. x. 227; Schröckh, ix. 237; Theiner, i. 199.

[c] Ep. Siric. ap. Ambr. t. ii. 1121; Ep. Ambr. 42.

[d] See Tillem. x. 227-9; Walch, iii. 664; Schröckh, ix. 237; Neander, iii. 390. Against this conjecture there is the strong objection that Jerome, in 404, speaks of Jovinian as dead. I cannot think, with Theiner (i. 233), that we are justified in setting aside this statement of a fact on account of the coarse language in which it is expressed—"Inter phasides aves et carnes suiles non tam emisit spiritum quam eructavit." (Hieron. adv. Vigil. i.)

His friend Pammachius endeavoured in vain to suppress the treatise, and, in order to take off the effects of its extravagance, Augustine wrote in a more moderate strain, a book *De Bono Conjugali*.[e]

Another opponent of the prevailing tendencies may be fitly noticed in this place, although he did not appear until somewhat later than the time embraced in the preceding chapters.

Vigilantius was a native of Calagurris (Hourra, or Casères), on the French side of the Pyrenees.[f] After having spent his early youth in assisting his father, who was an innkeeper, he was taken into the household of Sulpicius Severus, the biographer of St. Martin. He applied himself to letters, and became a presbyter. Through Sulpicius he became acquainted with Paulinus, a noble Aquitanian of Roman family, who, after having filled high secular offices—even, it is said, the consulship[g]—renounced the world and the married estate, and settled at Nola, in Campania, in order that he might be near the tomb of St. Felix, a confessor of the time of Decius.[h] Paulinus may be regarded as an example of the manner in which the spirit of his age acted on a devout and enthusiastic mind. He carried his reverence for saints to an extent beyond his contemporaries, and which anticipated later corruptions. He devoted himself especially to St. Felix; he built a church over the tomb, and adorned it with paintings, among which were scenes from the Old Testament and a symbolical representation of the Trinity.[i] Every year, on the festival of the confessor, Paulinus produced a birth-day poem; every year he repaired to Rome, for the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul. The example and influence of so devout a person advanced the superstitions to which he was addicted.[k]

[e] Hieron. Ep. xlviii., xlix. 2; Baron. 390. 57-62; Tillem. xii. 144; xiii. 339; Walch, iii. 669-671; Schröckh, ix. 234-5, xi. 130; Theiner, i. 163, 209-222; Neander, iii. 391-2, vi. 409.

[f] Bayle, art. Vigilance, n. A.; Walch, iii. 675-7; Gieseler, I. ii. 335-6; Gilly's Vigilantius, 125, Lond. 1844. See also Baron. 406. 40, seqq.; Tillem. xii.; Mosheim, i. 468-9; Schröckh, ix. 262, seqq.; Neander, iii. 479-481; Theiner, 1. 224; Milman, iii. 335-6.

[g] So his friend Ausonius distinctly states in a poem. But the name of Paulinus does not appear in the Fasti. It is therefore supposed that he took the place of some consul who did not complete his term of office. Tillem. xiv. 720; Schröckh, vii. 124; Clinton, ii. 467.

[h] For Paulinus, see Tillemont, xiv., and Gilly, c. iv.

[i] Schröckh, vii. 125.

[k] Paulinus was born in 353 or 354, retired to Nola in 394, became bishop of that place in 409 (between 402 and 405, Clinton), and died in 421 or 424 (431, Pagi in Bar. vii. 411; Clinton). Tillem. xiv. 732; Mansi in Bar. vi. 430. A story of his having sold himself for the redemption of a captive, told by St. Gregory the Great, is rejected by Pagi in Baron. vii. 413-6, and by Tillemont, xiv. 136.

Vigilantius, after having visited Paulinus at Nola, set out for the East, being furnished by him with a letter of introduction to St. Jerome. Disagreements arose between the recluse of Bethlehem and his visitor. Vigilantius accused Jerome of Origenism,[1] and although he retracted the charge before leaving Bethlehem, he again asserted it in his own country.[m]

A.D. 396.

Some time after his return to the West, Vigilantius began to vent peculiar opinions. He assailed the prevailing excess of reverence for departed saints; he maintained that their souls, which existed "in Abraham's bosom, or in the place of rest, or under God's altar," could not be present at their tombs; he denied the possibility of their intercession after death, and the miracles which were asserted to be wrought at their graves. He said that miracles were beneficial to unbelievers—meaning, probably, that as the power of working them had been given for the conviction of Jews and heathens, the time in which they might be expected was past.[n] He attacked the veneration of relics as idolatrous, and the lighting of candles at the tombs of saints in the day time as a pagan superstition. He wished that all vigils except that of Easter should be abolished, and spoke of them as giving occasion for debauchery. He denied the usefulness of fasting, continence, and monasticism; he said that the profession of chastity was a source of corruption. He maintained that it was better to retain property, and to bestow of it by degrees for pious and charitable purposes, than at once to relinquish the whole; and that it was better to seek for objects of charity at home than to send money to Jerusalem.[o]

In justice to Vigilantius, it ought to be remembered that our only knowledge of his opinions comes from a very violent and unscrupulous adversary. They would seem to have been produced by a reaction from the system in which he had been for a time engaged—the system exemplified in his patron Sulpicius, in Paulinus, and in Jerome. It is a circumstance greatly in his favour, that, to the vexation of his opponents, his own bishop countenanced him, and that he found other supporters in the

[1] See the next chapter.

[m] Hieron. Ep. lxi.

[n] Walch, iii. 697-8; Schröckh, ix. 267; Neander, iii. 481. The Oxford annotator on Fleury (ii. 125) says that Vigilantius did not deny the fact of the miracles wrought at the tombs of martyrs, but only complained of the objects to which they were directed. St. Jerome (adv. Vigil. 10) seems to me clearly to intimate the contrary.

[o] Baron. 406. 51; Tillem. xii. 266-7; Walch, iii. 693.

episcopal order;[p] and, although we may hesitate to acquit him of error, there can be little doubt that it is an abuse of language to brand him with the title of heretic.

Jerome, whose old animosity was revived by the publication of Vigilantius' doctrines, attacked him with the most furious abuse. He reproached him with having been a tapster, and told him that he now practised the same tricks on Holy Scripture as formerly on the wine which he dispensed and on the money which he gave in change.[q] Jerome's arguments are not very happy. He partly denies the existence of the superstitions which Vigilantius had censured—or, at least, that they existed as anything more than popular usages, unsanctioned by the Church; and, by way of overwhelming his opponent, he asks how he can presume to question practices which had been countenanced by emperors and bishops.[r] A.D. 404-6.

Nothing is known of the later history of Vigilantius. His doctrines—urged probably with a blameable vehemence and confidence—were so much opposed to the current of the time, that they did not require a council to condemn them; and they were soon obliterated by the Vandal invasion, to which it has been conjectured that their author himself may have fallen a victim.[s]

NOTE ON MIRACLES.

A writer of Church History is perhaps bound to notice the question as to the alleged miracles of the ages which followed that of the Apostles. In the preceding chapters, I have sometimes, with more or less of diffidence, given an opinion on individual miracles which have been mentioned. Sometimes—and more especially where it seemed unnecessary to express my disbelief—I have related them without any comment. But I feel myself so little qualified for discussing the general subject that I have not ventured to introduce it into the text.

Among late writers on the ecclesiastical miracles may be named Dr. Newman, who has at different times maintained both sides of the question—the negative, in an essay contributed to the 'Encyclopædia Metropolitana,'

[p] Hieron. Ep. cix. 2; Bayle, note C; Schröckh, ix. 268; Theiner, i. 227-230.

[q] Adv. Vigil. 1 (t. ii. 340); Epp. lxi. cix. If the reader should suppose this style of controversy impossible amidst the courtesies of modern literature, he may be undeceived by referring to the Edinburgh Review, xcv. 72 (January, 1852).

[r] Adv. Vigil. 5; Schröckh, ix. 271.

[s] Baron. 406. 51-2; Gilly, 472-9. Dr. Gilly supposes the opinions of Vigilantius to have been the seed of those which are found among the Waldenses, &c., at a later time.

(about 1830), and the positive, in a dissertation prefixed to the Oxford translation of Fleury (1842); Mr. Isaac Taylor, in the 7th part of his book entitled 'Ancient Christianity' (1841); Mr. Henry Rogers, in an article which appeared in the 'Edinburgh Review' for October, 1844, and has since been reprinted in the second volume of his Essays; and the late learned Bishop Kaye, who, in the third edition of his work on Tertullian, made some remarks on Dr. Newman's *later* essay.[t]

The argument of that essay is affected by the peculiar position which the author held at the time when it was composed—as a member of the English Church, but far advanced towards the Romanism which he professed three years afterwards. And perhaps he has nowhere more strongly displayed his extraordinary ingenuity—a quality which, when carried to excess, may even hinder the efficiency of a controversialist, by suggesting the suspicion that the writer who displays such fertility of resource on one side of a question, might possibly be able to argue still better in the opposite interest.

With the exception of the section on Julian's attempt to rebuild the temple,[u] Dr. Newman's defence of particular miracles appears to me less plausible than his general argument. That argument is conducted on the principle, which the writer has elsewhere described, as a "kill or cure remedy"[x]—meeting the objections to ecclesiastical things by endeavouring to show that Scripture is liable to similar objections. This very dangerous system is here carried out by labouring to establish an undistinguishable confusion between Scripture and legend.[y]

On the subject of miracles, there is a remarkable inconsistency in the statements of writers belonging to the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries. St. Chrysostom speaks of it as a notorious and long-settled fact that miracles had ceased.[z] Yet at that very time, St. Martin, St. Ambrose, and the monks of Egypt and the East are said to have been in full thaumaturgical activity; and Sozomen (viii. 5.) tells a story of a change of the eucharistic bread into a stone as having happened at Constantinople, while Chrysostom himself was bishop. So again, St. Augustine says that miracles such as those of Scripture were no longer done, yet he immediately goes on to reckon up a number of miracles which had lately taken place, apparently without exciting much sensation, and among them *seventy* formally attested cures, wrought at Hippo alone, within two years, by the relics of St. Stephen.[a] On the whole, while I would not deny that miracles may have been wrought after the times of the Apostles and their associates, I can find very little satisfaction in the particular instances which are given. Among the most obvious objections are the following:—

That the miracles of the third and fourth centuries are different in character from those of the first; and that the difference does not consist in a less display of the wonderful, but in a lowering of tone. (This Dr. Newman

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[t] I may also refer to Prof. Löbell's observations on the miracles of the *sixth* century (Gregor von Tours, 290-300).

[u] Since this was written I have found that Mr. Rogers (ii. 215) is inclined to make the same exception from his general disbelief of the ecclesiastical miracles.

[x] Tracts for the Times, No. lxxxv. p. 3.

[y] See Rogers, ii. 206.

[z] Newman, in Fleury, xxxix.

[a] De Civit. Dei, XXII. viii. 1, 20. See Newman in Encyc. Metrop.; Church Hist. i. 393 (12mo. ed.); and in Fleury, xxxiv.-ix.; Milman, iii. 252-3; Rogers, ii. 210.

allows; but he answers, that, as in nature some animals are noble and beautiful, while others are ridiculous, hideous, or disgusting, so a like diversity may be expected in God's *extraordinary* works![b]

That, unlike the miracles of Scripture, they are done *prodigally*, and that we cannot see a sufficient object for them, as we can, more or less clearly, for the Scriptural miracles.

That, in proportion as they are further from the apostolic age, they are not (as might have been expected of true miracles) the less common, but the more so.

That, whereas Scripture miracles were intended to lead to purification and enlightenment of belief, those of the fourth century are alleged in favour of manifest superstitions and corruptions, which were then growing on the Church.[c]

That much must in reason be deducted from the stories, on the ground of credulity, exaggeration, and even of loose principles of veracity, which we know to have been sanctioned under the name of "economy," by the fathers of the age.[d]

That similar stories are found among heathens, Jews, and the enthusiasts of later times.[e]

The late accounts of magnetic phenomena appear to be also an important element in the matter. Many of the ecclesiastical miracles find parallels in the stories of electro-biology, clairvoyance, and mesmeric cures. If these cases are truly reported, and are referred to the true causes, they suggest an agency by which many of the ecclesiastical miracles *may* have been effected. If the reporters are mistaken—and in many of them there can be no suspicion of *wilful* untruth—their stories have a bearing on the value of the testimony for the ecclesiastical miracles. When, for example, we find an experienced man of science publishing such narratives as those contained in Dr. William Gregory's "Letters on Animal Magnetism"—if the Edinburgh professor of our own time has been deceived, what amount of erroneous testimony might we not expect from the unscientific, zealous, and uncritical writers of the fourth and fifth centuries?

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[b] Essay in Fleury, xlvii. seqq.

[c] Schröckh, vi. 300, viii. 296.

[d] See above, p. 253, [y]; Hey's Lectures, I. xii. 15-6; Gieseler, I. ii. 307; Rogers, ii. 210. Sulp. Severus says that St. Martin's miracles were more known and believed in distant countries than in his own. (Dial. i. 18.)

[e] Newman, in Encyc. Metrop. 369.

CHAPTER VII.

Arcadius and Honorius.—Origenistic Controversy.—St. John Chrysostom.

I.

Theodosius left two sons,—Arcadius, aged eighteen, and Honorius, who was only eleven years of age; the elder succeeded to the sovereignty of the East, the younger to that of the West, and after this division the Empire was never again united.[a] The reigns of these imbecile princes were full of calamity. Themselves incapable of governing, each of them was subject to a succession of too powerful ministers and generals. Of these, Stilicho alone, the general of Honorius, possessed the qualities which were requisite for the support of the Empire. In 403, he defeated Alaric the Goth, at Pollentia, in Liguria; but five years later, at the very time when his abilities were most urgently needed to meet a renewal of the Gothic invasion, he fell a victim to the arts of a rival, Olympius.[b] Rome was thrice besieged by the Goths. The first siege was raised by the payment of a large ransom; the second ended in Alaric's setting up a puppet, Attalus, as emperor; in the third, the city was taken and sacked.[c] Throughout this period we read of revolts in various provinces, of insurrections of the Barbarians who had been admitted within the Roman territory, and of invasions by fresh hordes from the countries beyond. These invasions fell more heavily on the western division of the Empire. In 404, Honorius, finding himself exposed to the Goths at Milan, removed to Ravenna, which for the next three centuries continued, throughout all the changes of government, to be regarded as the capital of Italy.[d]

Arcadius, A.D. 395-423; Honorius, A.D. 395-408.

A.D. 408-410.

In 408, Arcadius was succeeded by his son Theodosius II., a child seven years of age. The young prince was at first under the guardianship of Anthemius, and, from 414, under that of his

[a] Gibbon, iii. 30.
[b] Gibbon, iii. 63, 91-2.
[c] Gibbon, iii. 120-132.
[d] Gibbon, iii. 72; Schröckh, vii. 24.

sister Pulcheria, who, for nearly forty years, held the virtual sovereignty of the East.[e] Honorius reigned till 423.[f]

The weakness of the government, the irruptions of the Barbarians, and the changes in the administration, prevented the adoption of any sustained and uniform policy for the suppression of paganism.[g] Both in the East and in the West laws were repeatedly issued for the abolition of sacrifices, and for the confiscation of such allowances and endowments as had hitherto been left to the Pagan priesthood. But the necessity of frequent re-enactment shows, no less than the occasional relaxations of these laws, that they were very imperfectly executed. It is a significant circumstance that heavy penalties are often threatened against magistrates who should neglect to enforce them,—as if the government knew that in such a cause it could not expect any willing service from many of its local officers.[h] In 408, under the administration of Olympius, Honorius published a law, by which all but the professors of orthodox Christianity were excluded from public employment. But it is said that Generid, one of the barbarian chiefs on whose arms the degenerate Romans then depended, indignantly cast away the ensigns of his command, refused any exemption which should not extend to other heathens, and terrified the emperor into a hasty repeal of the enactment.[i] In the East, however, similar laws were passed by Theodosius in 410 and 439.[k]

Towards the end of the fourth century a tale was current among the Pagans that St. Peter had, by magical arts, discovered that Christianity was to last for 365 years, and then to perish.[l] The period was completed in 398,[m] and the hopes of the pagan party had risen high, but they were disappointed. Other disappointments followed. The barbarian leader, Radagaisus, who, as being himself a heathen, had engaged their sympathies, was overthrown by Stilicho. When Alaric first laid siege to Rome, the pagan party in the Senate ascribed the A.D. 406.

[e] Soz. ix. 1; Tillem. Emp. v. 467; Gibbon, iii. 204.

[f] Gibbon, iii. 204.

[g] Schröckh, vii. 227; Neander, iii. 111-2.

[h] Schröckh, vii. 227-8; Gieseler, I. ii. 34; Beugnot, ii. 18, 52.

[i] The story rests on the suspicious authority of Zosimus, but is generally admitted. Gibbon, iii. 97; Schröckh, vii. 232-3; Gieseler, I. ii. 34; Milman, iii. 180; Neander, iii. 115.

[k] Schröckh, vii. 233.

[l] Gieseler refers this to a misunderstanding of Christian ideas as to the second advent, and the "acceptable *year* of the Lord." (I. ii. 37.)

[m] Tillem. Emp. v. 511; Neander, iii. 114; Beugnot, ii. 9. Pagi (in Baron. vi. 263) and Schröckh (vii. 240) make the period 369 years, but, by reckoning from an earlier date, bring the end to the same year.

calamities of the empire to the neglect of the rites by which their fathers had obtained the favour of the gods, and had raised their country to its height of glory. It is said that some Tuscan soothsayers, who professed to have saved Narni from the invader by drawing down lightnings for his discomfiture, undertook to deliver Rome in the same manner through the use of incantations and sacrifices. Even the bishop, Innocent, is stated by a heathen writer to have consented to the experiment, provided that it were made in secresy. The Tuscans insisted, as an essential condition, that the rites should be performed with all form and publicity, in the name of the state and with the attendance of the senate; but the senators refused to give this kind of sanction to idolatry, and the soothsayers were dismissed.[n] This tale has probably no other foundation than that the pagans wished to take advantage of the public danger in order to attempt a restoration of their religion. Attalus, although baptised into Arianism, courted them by re-establishing the ancient rites; but their joy was soon checked by his deposition.[o]

The barbarian irruptions were, in truth, greatly injurious to paganism. There was no instance of barbarians embracing the old religion of Greece or Rome; they either adhered to the superstitions of their own ancestors, or adopted some form of Christianity.[p] Alaric and his Goths, who were Arians, directed their wrath against heathen temples even more zealously than the Christians of the Empire. It is from Alaric's invasion of Greece that the suppression of the Eleusinian mysteries is dated.[q] In the capture of Rome, temples were attacked while churches were reverenced; and some, at least, of the Gothic soldiers manifested in their behaviour towards the defenceless some influence of the religion which they professed.[r] The Christians saw the vengeance of God in the calamities which fell on Rome; they had a story that Alaric, while on his march, was entreated by a holy monk to spare the city, and answered that he did not go of his own will; but that One was continually urging him forward to take it.[s] The pagans, on their side, referred all the miseries of the time to Christianity. St. Augustine combated the idea in many sermons, and, in refutation of it, he undertook

A.D. 396.

[n] This version of the story comes from Zosimus. Sozomen (ix. 6) intimates that the rites were performed, and failed. See Mosheim, i. 419; Gibbon, iii. 122; Schröckh, vii. 242-3; Gieseler, I. ii. 36; Beugnot, ii. 55-7; Milman, iii. 181.

[o] Schröckh, vii. 243; Beugnot, ii. 61-3.

[p] Gieseler, I. ii. 38; Beugnot, ii. 143.

[q] Gibbon, iii. 57.

[r] Soz. ix. 10; Baron. 410. 33; Tillem. Emp. v. 593-7; Gibbon, iii. 133-4; Neander, iii. 183.

[s] Soc. vii. 10; Soz. ix. 6.

his great work "Of the City of God," written between the years 412 and 426.[t]

Paganism yet lingered long. In the East, Theodosius, in a law of A.D. 423, affects to question whether it still had any adherents, but the doubt is refuted by clear evidence of facts.[u] But the chief strength of the old religion lay in the West. In many places its spirit was still so powerful that Christians who attempted to execute the laws against temples and idols were killed by the excited heathens.[x] In many places where the religion of the Gospel was professed, the old tutelary gods still held their position;[y] and besides the great infusion of pagan spirit into the Christianity of the time, many purely heathen ideas and usages were still retained among Christians.[z] The conformity of proselytes was often merely outward. The old religion was not matter of conviction in such sort that its adherents were generally disposed either to suffer for its sake, or to forego the advantages which were connected with a profession of the new. Many, therefore, submitted to be baptised, and afterwards, when occasion served, again declared themselves pagans; hence arose the necessity of those frequent enactments against apostasy, which would appear unaccountable if the apostates had ever been really Christians.[a]

Africa was a chief stronghold of paganism, and the distractions of the Donatistic schism[b] told in its favour. St. Augustine advised a gentle mode of dealing with the worshippers of idols as most likely to be effectual. "First," he says, "we endeavour to break the idols in their hearts. When they themselves become Christians, they will either invite us to the good work of destroying their idols, or they will anticipate us in it. Meanwhile we must pray for them, not be angry with them."[c] He complains that Christians took part in heathen ceremonies and rejoicings. A council held at Carthage, in 399, solicited the emperor to suppress the banquets which were a great means of

[t] Baron. 410. 43; Tillem. xiii. 493; Beugnot, ii. 86. Orosius followed on the Christian side. Schröckh, vii. 320, seqq.

[u] Gibbon, iii. 22; Schröckh, vii. 233; Neander, iii. 117; Gieseler, I. ii. 33; M. Beugnot (ii. 195) supposes that only a fourth part of the inhabitants of Constantinople were Christians. But his calculation seems extremely loose.

[x] Aug. Ep. xlix; Baron. 399. 72; 400. 4; 401. 53, &c.; Gieseler, I. ii. 35; Beugnot. ii. 145; Neander, iii. 114.

[y] Beugnot, ii. 148, seqq.; Neander, iii. 112.

[z] Beugnot, ii. 103; Gieseler, I. ii. 40-1.

[a] Schröckh, vii. 236; Beugnot, ii. 69, 98-100; Neander, iii. 117-8; Gieseler, I. ii. 31-2. There were *eight* laws against apostasy between 321 and 426.

[b] See the next chapter. Beugnot, ii, 155-6.

[c] Serm. lxii. 11 (t. v. 423). Comp. Beugnot, ii. 7.

keeping up the old religion; the request was refused; but nine years later a law to the desired effect was issued.[d]

The old Roman aristocracy, which had clung to the religion of its forefathers more from pride than from conviction, was scattered by the taking of Rome. Many of its members emigrated to their possessions in Africa, Egypt, or elsewhere, and the pagan interest suffered in consequence.[e] But in the rural parts of Italy—notwithstanding a law of A.D. 399, by which landlords were ordered *quietly* to destroy temples on their estates—the ancient worship subsisted until at a later time it was followed into its retreats, and extirpated by the labour of the monks.[f]

Such of the temples as were not ornamental in their architecture were demolished. It was ordered that those in cities should be applied to public uses; many were shut up, and remained vacant until the Christians took possession of them, and converted them into churches.[g]

The abolition of the gladiatorial shows at Rome is referred to the reign of Honorius. When the emperor, after the victory of Pollentia, was celebrating a triumph with games of this kind, Telemachus, an Oriental monk, who had made a journey to Rome for the purpose of protesting against them, leaped into the arena, and attempted to separate the combatants. The spectators, enraged at this interference with their amusement, stoned him to death. The emperor acknowledged that such a death deserved the honours of martyrdom, and, with the willing acquiescence of his people, whose fury had soon given way to repentance, he abolished the inhuman spectacles.[h]

II.

The disputes as to the opinions of Origen, which had begun during his lifetime, continued after his death. The martyr Pamphilus, in conjunction with Eusebius of Cæsarea, wrote a defence

[d] Tillem. Emp. v. 513-7; Pagi in Baron. vi. 310; Schröckh, vii. 229; Neander, iii. 112; Gieseler, I. ii. 35; Beugnot, ii. 51, 162.

[e] Tillem. Emp. v. 597; Gibbon, iii. 138; Beugnot, ii. 112; Milman, iii. 181.

[f] Neander, iii. 113; Milman, iii. 183.

[g] Schröckh, vii. 228-9; Beugnot, ii. 139-141; Milman, iii. 182.

[h] Theodoret, v. 26. The story of Telemachus has been questioned. Gibbon expresses a "wish to believe" it (iii. 70). Beugnot allows its truth, but says that the gladiatorial shows continued until the Roman manners were superseded by the Gothic (ii. 24-5). Dean Milman, in answer to some remarks of Müller (De Genio, etc. Ævi Theodosiani), observes that "Müller has produced no evidence or allusion to gladiatorial shows after this period. The combats with wild beasts certainly lasted till the fall of the Western Empire; but the gladiatorial combats ceased, either by common consent, or by imperial edict." N. on Gibbon, iii. 71.

of him.[i] In the great controversy of the fourth century, his name was frequently mentioned. The Arians wished to claim his authority, and some of their extreme opponents, such as Marcellus of Ancyra, styled him the father of Arianism; but his orthodoxy was maintained by St. Athanasius.[k] So long as Arianism and its varieties engrossed all attention, the opinions of Origen on other subjects did not come into question. His writings exercised an important influence among the teachers of the Eastern Church; but, although these were in general content to draw instruction from him, without regarding him as faultless, there were two extreme parties—the one of which rejected him as a heretic while the other was unreservedly devoted to him.[l] Pachomius warned his monks against Origen as the most dangerous of seducers, whose doctrines would conduct the reader to perdition; but the monks of Nitria found in his works provision for their mystic and spiritualising turn of mind.[m]

In the west Origen was only known by name, but the general impression was unfriendly to him.[n] Jerome attempted to introduce him more favourably, by translating some parts of his writings and embodying them in commentaries on the Scriptures. In a letter written during his residence at Rome, he speaks of the "indefatigable"[o] Alexandrian with enthusiastic praise; he says that he had been condemned at Rome, "not for the novelty of his doctrines, not for heresy, as mad dogs now pretend against him, but because his enemies were unable to endure the glory of his eloquence and learning."[p] After his final retirement to Bethlehem, Jerome renewed an acquaintance of earlier days with Ruffinus, a native of the diocese of Aquileia. Ruffinus had lived six years in Egypt, where he visited the monks, studied under Didymus, and (according to his own statement) suffered in the persecution of Valens. He had now settled on the Mount of Olives in company with Melania, a noble and pious Roman widow, and had been ordained presbyter by John, bishop of Jerusalem.[q] Jerome became very intimate with him; he praised him, in

[i] Walch, vii. 412-424; Schröckh, x. 100.

[k] Walch, vii. 429; Schröckh, x. 103; Neander, iv. 447-8. See above, pp. 103-4.

[l] Schröckh, x. 102; Neander, iv. 449.

[m] Walch, vii. 438; Schröckh, x. 108; Neander, iv. 449.

[n] Aug. inter Epp. Hieron. lxvii. 9; Tillem. xii. 110; Schröckh, xii. 42; Neander, iv. 447-8, 457.

[o] "Adamantius."

[p] Ep. xxxiii.

[q] Tillem. xii. 32, 42, 107; Schröckh, x. 111. The lamentations of Baronius (393. 25-6), that a lady of Melania's eminence—who had buried her husband and two sons "siccis penitus oculis"—(see Hieron. Ep. xxxix. 4) should fall under the influence of an Origenist, are curious.

terms which are even extravagant;[r] and the friends agreed in admiration of Origen.[s]

In the year 393 a pilgrim from the West, named Aterbius, arrived at Jerusalem. Having been accustomed to hear the name of Origen connected with disrepute, he was astonished at finding it there held in high honour. In a frantic manner, according to Jerome, he charged Ruffinus with Origenism, and, knowing the friendship which existed between the two, he included Jerome in the accusation.[t] Jerome, keenly sensitive as to his reputation for orthodoxy,[u] disavowed the imputation with great eagerness, saying that he had read Origen only in the same way as he had read the works of heretics. Ruffinus refused to have any communication with his accuser, and did not go out of his own house until Aterbius had left Jerusalem.[x]

A.D. 394. Soon after this affair, Jerusalem was visited by Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia (formerly Salamis), and metropolitan of Cyprus. Epiphanius had been educated as a monk, and was then more than eighty years of age.[y] He was a man of vast reading, and enjoyed an extraordinary popular fame for sanctity, so that miracles and prophecies were ascribed to him;[z] but both his conduct and his remaining works prove him to have been injudicious, weak, narrow-minded, and obstinate.[a] In his work on Heresies, he had spoken very strongly against Origen, whom his character and his education alike unfitted him to appreciate.[b]

Epiphanius, on his arrival at Jerusalem, accepted the hospitality of John, and behaved with courtesy to Ruffinus. The Origenistic question had not been mentioned between him and his host, when Epiphanius, in preaching at the church of the Resurrection, broke out into a violent invective against Origenists, which was evidently

[r] See Ep. iv. 2 (which, however, is of earlier date).

[s] Tillem. xii. 161-2; Schröckh, xii. 109-110.

[t] Walch, vii. 475.

[u] Walch, vii. 501.

[x] Tillem. xii. 161-2; Schröckh, x. 135-6; xii. 109-110; Neander, iv. 457.

[y] His birth is placed about 310 by Tillemont (x. 487); between 310 and 320 by Schröckh (x. 4); but Dupin places it as late as 332 (iii. 295).

[z] Schröckh, x. 8-12.

[a] It is but justice to mention a story which shows that St. Epiphanius was not a slave to the monastic peculiarities. Hilarion, a short time before his death, was on a visit to the bishop. Some fowls were served up at table, and Epiphanius asked his guest to partake of them. Hilarion excused himself, saying that, since he put on the habit of a monk, he had never eaten of any animal. "And I," said Epiphanius, "since I put on the same habit, have never allowed that any one should lie down to sleep with a grievance against me on his mind, even as I have never gone to rest at variance with any one." "Father," replied the monk, "your rule is more excellent than mine." (Tillem. x. 498.)

[b] Tillem. x. 519; Schröckh, x. 105. Neander, iv. 450.

intended to reflect on the bishop.[c] Jerome reproaches John with having indecently expressed his impatience by looks and gestures, and states that he sent his archdeacon to beg that the preacher would not pursue the subject. The two bishops then proceeded to the church of the Cross, where another service was to be held. It was difficult to make way through the multitudes who crowded around Epiphanius, kissing his feet, touching the hem of his garment, and holding out children to receive his blessing. These displays of reverence, it is said, excited the envy of John. He preached in the church against Anthropomorphism, apparently with an intention of charging Epiphanius with that error, which was not uncommon among the extreme opponents of Origen. The old man, when it came to his turn to speak, declared that he approved all which had been said by John; that he condemned Anthropomorphism; and in return he required that John should anathematize Origenism.[d] The dispute thus commenced became more and more vehement. Epiphanius, in high displeasure on account of a sermon which John had preached, left Jerusalem and repaired to Bethlehem. He afterwards wrote to Jerome's monks, charging them to break off communion with their bishop; and, when in the diocese of Eleutheropolis, he forcibly ordained Paulinian, brother of Jerome, deacon and presbyter, for the purpose of ministering to the monks of Bethlehem.[e] John protested against this invasion of his episcopal rights, and a fierce controversy followed, involving questions of doctrine, discipline, and personal conduct. The errors attributed to Origen were classed under eight heads. He was charged with heretical views on the relations of the Divine Persons; with strange and unsound opinions as to the pre-existence of souls, the salvation of the devil, the resurrection of the dead, the condition of man before and after the fall; and with singular allegorical misinterpretations of Scripture—even to the denial of its literal truth.[f] Jerome attacked Ruffinus and John with all his acrimony. He complained that John did not fairly meet him; that he only attempted to answer three out of the eight charges, and that, instead of discussing the question of doctrine, he dwelt on the irregularity of Paulinian's ordination.[g]

[c] Tillem. xii. 164; Schröckh, x. 136-8; Neander, iv. 458.

[d] Tillem. xii. 165; Schröckh, x. 136-8.

[e] Hieron. Epp. li. lxxxii. (The former is a translation of a letter from Epiphanius to John.) Baron. 393. 19; Tillem. xii. 165, 169, 170; Fleury, xix. 43; Schröckh, xii. 139-141. Paulinian's mouth was stopped at each ordination, lest he should adjure the bishop in the name of Christ to desist. See above, p. 289.

[f] Epiph. in Hieron. Ep. li. 4-5; Baron. 393-9; Gieseler, I. ii. 94.

[g] Ep. lxxxii.

Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, interposed as a mediator, and by his means Jerome and Ruffinus were brought to a formal reconciliation at the altar, in 397.[h]

The quarrel, however, was soon revived. Ruffinus removed to Rome, where a friend, who was engaged on a work against astrology, inquired of him what were Origen's opinions on that subject—being himself unacquainted with Greek.[i] On this Ruffinus translated the Apology of Pamphilus, and Origen's own treatise *De Principiis* (Περὶ Ἀρχῶν), the most questionable and suspected of all his writings. This translation —by which alone the book is now known—was made on an extraordinary principle. As Origen had himself complained that his works were falsified, Ruffinus assumed that all the suspicious passages were the interpolations of heretics, and altered them so that they might accord with his own views of orthodoxy, and with other passages of the author's writings. Against the correctness of the presumption as to falsification, it is observed that Pamphilus and Eusebius had not used any such plea in their defence of Origen.[k] Nor was it justifiable by such means to reduce Origen to consistency with himself, inasmuch as he not only may have varied in opinion during his long life, but is known to have held that the difference between exoteric and esoteric teaching warranted a difference of statement. After having subjected the text to his violent editorial process, Ruffinus rather strangely adjured readers and copyists, in the most solemn manner, in the name of God and by the remembrance of the resurrection, to make no omission, addition, or change of any kind in the reformed *De Principiis*.[l]

A.D. 398.

Jerome, whose old fondness for Origen had been invidiously mentioned by Ruffinus in his preface, was urged to exhibit the Alexandrian in his true character by means of a more faithful translation. He complied,[m] and in a letter to Pammachius and Oceanus, who had suggested the task, he earnestly disclaimed the suspicion of Origenism. "I praised," (he says) "the interpreter, not the dogmatic teacher; his genius, not his faith; the philosopher, not the apostle . . . If you believe me, I never was an Origenist; if you do not believe me, I have now ceased to be

[h] Tillem. xii. 172-200; Schröckh, x. 142, 150-7; Neander, iv. 459; Gieseler, I. ii. 95.

[i] Baron. 397. 2; Tillem. xii. 205; Schröckh, x. 160; Neander, iv. 460.

[k] Hieron. Ep. lxxxiv. 10-1; Schröckh thinks, however, that Jerome may have gone too far in denying any interpolation (x. 163-4).

[l] Præfat. ap. Hieron. Ep. lxxx.; Baron. 397. 21, seqq.; Tillem. xii. 210; Schröckh, x. 162-3, 169-170.

[m] Epp. lxxxiii-v., cxxiv.

one."[n] The question now was, not whether certain opinions were sound, but whether Origen had held them, and whether his admirers continued to hold them, notwithstanding all protestations to the contrary.[o] Jerome, by his correspondence with the West, and through the influence of the pious ladies who were under his sway, made the position of Ruffinus at Rome intolerable, although Siricius and the Italian bishops generally were satisfied with his explanations. He retired to Aquileia, bearing with him a letter of recommendation from Siricius, who died shortly after (Nov. 26, 398).[p] The next bishop of Rome, Anastasius, was solicited by Theophilus of Alexandria, and at home by Jerome's friend Marcella[q] and her party, to take up the subject. He summoned Ruffinus to Rome; and, on his alleging that family reasons detained him at Aquileia, condemned Origen and excommunicated his translator—declaring that until the translations appeared, he had neither known who Origen was nor what he had written. He also speaks of an imperial order against reading the Alexandrian's works.[r] Jerome and Ruffinus grew exceedingly angry. Their old familiarity was remembered only as affording the means of reproaching each other with the sayings and the actions of former days.[s] Augustine was so distressed by witnessing such a dispute between men of advanced age and of reputation for learning and piety—ancient friends, too, and fellow-students of Scripture,—that, in writing to Jerome himself, and on the supposition that *his* representations were correct, he could only express his sorrow at the unseemly spectacle.[t] Jerome in one of his tracts assumes a tone of seeming moderation and gentleness. He entreats Ruffinus to let the matter drop; A.D. 401. if (he says) they had erred in youth, they should be wiser in age, and should rejoice in each other's improvement; but, with an inconsistency not unusual in controversialists who advise moderation, he insists that the difference shall be ended on his own terms —by his opponent's joining in abjuration of Origen.[u]

Ruffinus appears to have been at length weary of the contest, and ceased to write. He was driven from Aquileia by the troubles

[n] Ep. lxxxiv. 2-3.
[o] Schröckh, x. 193.
[p] Hieron. Ep. cxxvii. 9-10; Baron. 397. 28-33; Pagi in Baron. vi. 236; Tillem. xii. 215-7; Schröckh, x. 171-3, 178. Baronius is troubled by the Pope's favour for the Origenist.
[q] Hieron. Ep. cxxvii. 10.
[r] Baron. 402. 27; Tillem. xii. 240; Schröckh, viii. 129; x. 176-8; Gieseler, ii. 95.
[s] Tillem. xii. 243-4; Schröckh, x. 174, 181, seqq.
[t] Aug. inter Epp. Hieron. cx. 6-8; Tillem. xii. 255; Schröckh, x. 192.
[u] Adv. Ruf. iii. 9; Schröckh, x. 189.

of Italy, and once more set out with Melania for the Holy Land. But he died by the way in Sicily—having seen along the opposite coast the fires of the devastation by Alaric's army.[x] Jerome after his death spoke of him by the name of *Grunnius* (Grunter);[y] and in his Preface to Ezekiel he thus alludes to the event: "The Scorpion is buried under the soil of Sicily, with Enceladus and Porphyrion; the many-headed hydra has ceased to hiss against us."[z]

A.D. 410.

III.

In another quarter the Origenistic controversy involved the fate of one of the most eminent men who adorned the ancient Church.

John, who for his eloquence has received the name of Chrysostom or *Golden-mouthed*,[a] was born at Antioch about the year 347. While very young he lost his father, a military officer of rank, and was left to the care of a pious and truly admirable mother, Anthusa.[b] He became a pupil of Libanius, but was preserved, by an unintermitted study of the Scriptures, from the dangers to which the faith of Christian youths was exposed in the schools of the pagan rhetoricians.[c] His master was so impressed by his talents, that on being asked, many years after, to name a successor for his chair, he answered that John was the worthiest, if the Christians had not stolen him.[d] At the age of twenty Chrysostom began to practise at the bar; but his conscience took offence at the arts which were common among the advocates of Antioch, and he resolved to devote himself to a religious life. Anthusa's pathetic exhortations restrained him from rushing into monastic retirement;[e] he was baptised by Meletius, was ordained reader, and for a time continued to reside with his mother, in the practice of a strict asceticism. On her death, he withdrew to the mountains near Antioch, which were then peopled by solitaries.[f] Here he spent four years in a monastery, and two as

A.D. 367-370.

[x] Pagi in Baron. vi. 596; Schröckh, x. 114-5.
[y] Schröckh, x. 191.
[z] Hieron. t. v. 16-7.
[a] Apparently not until after his death. (Tillem. xi. 37; Gieseler, I. ii. 86.) But it is convenient to follow the usual practice of giving him the name by anticipation.
[b] Tillem. xi. 4; Schröckh, x. 245.
[c] Neander, 'Chrysostomus,' i. 16.
[d] Soc. vi. 2; Soz. viii. 2.
[e] Chrys. de Sacerdotio, 1; Villemain, Éloquence Chrétienne, 156-7; Milman, iii. 207-8.
[f] Tillem. xi. 4-7, 17; Schröckh, viii. 263; Neander, Chrys. i. 25.

a hermit in a cave. Sickness, brought on by his austerities, compelled him to return to the city, where he was ordained deacon in 381, and presbyter in 386.[g] While a deacon he wrote his celebrated Dialogue "On the Priesthood," which, notwithstanding all the difference of circumstances, still retains a high value and popularity as a manual of pastoral duty.[h] Flavian appointed him chief preacher of Antioch, and in this capacity his eloquence excited immense admiration.[i] His fertility in the composition of sermons was astonishing. Among his extant works are expository discourses on the greater part of the New Testament, and on some books of the Old. In these he adheres to the literal sense of Scripture, and never loses sight of a practical application. He is distinguished by good sense, and by a knowledge of the heart, learnt rather from his own inward experience than through intercourse with others.[k] His diction is clear and flowing, his illustrations are copious, varied, and apposite. Sometimes his sermons were carefully prepared; at other times they were altogether extemporal; sometimes he combined the two methods,—departing from his intended plan so as to take advantage, with admirable skill and readiness of any topic which the moment suggested.[l] Among the most celebrated of his homilies are those "On the Statues," delivered on the occasion of the sedition in which the statues of Theodosius and his family were thrown down at Antioch.[m] While the inhabitants were in trembling expectation of some fearful punishment, and while the aged Flavian was absent on a mission of intercession to the emperor, Chrysostom daily preached in a tone of solemn and awakening eloquence. The pulpit triumphed over the theatres and the circus, to which the people of Antioch were usually devoted; and the preacher endeavoured to make the terror and excitement of the time become the foundation of a lasting reformation.[n] A.D. 387.

When Chrysostom had been nearly twelve years preacher at Antioch, the see of Constantinople fell vacant by the death of Nectarius, in September, 397.[o] The possession of so eminent a

[g] Tillem. xi. 14, 20, 29, 32; Schröckh, x. 287, 293.

[h] Schröckh, x. 315.

[i] Neander, iv. 467; Tillemont (xi. 34) understands Chrysostom to say that he sometimes had 100,000 hearers at once. But, as Schröckh (x. 318) points out, the meaning is that such was the number of Christians in Antioch who at one time or other heard him.

[k] Schröckh, x. 316-8; Neander, Chrys. i. 27, 35, 49.

[l] Neander, Chrys. i. 112.

[m] See p. 254.

[n] Baron. 388. 4, seqq.; Tillem. xi. 62, seqq.; Fleury, xix. 2; Schröckh, x. 375-6; Neander, Chrys, i. 114; Villemain, Éloq. Chrét. 164.

[o] Tillem. xi. 108.

dignity excited much ambition. Candidates resorted to unworthy intrigues and solicitations; party spirit ran high; and at length the emperor was requested to put an end to the confusion by nominating a bishop.[p] Chrysostom was chosen, through the influence of the eunuch Eutropius, who, on a late journey in Syria, had been greatly struck by his eloquence. Perhaps the minister may have reckoned on benefiting his own reputation by so laudable an exercise of his patronage; perhaps, too, he may have hoped to secure the bishop's subservience by establishing a hold on his gratitude.[q] As there was reason to apprehend that the people of Antioch might break out into tumult if their preacher were openly taken away from them, Chrysostom was decoyed by the governor to a place without the city, and thence was privately sent off to Constantinople.[r]

In order that his appointment might have all the advantage of solemnity, a council was summoned for the consecration. Theophilus, of Alexandria, was required to officiate. He hesitated—from jealousy of the precedence lately assigned to Constantinople over his own see, and from a wish that the vacancy should be filled with one of his own clergy; for it is said that his skill in physiognomy warned him at the first interview that he must not expect to find a tool in Chrysostom.[s] Eutropius, however, frightened him into compliance, by producing a schedule of charges against him, and threatening to bring him to trial for his misdemeanors. Chrysostom was consecrated on the 26th of February, 398.[t]

A.D. 398.

The eloquence which had won for him the admiration of Antioch was no less effective at Constantinople. The multitudes of the capital flocked to hear him, and were zealous for his cause in his after trials; and among the well-disposed of the higher classes—especially among pious ladies—his influence soon became very powerful.[u] Besides labouring indefatigably in his own church, he exerted himself to spread the Gospel elsewhere. He obtained an imperial warrant for the destruction of the temples in Phœnicia, and the liberality of his female friends supplied the means of executing it.[x] He set on foot missions to the Goths and to the Scythians.[y] With a view of converting the Goths who were at

[p] Fleury, xx. 27; Schröckh, x. 410; Neander, Chrys. ii. 3.
[q] Tillem. xi. 109-110; Schröckh, x. 412-3.
[r] Soz. viii. 2; Tillem. xi. 110.
[s] Baron. 397. 73; Tillem. xi. 110.
[t] Soc. vi. 2; Soz. viii. 2; Tillem, xi. 110-1.
[u] Soz. viii. 5; Tillem. xi. 112-3.
[x] Theod. v. 29; Tillem. xi. 155; Neander, Chrys. ii. 68.
[y] Theod. v. 30; Tillem. xi. 147-9.

Constantinople to orthodoxy, he ordained clergy of their own race, gave up one of the churches for a service in their native language, and himself often preached there, his words being rendered into Gothic by an interpreter.[z] He exerted himself to root out the remains of Arianism by preaching in refutation of its errors. When Gainas the Goth, who was at the time predominant at Constantinople, demanded a church for the exercise of Arian worship, Chrysostom alone dared to meet him with a firm denial at a conference in the emperor's presence, and obliged Arcadius to refuse; and by conduct so strikingly contrasting with that of the pusillanimous court he won the respect of the barbarian himself.[a]

His influence was beneficially exerted to heal the schism of Antioch. On the death of Paulinus, who had been acknowledged as bishop by Egypt and the West, his party consecrated Evagrius; but this bishop did not long survive, and they were again left without a head. Through the intervention of Chrysostom, in the first year of his episcopate, both Innocent of Rome and Theophilus were persuaded to acknowledge Flavian, who thereupon inserted the names of both Paulinus and Evagrius in the diptychs of his Church. Thus the later separation —that which Lucifer had occasioned by consecrating Paulinus[b]— was brought to an end, although some remains of the old Eustathian party continued to exist without any bishop. The schism was eventually terminated by the conciliatory measures of Alexander, bishop of Antioch, in 415.[c] A.D. 388.

But as Chrysostom's new position was more conspicuous than that which he had formerly held, it also exposed him to dangers from which he had until now been exempt. He possessed in very large measure such a knowledge of the heart as fitted him to be a wise practical teacher of religion; but he was wanting in that acquaintance with the world, and in that understanding of individual character, which are necessary for the administration of important office, and especially of ecclesiastical office.[d] His temper was naturally warm; and the opposition which he met with in his

[z] Theod. v. 30; Tillem. xi. 143; Neander, Chrys. ii. 61-2; Ch. Hist. iii. 181-2.

[a] Soc. vi. 5, 8: Soz. viii. 4, 8; Theod. v. 32; Tillem. xi. 129, 130, 156; Schröckh, x. 432-4; Neander, Chrys. ii. 93.

[b] P. 229.

[c] Soc. vi. 13; Soz. viii. 3; Theod. v. 23; Tillem. x. 530, 538-540; xi. 150; Walch, iv. 478, 483. Tillemont (x. 540, 650) supposes that some Eustathians remained till 482, when the relics of Eustathius were removed to Antioch. Against this, see Walch, iv. 486-8.

[d] Schröckh, x. 452; Gibbon, iii. 187.

endeavours at reform provoked him to expressions of anger, which made enemies and supplied them with weapons against him.[e]

Reform was indeed very necessary. Nectarius, having grown old in the habits of secular rank, did not greatly alter them after his sudden promotion to the episcopate; and under him the clergy of Constantinople in general fell into a style of easy living, while some of them were even scandalous in their conduct.[f] Chrysostom sold the rich carpets and handsome furniture which had belonged to Nectarius; he even sold some of the marbles and other ornaments of the churches, in order to obtain funds for the establishment of hospitals and for other charitable purposes; he expended the whole of his own income on such objects, and was indebted for maintenance to a pious widow, Olympias.[g] Partly from a distaste for general society, and partly from feeble health, he always took his meals alone—neither giving nor accepting hospitality; and to those who wished to engage him in idle conversation, he plainly intimated that it was tedious to him. The contrast between such a way of life and that of his predecessor was noted to his disadvantage; he was accused of moroseness and parsimony.[h] The bishops who visited Constantinople no longer found the episcopal palace open to them; Chrysostom thought this unnecessary, since there were so many of the faithful among whom he supposed that they might be sure to find a welcome.[i] Acacius of Berrhœa,[k] in Syria, was so provoked by the insufficiency of the accommodations which he found provided on a visit to the capital, that he is said to have exclaimed, "I will cook his pot for him!"[l]

Chrysostom attempted to introduce an improvement among his clergy. He deposed some of them on charges of murder and adultery, and interfered with the practice of entertaining "spiritual sisters."[m] The institution of services at night, for the benefit of

[e] That his irritability is exaggerated by Socrates (vi. 3), see Neander, Chrys. ii. 15-6.

[f] Neander, Chrys. ii. 6-7.

[g] Baron. 398. 81-6; Tillem. xi. 124-5; Schröckh, x. 418.

[h] Soc. vi. 4; Soz. viii. 9; Schröckh, x. 418; Neander, Chrys. ii. 9.

[i] Tillem. xi. 121-3.

[k] Now Aleppo.

[l] Tillem. xi. 181; Schröckh, x. 462; Neander, Chrys. ii. 145. For Acacius, see Tillemont, xiv. 219, seqq. He must have been already eighty years of age, as he is said to have been a hundred and ten at the time of the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431). Although his character seems very equivocal, he possessed great reputation and influence. He had been instrumental in procuring the acknowledgment of Flavian by the western bishops, and will be mentioned hereafter in connexion with the Nestorian controversy. He is supposed to have died at the age of a hundred and sixteen in 436.

[m] Soc. vi. 4; Fleury, xx. 38; Tillem. xi. 137-140; Schröckh, x. 414.

persons unable to attend those of the day, gave deep offence to some clergymen, whose ease was infringed on by the requirement of additional duties.[n] It would appear that, in the manner of his dealings with his clerical brethren, the bishop was too much influenced by his archdeacon Serapion, a proud, violent, and unpopular man, who is reported to have told him that the only way of managing them was "to drive them all with one stick."[o] In proportion to his love for the monastic life was his indignation against the strolling and greedy pretenders who disgraced it. He excited their wrath, and that of some among the clergy also, by advising Olympias not to bestow her bounty indiscriminately.[p]

His popularity as a preacher excited envy. His eloquence sometimes hurried him into the use of expressions which were liable to misconstruction. Thus he was reported to have said in a sermon—"If thou sin and repent a thousand times, come hither." There can be no doubt that the intended meaning was innocent—if indeed the words were used at all; but Sisinnius, the Novatianist bishop—who with the severe notions of his sect as to penance strangely combined the reputation of a wit and a handsome style of dress and living—took occasion to write a book against him.[q] Chrysostom also made enemies by the unsparing manner in which he attacked the prevailing vices—extending his rebukes even to the court. The rapacity which the empress Eudocia exercised in order to support her eunuchs provoked him not only to remonstrances in private but to public censures.[r]

Eutropius was disappointed in his hope of a subservient bishop, and had frequent disputes with Chrysostom. The victims of the favourite's rapacity often took refuge in churches, and he procured from the feeble emperor a law abolishing the privilege of sanctuary.[s] But, soon after, Eutropius himself was suddenly overthrown; he fled in terror to the cathedral, and embraced the altar. Chrysostom withstood the soldiers who were sent to seize him; and on the following day, when the church was crowded by a multitude of people, he discoursed on the instability of human greatness. While Eutropius lay crouching under the holy table, the bishop reminded him of his former opposition to the very privilege in which he was then seeking his safety,

A.D. 399.

[n] Neander, Chrys. ii. 8.

[o] Soc. vi. 4; Soz. viii. 9; Tillem. xi. 141; Schröckh, x. 45; Milman, iii. 225.

[p] Soz. viii. 9; Schröckh, x. 416-7; Neander, Chrys. ii. 15, 20-2.

[q] Socrates, vi. 4 (who is a vehement admirer of Sisinnius, and gives some poor specimens of his wit). Neander, Chrys. ii. 56-7.

[r] Neander, Chrys. ii. 17, 114-6.

[s] Tillem. Emp. v. 437; Neander Chrys. ii. 69-72.

and entreated the congregation to intercede for him both with the emperor and with God. This address—evidently intended to disarm the anger of the hearers by exhibiting the abject condition of the fallen minister—was misrepresented as an exultation in his calamity; and at the same time offence was taken at Chrysostom for affording protection to the eunuch. He was even carried before the emperor by soldiers; but he fearlessly asserted the right of the Church to shelter the wretched; and it was acknowledged, although Eutropius, by leaving the sanctuary, again exposed himself to his enemies, and was put to death.[t]

In the last days of the year 400, Chrysostom set out for Ephesus. Antoninus, bishop of that city, had been accused of selling ordination to bishoprics, and of other offences. He died before the charges could be satisfactorily examined, and the Ephesian clergy requested the intervention of the patriarch of Constantinople. Six bishops were convicted of having bought their office from Antoninus, and were deposed. Chrysostom ordained a new bishop for Ephesus, and on his way homewards he deposed several unworthy bishops, and transferred some churches from sectaries to the Catholics.[u] Some of these acts were afterwards brought against him, as having been done in excess of his jurisdiction; and in the mean time, Severian, bishop of Gabala in Syria, a celebrated preacher, whom he had left in charge of his flock, had been busily endeavouring to supplant him. Chrysostom, on being informed of his conduct by Serapion, with whom Severian had quarrelled, forbade him to preach in Constantinople. Severian withdrew from the city, but was recalled by the empress, who effected a reconciliation between him and the archbishop.[x]

But the desire of vengeance rankled in Severian's breast, and there were many others whom Chrysostom had offended—clergy, monks, courtiers, rich ladies, and even the empress herself. Acacius of Berrhœa, and Antiochus, another Syrian bishop, made common cause with Severian. They endeavoured, by inquiries at Antioch, to find some ground of accusation in the archbishop's earlier life. In this their malice was disappointed;[y] but in no long time they found an opportunity of gratifying it.

[t] Soc. vi. 5; Soz. viii. 7; Baron. 399. 8-20; Fleury, xx. 37; Tillem. xi. 152-4; 180-1; Schröckh, viii. 60; Neander, Chrys. ii. 73-5.

[u] Soz. viii. 6; Tillem. xi. 158-9. 166-170; Gibbon, iii. 186; Schröckh, x. 456-8; Neander, Chrys. ii. 98-104.

[x] Soc. vi. 11; Soz. viii. 10; Tillem. xi. 165, 174-6; Schröckh, x. 458-460; Neander, Chrys. ii. 110-2.

[y] Tillem. xi. 178-9, 183-5; Schröckh, x. 462; Gibbon, iii. 185; Neander, Chrys. ii. 121, 145.

Theophilus succeeded Timothy at Alexandria in 385, and held the see until 412. He was able, bold, crafty, unscrupulous, corrupt, rapacious, and domineering.[z] In the first controversy between Jerome and Ruffinus, he had successfully acted the creditable part of a mediator.[a] His own inclinations were undoubtedly in favour of Origen; he even deposed a bishop named Paul for his hostility to that teacher.[b] It has been already mentioned, that, while the monks of Nitria were admirers of Origen, others among the Egyptian recluses held him in detestation. The latter class very generally fell into the error of anthropomorphism.[c] Thus it is related of Serapion, an aged monk of great reputation for holiness, that, when he had been convinced of this error, and while the friends who had argued with him were engaged in thanksgiving for the result, he suddenly cried out, in distress at missing the image which he had been accustomed to place before his mind in prayer—"You have robbed me of my God, and I know not whom to worship!"[d]

It was the custom of the Alexandrian bishops, on issuing the annual letters by which the time of Easter was fixed, to annex some pastoral instructions on other subjects. Theophilus, in his paschal letter of 399, attacked the anthropomorphite opinions. The monks who held those opinions exclaimed against the archbishop as a blasphemer, and a party of them rushed to Alexandria, with the intention, as was supposed, of killing him. Theophilus saluted them with the words—"I behold you as if it were the face of God" (Gen. xxxiii. 10). They were pacified by this seeming agreement with their notions; Theophilus, at their desire, condemned Origen, and from that time he used the fanaticism of these monks and the odium attached to the name of Origen as instruments of his designs.[e]

Among the most eminent of the Nitrian monks were four brothers, known as the *Long* or *Tall Brothers* — Dioscorus, Ammonius (the same whose determined refusal of a bishopric has been noticed in the preceding chapter), Eusebius, and Euthymius. Theophilus compelled Dioscorus to accept the bishopric of Hermopolis—the diocese in which the Nitrian mountain was situated. He also drew Eusebius and Euthymius from their solitude, and employed them in the financial business of his church. While thus engaged,

[z] Tillem. xi. 452-5; Walch, vii. 555; Schröckh, x. 195-8.
[a] Hieron, Ep. lxxxii.
[b] Schröckh, x. 200-1.
[c] Ascribing to the Deity a human form.
[d] Tillem. x. 57; Schröckh, viii. 433; Neander, ii. 128; Milman, iii. 309-310.
[e] Soc. vi. 7; Soz. viii. 11; Tillem. x. 56, xi. 461-2; Schröckh, x. 106-7.

they made discoveries which greatly shocked them as to the means by which Theophilus obtained funds to gratify his passion for church-building. They feared to endanger their souls by becoming his accomplices, and left Alexandria, alleging a wish to return to their monastic life. Theophilus soon learnt that this was not their principal motive, and resolved that they should feel his vengeance.[f] About the same time, Isidore, master of a hospital at Alexandria,[g] a man eighty years of age, incurred his enmity by opposing him in some intended iniquities as to money. Theophilus charged him with abominable offences, and the old man sought a refuge in Nitria.[h] The bishop now excited the anthropomorphite monks against the objects of his hatred, by representing these as Origenists; he procured from an Alexandrian synod a sentence against them, as guilty of Origenism and magic; he denounced the Nitrians to the governor of Egypt as insubordinate, invaded their solitude with soldiers and hostile monks, and committed great outrages—burning cells, destroying their contents, and even killing some persons.[i] The Long Brothers disavowed the opinions imputed to them, saying, like Ruffinus, that these had been foisted by heretics into Origen's works. With more than eighty[k] companions they fled into Palestine; and having been dislodged thence through the interest of Theophilus, they, and about fifty others, sought a refuge at Constantinople.[l] Chrysostom, on inquiry, found that they were men of good repute. He provided them with a lodging, and wrote in their behalf to Theophilus; he allowed them to join in the prayers of the Church, but, from a wish not to offend the Alexandrian patriarch, he did not admit them to the eucharist.[m]

A.D. 401.

Theophilus was animated not only by the Alexandrian jealousy of Constantinople, but by personal dislike of the eminent man whom he had unwillingly consecrated to the see of the "New Rome." He was told that Chrysostom had admitted the Brothers to full communion, and angrily answered his letter by desiring him to respect the fifth Nicene canon, which ordered that all causes

[f] Soc. vi. 7; Tillem. xi. 446-7; Schröckh, x. 204-8; Neander, Chrys. ii. 129.

[g] It is not certain whether this was the same Isidore who at an earlier time had been the confidant of Theophilus, and whom he had wished to promote to the see of Constantinople, in opposition to Chrysostom. Tillem. xi. 444-5; Schröckh, x. 203; Neander, Chrys. ii. 130.

[h] Soz. viii. 12; Tillem. xi. 464-5; Schröckh, x. 201-2.

[i] Tillem. xi. 474-5; Schröckh, x. 216; Neander, Chrys. ii. 133.

[k] Tillemont says 300 (xi. 476).

[l] Soz. viii. 13; Tillem. xi. 470-7; Pagi in Baron. vi. 337, 353; Neander, Chrys. ii. 131-2.

[m] Soc. vi. 9; Soz. viii. 13; Tillem. xi. 183-5; Walch, vii. 576-7; Schröckh, x. 221.

should be terminated in the province where they arose.[n] He also sent some monks to accuse the refugees before the emperor. Chrysostom had earnestly dissuaded the Brothers from carrying their complaints to the court; but, on hearing of the step which their persecutor had taken, they addressed the empress in a church, praying her to grant an inquiry before a council into certain charges against Theophilus. Eudoxia consented; Theophilus was summoned, and, as he delayed his appearance, his emissaries were examined by a prefect, and were punished as false accusers. Some of them died in prison.[o]

Meanwhile Theophilus circulated a monstrous set of propositions, which he ascribed to Origen, and actively endeavoured to enlist supporters.[p] Jerome gladly lent his aid: he overwhelmed Theophilus with praises, and translated into Latin three of his paschal letters against Origen, with other documents relating to the controversy.[q] Some years before, Theophilus had stigmatized Epiphanius as a heretic and anthropomorphite; but he now applied to him, begging that he would join in the movement, and would write to Constantinople and elsewhere for the purpose of obtaining a general condemnation of Origenism.[r] Epiphanius on this held a synod of Cypriot bishops, condemned the reading of Origen's works, and wrote to Chrysostom desiring that he would do the like.[s] Chrysostom took no step in the matter; whereupon the old man went to Constantinople, and acted in much the same manner as formerly at Jerusalem. Immediately after landing, he ordained a deacon in defiance of the archbishop. He refused the offers of honour and hospitality which Chrysostom pressed on him, and protested that he would hold no communication with him unless Origen were condemned and the Long Brothers expelled. Chrysostom answered that he left both Origen and the Brothers to the judgment of the council which had been summoned. Epiphanius then endeavoured, although with very little success, to obtain a declaration against Origen from the bishops who happened to be at Constantinople. An interview with the Brothers, however, appears to have convinced him that the cause of his Egyptian ally was not altogether pure; without waiting for the expected synod, he embarked for Cyprus, and,

[n] Soc. vi. 9; Schröckh, x. 222; Gibbon, iii. 187; Neander, Chrys. ii. 23-6; Ch. Hist. iv. 470.

[o] Soz. viii. 12; Tillem. xi. 185, 195, 483-4; Schröckh, x. 222; Neander, Chrys. ii. 136-8.

[p] Ep. Hieron, xcii; Tillem, x. 461, xii. 187; Schröckh, x. 209-211.

[q] Ep. lxxxvi, lxxxviii, xcvi, xcviii-c.

[r] The letter is No. xc. among Jerome's Epistles.

[s] Soc. vi. 10; Baron, 399. 47; Tillem. xi. 187, 480, 486.

either on the voyage or soon after reaching home, he died at the age of nearly a hundred years.[t]

Theophilus at length set out with a train of Egyptian bishops. Although summoned as a defendant, he had so assured himself of support that he declared his business to be the deposition of Chrysostom. He entered Constantinople with great pomp. For three weeks he lodged at a suburban palace of the emperor's, refusing all communication with Chrysostom, and strengthening his interest by bribery and other means.[u] Arcadius, who was probably not in the secret of Eudoxia's policy, desired Chrysostom to proceed to a trial, but the archbishop declined, on the ground that offences committed in another province did not belong to his jurisdiction.[x]

June 18, 403.

Theophilus, when he had matured his plans, summoned Chrysostom to appear before a synod at the Oak—a villa near Chalcedon, on the opposite side of the Bosphorus to Constantinople. The president of this synod was the bishop of Heraclea—metropolitan of the province in which the new dignity of Constantinople had been erected.[y] Although Origenism was the pretext of the Alexandrian bishop's whole proceeding, nothing of it was now alleged against Chrysostom; for he was notoriously clear of it.[z] A long list of charges—mostly false or grossly exaggerated—was produced. They related to faults in the administration of his church and its funds; to his conduct towards the clergy, in depriving some, severely reproving others, and the like; to his private habits of life; to ritual irregularities; to doctrines which he had vented, and expressions which he had used, in his sermons.[a] Chrysostom had with him forty bishops—a larger assem-

[t] Soc. vi. 12, 14; Soz. viii. 14-5; Pagi in Baron. vi. 389; Tillem. xi. 189-193; Schröckh, x. 225-7; Neander, Ch. Hist. iv. 472; Chrys. ii. 139-144.

[u] Tillem. xi. 193-6.

[x] Neander, Chrys. ii. 147-9. This scruple seems not to have been applicable to the case. Tillem. xi. 195; Schröckh, x. 230.

[y] Wiltsch, i. 139.

[z] That Theophilus was not actuated by any real abhorrence of Origenism appears from his earlier conduct; from his reconciliation with the survivors of the Long Brothers when he had gained his object in the fall of Chrysostom (Soc. vi. 15; Soz. viii. 17); and from his having, some years later, forced episcopal consecration on the philosopher Synesius, notwithstanding that, among other hindrances, he avowed opinions which varied from those of the Church in the same direction as Origen's, but perhaps to a greater extent—as to the pre-existence of souls, the imperishableness of the world, and a denial of the resurrection of the body. Baron. 410. 77, with Pagi's notes; Tillem. xii. 516-521; Gibbon. ii. 179; Schröckh, vii. 155-6; Villemain, Éloq. Chrét. 224-6; Neander, iv. 479; Gieseler, I. ii. 97.

[a] Soc. vi. 15; Tillem, xi. 196-8; Schröckh, x. 463-5; Neander, Ch. Hist. iv. 473; Chrys. ii. 152-160. Among other things, he was charged with having styled the empress *Jezebel*. The justice of this accusation may perhaps be measured by the fact that a preacher of our own day, having so designated the Church of Rome (with a reference to Revelat. ii. 20), was long pertinaciously

blage than the synod of his opponents, and more fairly composed, inasmuch as of the thirty-six bishops who met at the Oak all but seven were of the Egyptian province.[b] He earnestly besought his friends to avoid a rupture, even although it were necessary to sacrifice himself for the sake of peace. Two bishops from the Oak entered the assembly, and in an insolent manner summoned him to appear before their brethren. His friends answered that Theophilus ought rather to come and take his trial; but Chrysostom professed himself ready to meet all accusations before the irregular tribunal, provided that his declared enemies, Theophilus, Acacius, Antiochus, and Severian, were not allowed to sit as judges. The citation was twice repeated, but he continued to disregard it. A message from the court urged the synod to give a decision; whereupon they condemned Chrysostom as contumacious, and added that he was also guilty of treason, but that, as that offence was beyond their jurisdiction, they left the punishment of it to the emperor. Arcadius did not proceed to the extent which this malicious sentence suggested, but contented himself with condemning the archbishop to deposition and banishment.[c]

Chrysostom held himself bound not to abandon his post, unless compelled by force. He was anxiously guarded by his people for three days, until, hearing that the emperor intended to seize him, and dreading some serious tumult, he surrendered himself, and was forthwith sent across the Bosphorus.[d] The people, on learning that he was in custody, beset the palace with cries for their bishop. During the following night the city was shaken by an earthquake. The empress in alarm despatched a messenger to Chrysostom, with a letter, in which she assured him that she was guiltless of his banishment, and desired him to return.[e] Theophilus in the mean time entered Constantinople, but such affrays arose between the populace and his Alexandrian sailors, that he thought it well to retire.[f] Severian, who ventured to preach against Chrysostom, was driven out of the city.[g]

The archbishop's return was hailed with enthusiasm. The Bosphorus was covered with vessels of all sizes, carrying multi-

accused of applying the name to our Gracious Sovereign.

[b] See note in Fleury, ii. 36.

[c] Soz. viii. 17; Tillem. xi. 199-203; Neander, Chrys. ii. 162-4.

[d] Soc. vi. 15; Soz. viii. 18; Tillem. xi. 204-5; Neander, ii. 165-8.

[e] Tillem. xi. 208; Neander, Chrys. ii. 172.

[f] Soz. iii. 19; Tillem. xi. 207; Gibbon, iii. 187.

[g] Soz. viii. 18; Neander, Chrys. ii. 165-8.

tudes eager to welcome him.[h] He had intended to remain without the city until his deposition should be annulled by a council greater than that which had condemned him; but the excitement of the people, and a fear lest it should be turned against the emperor, induced him to proceed to the cathedral, where, yielding to the cries of the congregation, he took his seat on the throne, and gave the benediction.[i] Theophilus forthwith returned to Alexandria, professing that his flock could no longer endure his absence.[k]

Within a very short time Chrysostom gave his enemies a fresh pretext for attacking him. A silver statue of the empress was erected near the cathedral, and was inaugurated with the unruly and somewhat heathenish rejoicings which were usual on such occasions. The archbishop—after (it is said) having sent remonstrances to the Court, which were intercepted by the way—expressed in a sermon his strong condemnation of the scenes which were taking place almost at the doors of his church. His words were repeated, probably with malicious exaggeration, and the empress was violently offended.[l] When the festival of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist came, Chrysostom is said to have opened his discourse with the words, "Again Herodias rages; again Herodias is disturbed; again she requires the head of John." It is incredible that he could have meant to point these words at the empress: it is doubtful whether he used them at all; but his enemies either invented or misapplied them, and hopefully resumed their intrigues.[m] Theophilus did not again venture to go to Constantinople, but directed the proceedings of Severian and his other allies.[n]

At Christmas, 403, Arcadius announced to the archbishop that he could not communicate with him until he had cleared himself of certain charges. A synod was held early in the following year, and Chrysostom was charged before it with having violated the twelfth canon of Antioch—originally enacted against St. Athanasius[o]—by resuming his see under the imperial authority after deposition by a council. His friends—for he had forty-two bishops on his side—replied that the canon did not

[h] Neander, Chrys. ii. 172.
[i] Soz. viii. 18; Tillem. xi. 269.
[k] Soc. vi. 15; Tillem. xi. 214; Neander, Chrys. ii. 173.
[l] Soc. vi. 18; Tillem. xi. 215-6; Neander, Chrys. ii. 176-7.
[m] Soc. vi. 18; Soz. viii. 20; Baron. 404. 7; Tillem. xi. 217; Gibbon, iii. 188; Neander, Chrys. ii. 177. The extant sermon which begins with the words in question is not by Chrysostom. Schröckh, x. 467-8; Clinton, i. 557.
[n] Tillem. xi. 217.
[o] See p. 202.

apply to his case, and, moreover, that it was the work of heretics. One of them caused some confusion among the opposite party by proposing, in the emperor's presence, that those who wished to act on the canon should sign the creed of its authors. The objections, however, were overruled, and Chrysostom was condemned.[p]

At the approach of Easter, Arcadius, urged on by the archbishop's enemies, intimated to him that, after having been deposed by two synods, he must not enter the church. On Easter-Eve, while the administration of baptism was going on, several of the churches were attacked by soldiers, who drove out the congregations—among them the women who were undrest for baptism—and committed gross profanations. The candidates for baptism took refuge first in the Baths of Constantine, where the administration of the sacrament was continued, and, when driven thence, in a circus outside the walls, from which also they were dislodged.[q] It would seem, however, that Chrysostom was allowed to resume possession of the churches. Two attempts were made on his life by assassins.[r] Five days after Whitsunday the emperor sent him a mandate to leave the episcopal house. It was evident that he must now yield to force; he took a solemn farewell of his friends, addressing suitable admonitions to each class, and entreating them not to despair for the loss of an individual, but to receive any bishop who should be unanimously appointed. And while his mule was held in waiting at one door of the cathedral, in order to divert the attention of his people, who for weeks had guarded him day and night, he left the building by an opposite door, and gave himself up, declaring that he referred his cause to an impartial council.[s]

The discovery of his flight excited a great commotion. Next day the cathedral and the senate-house were burnt. Each party charged the other with incendiarism; but the *Joannites* (as Chrysostom's adherents were called), having power against them, were cruelly treated on account of the fire, and some of them were put to death. Olympias was questioned, among others, on suspicion of having been concerned in the fire. "My life hitherto," she said, "is an answer to the charge. One who has spent much on building churches is not a likely person to destroy them."[t] Arsacius,

[p] Soc. vi. 18; Tillem. xi. 218-221; Pagi in Baron. vi. 439; Neander, Chrys. ii. 178, seqq.

[q] Soc. vi. 18; Soz. viii. 21; Tillem. xi. 222-7.

[r] Tillem. xi. 232; Neand. Chrys. ii. 180.

[s] Soz. viii. 22; Tillem. xi. 232-3; Neander, ii. 182-3.

[t] Soc. vi. 18; Baron. 404. 44, 52; Tillem. xi. 234-7, 433; Schröckh, x. 471-2.

a man of eighty, brother to Nectarius, was appointed to the see of Constantinople, and, after holding it a year, was succeeded by Atticus.[u] Meanwhile the Joannites saw the vengeance of heaven in earthquakes and hail-storms, in the death of Eudoxia (Oct. 6th, 404), and in the calamities which befell other prominent enemies of the expelled archbishop.[x]

A.D. 406.

Chrysostom was allowed to remain nearly a month at Nicæa. He earnestly pressed for an investigation of his cause, but in vain.[y] It was in vain, too, that both he and his friends entreated that some tolerable place might be assigned for his banishment. He was carried off from Nicæa, and, after a toilsome journey, in which he was in danger from robbers, and much more from fanatical monks, he reached Cucusus, among the ridges of Mount Taurus, the scene of the exile and death of his predecessor Paul.[z] During his residence in this remote and wretched little town, he suffered from want of provisions, from the alternate excesses of heat and cold, from frequent sicknesses, in which it was impossible to obtain medicines, and from the ravages of Isaurian robbers, which at length compelled him to take shelter in the fortress of Arabissus.[a] But the three years of his banishment were fuller of honour and influence than any portion of his previous life. He kept up a correspondence with churches in all quarters;[b] the Bishop of Rome, Innocent, treated him on terms of equality.[c] He directed missionary labours in Persia and among the Goths. From the Bishop of Cucusus and his other neighbours he met with great kindness and respect. Many pilgrims sought him out in his excluded abode, from a desire to express their reverence for him. His friends at a distance supplied him with funds so amply that he was able to support missions and to redeem captives, and even had to request that their overflowing liberality might be directed into other channels.[d] He wrote frequent letters of advice and consolation to the bishops and clergy

[u] Soc. vi. 19; Tillem. xi. 235, 309; xii. 420.

[x] Soc. vi. 19; Soz. viii. 27; Fleury, xxi. 48.

[y] Neander, Chrys. ii. 154.

[z] See p. 207; Tillem. xi. 251, 261-2; Gibbon, iii. 189; Schröckh, x. 472; Neander, Chrys. ii. 187-192.

[a] Tillem. xi. 263, 314; Neander, Chrys. ii. 212-3.

[b] One of his letters, addressed to Cæsarius—which is preserved only in a Latin translation—is important, as containing a distinct contradiction of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Some Romanists have questioned its genuineness; but Tillemont (xi. 475-9) honestly avows his opinion in favour of it. Comp. Schröckh, x. 475-9, and the curious history of its publication in Routh's Scriptt. Eccl. Opuscula, ii. 123-6.

[c] Soz. viii. 26; Tillem. xi. 263, seqq.

[d] Soz. viii. 27; Tillem. xi. 228-230, 272; Schröckh, x. 474; Neander, Chrys. ii. 194, 229.

who had been involved in his fall, and to his adherents at Constantinople, who were treated with much severity for refusing to communicate with his intruded successors.[e] The Western Emperor and the Bishop of Rome joined in desiring that his cause should be again tried by an impartial council of the whole Church; but the relations of the Empires towards each other were unfavourable to the success of the proposal, and some Western envoys to the court of Arcadius were imprisoned and treated with great indignity.[f] The interest which the banished patriarch continued to excite provoked his enemies to still more rigorous measures against him. He was sentenced to be removed to Pityus, a town eastward of the Euxine, and on the extreme frontier of the Empire. In the summer of 407 he was carried off from Arabissus. On the journey his bodily ailments were renewed or aggravated by exposure to violent heat. At Comana, he requested his conductors to halt, as he felt the approach of death. He exchanged his mean dress for the best which he possessed; he received the holy Eucharist, and, after uttering the words, "Glory be to God for all things!" he expired as he added "Amen."[g] Sept. 14, 407.

The Joannites remained a separate body for some years longer. Theophilus—although after Chrysostom's banishment he wrote a brutal book against him,[h] which was eagerly translated into Latin by Jerome[i]—advised Atticus to treat them with lenity. Alexander of Antioch—the same who succeeded in putting an end to the Eustathian schism—was the first who inserted his name in the diptychs,[k] and the example was followed elsewhere. In 417, Atticus, at the urgent entreaty of the people and the Court, and with a view to obtaining the communion of the West, consented to do the like.[l] By this act, and by the general observance of a moderate and conciliatory policy, he regained many Joannites to his communion;[m] and the schism was finally extinguished in 438, under the episcopate of Proclus, when the relics of the banished

[e] Neander, Chrys. ii. 200.

[f] Soz. viii. 28; Baron. 404. 92; Tillem. x. 640, xi. 248-250, 318; Schröckh, x. 237-8; Neander, Chrys. ii. 239, seqq.

[g] Soz. viii. 28; Tillem. xi. 344; Neander, Chrys. ii. 243-4.

[h] Schröckh, x. 239-240; Gibbon, iii. 189.

[i] See Hieron. Ep. cxiv., and the note. For Jerome's treatment of Chrysostom, see Schröckh, x. 240. Baronius (404. 135) wishes it to be believed that Jerome was so afflicted by Chrysostom's banishment as even to have fallen ill. But, as Tillemont (x. 264-5) points out, the real cause of his affliction was that the exile met with sympathy.

[k] Theod. v. 35; Tillem. xii. 424.

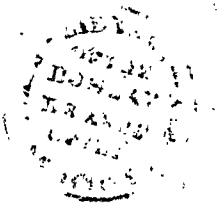
[l] Pagi in Baron. vii. 98-9; Tillem. x. 658, xi. 349, xii. 425.

[m] Soc. vii. 2, 25.

archbishop were translated from Comana. As the vessel which bore them approached the city, the population crowded the Bosphorus in boats; and the emperor, Theodosius II., bending over the coffin, entreated the saint to forgive the guilt of Arcadius and Eudoxia.[n]

But the see of Constantinople never recovered the wound which it had received in the banishment of Chrysostom. Its patriarchs, with few exceptions, were, from that time, nothing more than pliant officers of the Court.[o]

[n] Soz. vii. 41; Theod. v. 36; Baron. iii. 190; Schröckh, x. 480; Neander, 438. 1-12; Tillem. xi. 350-1; Gibbon, iv. 478. [o] Milman, iii. 438.



CHAPTER VIII.

ST. AUGUSTINE.—DONATISM.—PELAGIANISM.

I.

THE great light of the Western Church in this age was St. Augustine, a teacher of wider and more lasting influence than any since the Apostles. The history of his earlier years is given by himself in the well-known "Confessions," where he solemnly acknowledges his errors, and magnifies the gracious Providence which had guided him through many perils and conflicts to truth and peace.

Augustine was born in 354, at Thagasta, an episcopal city of Numidia.[a] His father Patricius, a man of curial rank, was then a heathen;[b] his mother, Monica, a devout and exemplary Christian,[c] caused him to be admitted as a catechumen in infancy. While a child he fell sick, and earnestly desired baptism. Preparations were made for administering it, but, as the danger passed over, it was considered better that the sacrament should be deferred, lest he should incur a heavier guilt by falling into sin after receiving the baptismal grace.[d] Patricius, although himself a man of loose habits, and careless of his son's moral and religious training, exerted himself even beyond his means to obtain for him a good literary education, in the hope that it would lead to some honourable and lucrative employment.[e] The youth studied successively at Thagasta, Madaura, and Carthage. He was fond of the Latin poets, but did not learn much Greek—a defect which was but very imperfectly remedied in after life.[f] At the age of seventeen, about the time of his removal to Carthage, he lost his father, who had at last been persuaded, by the prudent conduct of Monica as well as by her arguments, to embrace the Christian faith.[g] A rich citizen of Thagasta, Romanian, assisted the widow

[a] Nov. 13. Pagi in Baron. v. 439. Bindemann's date is 353 ('Der heil. Augustinus,' i. 1, Berl. 1844—a work which as yet only reaches to the conversion of Augustine).

[b] Confess. i. 11. Bind. 2.

[c] Bindemann points out a part of her character which is often overlooked—that she was an active housewife, and possessed a shrewd and ready humour. (i. 5.)

[d] Confess. i. 11.

[e] Bind. i. 17.

[f] Conf. ii. 3; Tillem. xiii. 7; Bind. i. 14.

[g] Conf. ix. 9; Tillem. xiii. 15; Bind. i. 7, 23.

to bear the expense of her son's education, and Augustine's talents promised to become conspicuous.[h] But he had early fallen into dissolute courses; he took a concubine, and became, at the age of eighteen, the father of a boy, to whom he gave the name of Adeodatus (*Given-by-God*).[i]

In his nineteenth year, the reading of Cicero's "Hortensius" awakened in Augustine a longing after a higher life. He turned to the Scriptures in search of wisdom, but found them simple and uninviting.[k] The specious promises of the Manichæans, their ridicule of submission to authority, and their speculations as to the origin of evil, attracted him.[l] This sect had made considerable progress during the course of the fourth century; it had profited by the dissensions of the Church, and perhaps in a greater degree by receiving accessions from the old and decaying Gnostic parties.[m] Several controversial writings had been directed against it; and both before and after this time it was the subject of laws which spoke of it as more abominable than other heresies, and enacted penalties of especial severity against its professors.[n] Yet proselytism was carried on in secret; the Manichæan doctrines lurked even among the clergy and the monks. Augustine became a convert to them, and was a member of the sect from his twentieth to his twenty-ninth year.[o] But after a time he was startled and disgusted by observing the sensuality and hypocrisy of the "elect," who made the highest profession of strictness, and also by the discoveries which he made as to the immoral and revolting maxims of the sectaries.[p] He looked for a solution of his doubts to Faustus, a Manichæan bishop of great fame, who was expected to visit Carthage; but, when Faustus came, he found him not free from the usual inconsistency, and his discourse as empty as it was fluent and showy.[q] Augustine had taught grammar and rhetoric, first at his native town and then at Carthage; but he found the disorderly habits of the Carthaginian students intolerable,[r] and in order to escape from this annoyance—not (he assures us) from any desire of greater fame or profit—he removed to Rome in 383.[s] Soon after his arrival he fell seriously ill, but felt no inclination to beg for baptism, as in the sickness of

[h] Baron. 395. 48; Bind. i. 24.
[i] Conf. iii. 2.
[k] Conf. iii. 4-5; Bind. i. 35-7.
[l] Conf. iii. 5; Tillem. xiii. 18; Schröckh, xv. 227-8; Villemain, Éloq. Chrét. 379; Neander, Memorials, 160-1; Bind. i. 39-43, 92-5.
[m] Niebuhr, Vortr. iii. 314.
[n] Schröckh, xi. 241-2, 250-5, 256-8, 340.
[o] Tillem. xiii. 22-3. Bind. i. 96.
[p] Tillem. xiii. 34-7; Schröckh, xv. 233; Bind. i. 134-141.
[q] Conf. v. 3-6; Tillem. xiii. 42-6; Bind. i. 167-172.
[r] Conf. v. 8.
[s] Conf. v. 8; Tillem. xiii. 46-8; Bind. i. 124.

his childhood. On his recovery, his dislike of Manichæism was stronger than before, and for a time he was given over to a desolate universal scepticism.[t] He found that the Roman youth, although not so unruly as those of Africa, were apt to desert a professor without paying for the lectures which they had attended; and, after a residence of about six months at Rome, he was glad to obtain an appointment as a public teacher at Milan.[u]

Here he attended the sermons of Ambrose—not for the sake of religious instruction, but in order to ascertain whether the bishop's eloquence deserved its fame. But by degrees the words of Ambrose produced an effect. Augustine found that the Manichæan objections against the Catholic faith were mostly founded on ignorance and misapprehension; the preacher's allegorical explanations of the Old Testament showed him a way (although in truth a very dangerous way) by which he might escape from the difficulties of Scripture—"the letter which killeth."[x] Monica, who had strongly opposed his departure from Africa, rejoined him at Milan. She had watched his errors with deep anxiety and sorrow. Her prayers had been rewarded by visions which assured her that he would one day be converted; and an aged bishop, who had himself once been a Manichæan, had told her that "it was impossible that the child of so many tears should perish."[y] She now had the delight of finding her son no longer a Manichæan but a Christian catechumen, and expressed to him the hope of seeing him a Catholic believer before her death.[z] His baser passions, however, were not yet overcome.[a] A.D. 384, Autumn.

Through various difficulties Augustine struggled onwards. He had found much support for his mind in the Platonic writings, while yet they failed to satisfy his cravings.[b] He now devoted himself to the study of St. Paul—with feelings far different from those which in his nineteenth year had led him to slight the simplicity of the Scriptures. He was greatly impressed with an account which a friend gave him of Antony and other monks; the vileness of his own past life rose up before his mind, and excited violent agitations. One day, as he lay in the garden of his lodging, full of conflicting thoughts, he heard a voice as of a child

[t] Conf. v. 9-10; Bind. i. 178.
[u] Conf. v. 12; Tillem. xiii. 50; Bind. i. 176, 183, 190-1.
[x] Conf. iii. 5-7; v. 10, 13-4; vi. 3-4; Schröckh, xv. 247; Bind. i. 199-206.
[y] Conf. ii. 12; Bind. i. 108-111.
[z] Conf. vi. 1; Bind. i. 225.
[a] Schröckh, xv. 241-2.
[b] Neander, iii. 504; Ritter, vii. 160; Bind. i. 257-264.

singing repeatedly "Take up and read." He could not remember that such words were used in any childish game; he bethought himself of the impression made on St. Antony by the Scriptures which were read in church,[c] and believed that he was himself now called by a voice from heaven. He opened on the text Rom. xiii. 13-4, and from that moment felt himself another man.[d] Wishing not to attract notice, he continued to perform the duties of his professorship until the vintage vacation, when he resigned it, and retired into the country with his mother and some friends. On Easter-Eve, 387, he was baptised by St. Ambrose, together with his son Adeodatus, and Alypius his countryman and pupil, whom he had formerly drawn into Manichæism, and who eventually became bishop of Thagasta.[e] He soon after set out with Monica towards Africa; but at Ostia the pious matron died, rejoicing that the desire of her heart was fulfilled in the conversion of her son.[f]

After a residence at Rome, where he wrote against the Manichæans, Augustine returned to his native place.[g] He spent three years in devotion and study, and produced several works.[h] His fame became such that he was afraid to appear in any city where the bishopric was vacant, lest he should be forcibly seized and compelled to accept the dignity. He supposed himself safe in accepting an invitation to Hippo Regius, as the see was filled by Valerius; but as he was in church, listening to the bishop's sermon, Valerius began to speak of the necessity of ordaining an additional presbyter; whereupon the people presented Augustine, and he was forced to submit to ordination.[i] Valerius admitted him to his confidence, and gave him a large share in the administration of the diocese. Being a Greek by birth, the bishop felt a difficulty in preaching in Latin, and was glad to relieve himself by employing Augustine as his substitute; and, although it was at first objected to, as a novelty in Africa, that a presbyter should preach in the presence of a bishop, the example was soon imitated in other dioceses.[k] Four years after Augustine's ordination, Valerius desired that he might be consecrated as coadjutor bishop of Hippo, alleging his own years and infirmity as the reason, and Augustine was obliged

A.D. 391.

[c] See p. 293.
[d] Conf. viii.; Bind. i. 274-8, 281.
[e] Conf. ix. 6; Tillem. xiii. 569; Bind. i. 283, seqq.
[f] Tillem. viii. 475; xiii. 116.
[g] Fleury, xix. 17-8; Tillem. xiii. 119-120.
[h] Tillem. xiii. 125; Schröckh, xv. 276.
[i] Life by Possidius, iv.; Pagi, vi. 93; Tillem. xiii. 144-5; Schröckh, xv. 286.
[k] Possid. v.; Baron. 391. 34-6; Tillem. xiii. 147-8, 152; Schröckh, xv. 286-7.

to yield. Both he and Valerius were then ignorant that the eighth Nicene canon forbade the establishment of two bishops in the same city, except in cases where one was a reconciled Novationist.[l]

Valerius died shortly after the appointment of his colleague.[m] Augustine held the bishopric of Hippo for five-and-thirty years, and, although it was inferior in importance to many others, his genius and character made him the recognised leader of the African Church.[n] The vast collection of his works includes doctrinal treatises, expositions of Scripture, practical writings, controversial books against Manichæans, Donatists, Pelagians, and other heretics, a great number of sermons, and letters on a multitude of subjects, including many elaborate answers to questions of theology and casuistry which were proposed to him. His greatest work, "Of the City of God," which has been already mentioned,[o] was written in consequence of the force with which the old pagan objection against Christianity, as the cause of public calamities, was urged after the capture of Rome by the Goths.[p] The composition was begun in 312 or 313, and was not finished until 326. In the first five books, Augustine meets the argument from the calamities of the times. In the next five, he argues against those who, while they allowed that paganism had not, in the days of its ascendency, secured its votaries against temporal evils, yet maintained that it was availing for the next life. And in the remaining twelve books, he contrasts the two polities—the earthly and the "City of God"—in the origin, their course, and their end.[q] Some defects of the work are obvious: as,—that the reasoning is not always satisfactory; that much of what is said has no visible bearing on the theme; that here, as elsewhere, Augustine is driven, by his want of acquaintance with the original languages, to evade questions as to the real meaning of Scripture, and to take refuge in allegories and forced applications. It is said, also, that the learning which appears so copious is in reality borrowed from secondary sources.[r] But, on the whole, it deserves to be regarded as a work alike noble in the conception

A.D. 395-430.

[l] Possid. viii.; Pagi in Baron. vi. 210; Fleury, xx. 12; Tillem. xiii. 215; Schröckh, xv. 325-6.

[m] Tillem. xiii. 285.

[n] Tillem. xiii. 163; Schröckh, xv. 290.

[o] P. 339.

[p] Dupin, iii. 233; Tillem. xiii. 608-612.

[q] Dupin, iii. 233-7.

[r] These remarks are made from the recollection of a not very recent perusal of the book, compared with the notices in Dupin, iii. 237, and Schröckh, vii. 247-313. Schröckh, however, throughout speaks of St. Augustine in an unjustifiable tone of disparagement.

and in the execution—the last and most important of the apologies against paganism—the first of professed treatises on the Church.[s]

The exemplary labours of Augustine in his diocese cannot be here detailed; but it is necessary to notice at some length the two principal controversies in which he was engaged—the sequel of that with the Donatists, and the Pelagian.

II.

After their condemnation by Constans in 348,[t] the Donatists remained in exile until the reign of Julian. As that Emperor's edict of recall[u] applied to such persons only as had been banished by his immediate predecessor, these sectaries could not benefit by it. They therefore presented a petition to Julian, expressing respect for his character and reliance on his justice in terms which were not only inconsistent with their former attitude towards the civil power, but afforded their opponents ground for reproaching them with flattery of the apostate and persecutor.[x] Their petition was successful, and they signalised their return from banishment by great violences against the Catholics.[y] They soon became the stronger party in Numidia, and were powerful throughout Africa. After the brief reign of Julian, they again became obnoxious to the government, and several laws were directed against them. Valentinian I., by an exception to his general policy of abstaining from interference with religion, enacted penalties against their practice of re-baptising (A.D. 373). Gratian (A.D. 375-8) ordered that their churches should be given up to the Catholics, and that any places where they should hold meetings should be confiscated; he also expelled their bishop from Rome.[z] These laws do not appear to have been rigidly executed; but in other ways the interest of Donatism suffered during the latter part of the fourth century.

A.D. 362.

The working of the sectarian spirit produced many divisions in the body—each little section maintaining that it alone retained the true baptism, and excommunicating all the rest.[a] The most

[s] Milman, iii. 277-282.
[t] P. 183.
[u] P. 228.
[x] Baron. 362. 261; Tillem. vi. 130-1; Walch, iv. 176; Schröckh, xi. 356. Honorius, in a law of A.D. 400, ordered that copies of their application to Julian should be posted up for their confusion. Baron. 400. 22; Tillem. vi. 132.
[y] Baron. 362. 260; Fleury, xv. 32; Tillem. vi. 133-4; Walch, iv. 176; Schröckh, xi. 161-3.
[z] Tillem. Emp. v. 145; vi. 140-1, 153; Walch, iv. 178-9; Schröckh, xi. 362-4.
[a] Baron. 394. 41; Tillem. vi. 150-2; Schröckh, xi. 384.

considerable separation took place after the death of Parmenian, who had succeeded Donatus as leader of the party, and for more than thirty years had guided it with vigour and skill. He was succeeded in 392 by Primian, who soon after had a violent quarrel with a deacon named Maximian, and excommunicated him. The original history of the schism was now repeated by rival factions of the Donatists. Maximian found a new Lucilla in a wealthy female. Primian was condemned by two councils,—the second of more than a hundred bishops; he was declared to be deposed, and twelve bishops joined in consecrating Maximian to the see of Carthage.[b] But without attending to these proceedings, Primian assembled a council of three hundred and ten bishops at Bagai; Maximian was condemned; he and his consecrators were ejected from their churches by the assistance of the civil power—not without violence and cruelty in some cases. The other Maximianist bishops were invited to rejoin the communion of Primian within a certain time, with a promise that their baptism and orders should be acknowledged as valid. In this affair, every principle of the original schism was either violated by the victorious party or carried out to manifest absurdity by the vanquished; the Catholic controversialists did not fail to turn the history of it to account.[c]

A.D. 393-4.

Optatus, bishop of Milevis, had written an answer to a book by Parmenian, about 370. His work, which was afterwards enlarged, had exposed both the history of the schism and the grounds on which its adherents professed to rest it.[d] About the same time Tichonius, a grammarian, although himself a Donatist, did much to injure his party, by a treatise in which he maintained that the Church could not be confined to one corner, but must be diffused throughout the world; that the sins of the evil members do not cause a failure of God's promises to it; and that baptism, administered without the true Church, might be valid.[e] But Augustine became the most formidable and effective opponent of Donatism.

When ordained a presbyter, he found that the Donatists were the majority in Hippo. It is mentioned as a curious display of

[b] Aug. Ep. xliii. 26; Baron. 394. 34, seqq.; Pagi in Baron. vi. 154-7; Tillem. vi. 160-4; Walch, iv. 262-8; Schröckh, xi. 389-390.

[c] Baron. 394. 44-52; Tillem. vi. 168-178; Schröckh, xi. 395; Neander, iii. 279.

[d] Tillem. vi. 141; Schröckh, xi. 364.

[e] Baron. 368. 20; Tillem. vi. 145-6; Schröckh, xi. 379; Neander, iii. 296. In explanation of his continuing with these views to be a Donatist, it has been suggested that he may have written with a design of reconciling his party and the Catholics, and, until a reunion could be effected, may have preferred that communion which made the greater pretensions to purity. Schröckh, xi. 381.

the sectarian spirit that their bishop would not allow any of his flock to *bake* for their Catholic neighbours.[f] Augustine's first contribution to the controversy (A.D. 393) was a "psalm" or metrical piece, divided into twenty-four parts, which began with the successive letters of the alphabet. This was intended to furnish the less educated people with some knowledge of the question; it opens by setting forth the scriptural doctrine as to the mixture of evil with good in the visible Church, sketches the history of the schism, and concludes with exhortations to unity.[g] This attack was followed up from time to time by treatises in answer to the most eminent Donatistic champions, and by letters to members of the sect, written in an admirable spirit of charity and courtesy. Augustine also endeavoured to bring the Donatists to conferences; but he rarely succeeded. Sometimes the refusal was rested on the ground that his dialectical skill would give him an unfair advantage; sometimes it was in a more insolent form—that the children of the martyrs would not argue with sinners and traditors.[h] His attempts at conciliation were vain.[i] With a view to the common maintenance of discipline, he proposed that, when a person who was under censure of either communion applied for admission into the other, it should not be granted except on condition of his submitting to penance; but although Augustine himself scrupulously observed this rule, he was unable to establish a mutual agreement in it, as the Donatists, for the sake of swelling their numbers, not only belied their profession by retaining notorious offenders in their communion, but indiscriminately received all sorts of proselytes.[k]

The councils of the African Catholics made frequent reference to the Donatists—generally in a moderate and conciliatory tone. They offered, even when impeded by decrees which had forbidden such concessions, to recognise the Donatist clergy in their orders and positions.[l] The clergy interposed to moderate the execution of the laws against the sectaries,[m] and by various means—especially by making known the earlier documents of the schism—they gained many converts to the Church.[n] This exasperated the fury of the Circumcellions, who committed barbarous outrages against the Catholic clergy, and rendered it unsafe for Catholics

[f] Tillem. vi. 140; xiii. 192; Walch, iv. 182-3; Neander, iii. 279.
[g] Aug. Opera, t. ix.
[h] Tillem. xiii. 394-7; Walch, iv. 137; Schröckh, xi. 396-7; Neander, iii. 281.
[i] Tillem. xiii. 380.
[k] Epp. xxxiv.-v.; Tillem. xiii. 283-5, 328, 352.
[l] Tillem. xiii. 348-351.
[m] Tillem. vi. 155-160.
[n] Tillem. xiii. 390-2.

to live in country places; while the bishops of the sect were afraid or unwilling to interfere or to grant redress.[o] Augustine himself had a providential escape from a plot which had been arranged for waylaying him. Other bishops were so shockingly abused, that the Council of Africa, in 404, petitioned Honorius that the laws against heretics might be applied to the Donatists.[p] The reports of the outrages which had been committed, and especially the appearance of some of the sufferers at court, provoked severer measures than those which the council had contemplated. The old edicts against the Donatists were revived, and they were sentenced to heavy fines, forfeiture of their churches, banishment of their bishops and clergy, and confiscation of lands on which they might attempt to hold their worship.[q] In consequence of this, the Church received a large accession of converts—partly, perhaps, insincere, and partly persons who had been brought up in the sect without any personal conviction of its tenets, and had until then been held in terror by the Circumcellions.[r] Feb. 405.

The law of 405 was followed by others of like purport. On the death of Stilicho, the Donatists, pretending that these were his work and had expired with him,[s] began to resume possession of churches and to renew their violent proceedings. But the laws were reinforced by new edicts; such of the sectaries as should molest the Catholics were threatened even with capital punishment. On this Augustine wrote to the proconsul of Africa, begging that the law might not be executed to the full; if, he said, the Donatists be put to death, the Catholic clergy, who know more about them than any other persons, will not give information against them.[t] In 410, Honorius, alarmed by the pressure of the Barbarians, granted a general freedom of religion for Africa; but at the urgent request of the Catholics, the indulgence was revoked, and banishment and even death were denounced against those who should hold heretical assemblies.[u] A.D. 408.

The Catholics now entreated the emperor to appoint a conference between the two parties, and the request was granted—the willingness of the Donatists being pre- A.D. 411.

[o] Aug. Ep. lxxxviii. 6-8; cv. 3-4; Tillem. xiii. 390-3; Schröckh, xi. 422.

[p] Tillem. xiii. 398-401.

[q] Baron. 405. 25; Tillem. xiii. 406-8, 416-7, 992; Walch, iv. 192-3; Schröckh, xi. 424-7.

[r] Baron. 405. 30-7; Tillem. xiii. 422-3; Walch, iv. 195; Schröckh, xi. 428-9.

[s] Aug. Ep. xcvii.

[t] Ep. c; Schröckh, xi. 437-9. His inferences are unfair to Augustine.

[u] Baron. 410. 49; Schröckh, xi. 435-6, 440.

sumed from their language on some former occasions.[x] Marcellinus, a "tribune and notary"—whose office resembled that of a secretary of state—was appointed commissioner to superintend the conference. He is highly praised for his piety and virtues by Jerome, and by Augustine,[y] who inscribed to him the opening books of the "City of God;" and the patience, moderation, and judgment which he displayed in this affair appear to justify their eulogies.[z] In the citation of the Donatists, it was said that such of them as would attend the conference should in the mean time enjoy possession of their churches, with an exemption from all laws against the sect; that, whatever the result of the meeting might be, they should have liberty to return to their homes; but that, if the party refused to obey the summons, conformity to the Catholic Church should be forthwith enforced.[a] Marcellinus offered, if the Donatists objected to him as judge, to associate with himself any person, of equal or superior dignity, whom they might choose.

Two hundred and eighty-six Catholic bishops were gradually assembled at Carthage. The Donatists made a display of their strength by entering the city in a body, to the number of two hundred and seventy-nine;[b] they asserted, but seemingly without truth, that in their absent brethren they had a majority over the Catholics.[c] Their leader was Petilian, bishop of Cirta or Constantine, who had formerly been a distinguished advocate, and had been forcibly baptized into the sect and raised to the episcopate.[d] The Catholics announced that, if convinced that the Church had failed everywhere but in the Donatistic communion, they would submit without requiring a recognition of their orders; but that, if they should be able to convince their opponents, the Donatist bishops and clergy should be acknowledged as such, and an arrangement should be made for the joint government of the Churches. Although the former of these alternatives might have been offered without any risk, the latter deserves the praise of a really liberal and conciliatory spirit.[e]

The conference was held on the 1st, the 3rd, and the 8th of

[x] Baron. 410. 49; Tillem. xiii. 499-501; Schröckh, xi. 440-1.

[y] Ep. cli. 8.

[z] Baron. 410. 58; Tillem. xiii. 501-2; Walch, iv. 215; Schröckh, xi. 442-6.

[a] Tillem. xiii. 501, 516; Walch. iv. 208; Schröckh. xi. 442.

[b] Tillem. xiii. 518; Walch, iv. 209.

[c] The Catholics are said to have had in all Africa 470 bishops; the Donatists, 400. Schröckh, xi. 442. Augustine charges the sectaries with falsely exaggerating their numbers. Ep. cxli. 1.

[d] Baron. 398. 31; Tillem. xiii. 330-1, 375; Walch, iv. 250; Schröckh, xi. 412-3.

[e] Aug. Ep. cxxviii; Baron. 411. 8; Tillem. xiii. 522; Neander, iii. 284-5.

June, 411. The first day was taken up by formalities—Petilian's forensic skill being employed in raising technical difficulties, for the purpose of evading the main subjects of dispute. On being desired by Marcellinus to sit down, the Donatists said, that, as our Lord had stood before his judge, it was not for them to sit in the presence of so worshipful a person. Marcellinus would not sit while the bishops stood, and consequently all parties remained standing throughout the discussion. This matter was again mentioned at a later stage, when the Donatists produced another scriptural authority for their behaviour—the words of Psalm xxvi. 5—"I will not sit with the wicked." [f]

Marcellinus renewed his offer of admitting an assessor, but Petilian answered that, as his party had not asked for the first judge, it was not their part to ask for a second. Marcellinus had proposed that each side should choose seven disputants, seven advisers, and four persons who should see to the authenticity of reports and documents. The Donatists wished that their whole party should join in the debate, but eventually complied. Among the Catholic disputants the chief were Aurelius of Carthage, Augustine, his friend Alypius, and his biographer Possidius.[g]

The second day was for the most part wasted in the same manner as the first; but on the third and last, the real question came into discussion, and Augustine, who had until then spoken little, stood forward as the leader of the Catholics. It is noted as characteristic, that, when he spoke of the Donatists as "brethren," Petilian protested against the term as injurious.[h] Each party wished to throw on the other the burden of opening the case: the Donatists said that the Catholics had demanded the conference; the Catholics, that the Donatists were the accusers of the Church, and therefore ought to state their charges.[i] When Augustine entered on the history of the separation, the Donatists objected, and said that the matter ought to be determined by Scripture. Marcellinus, however, decided that the acts relating to the origin of the schism should be read; and eventually both the doctrinal question of the Church's purity and the historical question were discussed.[k] The documents produced by the Donatists were shown to bear against their own cause; for it would seem that the sect had forgotten all such parts of its history as were unfavour-

[f] Tillem. xiii. 533; Walch, iv. 215; Schröckh, xi. 443; Neander, ii. 286.
[g] Aug. Ep. cxli. 2; Tillem. xiii. 520, 525; Walch, iv. 213.
[h] Tillem. xiii. 535.
[i] Tillem. xiii. 536-8.
[k] Dupin, iii. 247; Tillem. xiii. 539-540; Schröckh, xi. 247.

able to it.[1] They were at length forced to avow that they did not suppose the whole Church to be limited to their own body in Africa, but only denied that their African opponents were in communion with the Catholic churches beyond the seas.[m] Marcellinus ended the conference by giving judgment against the Donatists. The promise of a safe conduct homewards was to be fulfilled to them, and a certain time was allowed, during which they might join the Church on the terms which the Catholics had offered; but in case of their refusal, the penal statutes against them were to be revived.[n]

It is evident that, if a power of supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction had then been supposed to exist in the see of Rome, an affair such as that of the Donatists would not have been entrusted to a lay imperial commissioner.[o] But on the other hand, the commission given to Marcellinus does not imply such a right or claim of jurisdiction on the part of the civil power as might perhaps be supposed if the fact stood by itself. The Donatistic controversy had arisen at the very time when Constantine began to show favour to the Christians; it was originally carried before the emperor by the sectaries, and, although doctrinal discussions as to the being of the Church were afterwards introduced into it, it was at first merely a question of disputed facts. The case continued to engage the attention of the emperors, not in its doctrinal aspect, but because the disorders of the Circumcellions disturbed the peace of Africa. Thus it had been throughout regarded as specially belonging to the imperial cognizance, and the appointment of Marcellinus was a consequence of that view. Indeed the arbitration which was urgently needed, could not well have been obtained from ecclesiastical authority, since all the Africans were parties in the case, and there were difficulties, perhaps insuperable, in the way of referring it to a synod beyond the seas, while a reference to the bishop of Rome does not appear to have been thought of as an expedient which could be admitted to decide the question.[p]

The Donatists asserted that they had been victorious in argument at the conference, and that Marcellinus was bribed by their

[1] Tillem. xiii. 541-3, 549-550; Schröckh, xi. 448. For example, the sectaries had kept no record of the Synod of Cirta (sup. p. 176). Aug. Ep. xliii.

[m] Tillem. xiii. 549-550. Some Donatists interpreted the word *Catholic* as meaning the universal observance of the Divine precepts and of the sacraments. Aug. Ep. xciii. 23.

[n] Tillem. xiii. 556; Schröckh, xi. 448.

[o] Mosh. i. 476.

[p] Walch. iv. 220; Schröckh, xi. 449-451. See n. in Fleury, ii. 193-4.

opponents.[q] They appealed to the emperor, but Honorius, without regarding the appeal, confirmed his commissioner's judgment, and in the following year enacted severe penalties against the sect. All who should refuse to conform to the Church were to be heavily fined, in proportion to their rank. If they still persisted, they were to forfeit all their property. Slaves and peasants were to be beaten into conformity, and their masters, if they neglected this order, were to be treated as Donatists. It was forbidden to harbour the sectaries. Their bishops and clergy were to be banished, and the buildings and estates belonging to the body were to be confiscated.[r] By another law, two years later, the penalties of the former were increased, the Donatists were deprived of the right of bequeathing property, and were subjected to a sort of civil excommunication.[s] The African Councils still held out offers of conciliation, and the clergy, although they did not deny that such laws were justifiable, urged that the execution of them might be forborne or mitigated.[t] In consequence of the measures of the government some Donatists were brought into the Church, while others were driven to a frenzy of desperation. Their outrages became more violent than ever. Many committed suicide, and to threaten it was a favourite expedient when they found themselves pressed by the Catholics.[u] Gaudentius, a bishop, who had been one of the disputants at the conference, declared that, if he were forcibly required to join the Catholic communion, he would shut himself up in a church with his adherents, and die like another Sardanapalus. It was against

A.D. 412.

A.D. 414.

[q] Aug. Ep. cxli. 1; Tillem. xiii. 554, 596; Schröckh, xi. 454. Marcellinus was executed in 414 by Count Marinus, on false charges of treason. It has been supposed that Marinus was instigated by the Donatists, and hence Marcellinus has been styled a martyr (Baron. 413. 5; Tillem. xiii. 612-7); but Walch (iv. 226-8) and Schröckh (xi. 457) say that there is no ground for the belief.

[r] Baron. 412. 2; Walch, iv. 224.

[s] Baron. 414. 3-4; Tillem. xiii. 585-655; Schröckh, xi. 455; Gieseler, I. ii. 106.

[t] Aug. Ep. cxxxiii-iv, cxxxix; Tillem. xiii. 589, 740-2. Augustine had been against all use of force in behalf of religion; but about 408 changed his opinion, in consequence of the apparent good results of the penal laws (Ep. xciii. 1-2.) "We must not," he says, "consider that one is compelled, but what that is to which he is compelled—whether good or evil. Not that a man can be good against his will; but through fear of that which he does not wish to suffer, he either abandons the passion which hindered him, or is forced to discern the truth of which he was ignorant; so that, in fear, he either rejects the falsehood for which he contended, or seeks the truth which he knew not, and now willingly holds that he once disliked" (16). He adds that at Hippo and in other towns the inhabitants had been converted to the Church by the penal laws (17). See Pagi in Bar. v. 554; Neander, iii. 282-3; Gieseler, I. ii. 318-9.

[u] Baron. 412. 4, seqq.; 414. 6; Tillem. xiii. 586-591; Schröckh, xi. 456-7.

this zealot that Augustine wrote his last works in the Donatistic controversy, about the year 420.[x]

Little is known of the Donatists after this time, although they were still occasionally noticed in imperial edicts.[y] Under the Vandals their position was improved, but the sect soon dwindled into insignificance. Some remains of it, however, existed in the time of Gregory the Great, and it is supposed that it was not extinguished until the Saracenic invasion.[z]

III.

The Pelagian controversy was that as to which Augustine exercised the most powerful influence on his own age, and which has chiefly made his authority important throughout the succeeding times. The differences as to doctrine which had hitherto agitated the Church originated in the East, and related to the Godhead; one was now to arise in the West, which had for its subject the nature of man and his relations to God. There had hitherto been no precise definitions on these points, but it had been generally acknowledged that the nature of man was seriously injured by the fall of Adam, and needed the assistance of Divine grace. In the West, from the time of Tertullian, it was declared that Adam had transmitted to his posterity an inheritance of sinfulness;[a] but the Western teachers, as well as those of the East, had maintained that the will was free to choose good or evil, to receive or to reject salvation.[b] Augustine himself, in his earlier writings after his conversion, maintained the freedom of the will in preparing man for the reception of grace. Faith (he said) depends on man, although works are of God's grace; the Divine election is spoken of by St. Paul (Rom. ix.) as opposed to a foundation of works—not to a foundation of faith.[c] As early as 397, however, he had come to regard faith also as an effect of Divine grace, and it would be more correct to describe Pelagianism as a reaction from Augustine's doctrine than to invert this order, although it was by Pelagianism that Augustine was urged to carry out his system into precision and completeness.[d]

[x] Baron. 414. 8; Tillem. xiii. 805; Walch, iv. 245.

[y] Schröckh, xi. 462.

[z] Tillem. vi. 192-3; Walch, iv. 229-231; Mosh. ii. 53.

[a] Tertull. de Anima. xli. Comp. Schröckh, xiv. 387.

[b] Neander, iv. 283-5; Gieseler, I. ii. 107; Guericke, i. 491-2; Hagenbach, i. 293-6.

[c] He acknowledges his change of opinion, De Prædest. Sanctorum, 7; Neander, iv. 292; Guericke, i. 499-500.

[d] Neander, iv. 298; Gieseler, I. ii. 116-7; Ritter, ii. 180.

Pelagius was a Briton—the first native of our island who distinguished himself in literature or theology. His Greek or Latin name is, according to a tradition, the translation of the British *Morgan*—sea-born.[e] He is described as a monk, and it has been supposed that he belonged to the great monastery of Bangor; but it is more likely that the term is applied to him as being an ascetic.[f] About the end of the fourth century he took up his abode at Rome, where he became intimate with many persons of saintly reputation. Jerome in controversy expresses scorn of his abilities, and represents his habits as luxurious; but such aspersions are matters of course with Jerome, and we may rather rely on the testimony of Augustine, who always spoke of his adversary with high respect for his religious character.[g] He was well read in the Greek ecclesiastical writers, and in his tone of thought was rather oriental than western.[h] The course of his religious life appears to have been steady—in striking contrast to the fierce agitations by which Augustine had been made to pass through such a variety of experiences. His indignation was raised by the manner in which many persons alleged the weakness of human nature as an excuse for carelessness or slothfulness in religion, and in opposition to this he insisted on the freedom of the will.[i] He is said to have expressed great displeasure at hearing a bishop repeat a well-known prayer of Augustine—"Give what Thou commandest, and command what Thou wilt."[k] But, although he found adherents at Rome, both his age, which was already advanced, and his temper disinclined Pelagius to any public declaration of his opinions.[l] In one of his works—an exposition of St. Paul's epistles, which has escaped the general fate of heretical books by being included through mistake among the writings of his enemy Jerome[m]—there are, it is said, large indications of his errors; but the objectionable opinions are there introduced, not as his own, but as those of others.[n]

At Rome Pelagius became acquainted with Cœlestius, who,

[e] See Tillem. xiii. 561; Walch, iv. 534-5; Schröckh, xiv. 335; Neander, iv. 299. Mr. Herbert supposes him of Roman parentage, though of British birth. Cyclops Christianus, 77.

[f] Comp. Dupin, iii. 153; Collier, i. 95; Walch, iv. 536.

[g] As Ep. clxxxvi. 1; Tillem. xiii. 562-5; Walch, iv. 432; Schröckh, xiv. 337-8; Guizot, i. 380.

[h] Neander, iv. 299.

[i] Neander, iv. 300-8; Gieseler, I. ii. 108.

[k] Confess. x. 29. This is stated by St. Augustine himself, De Dono Perseverantiæ, 53. Schröckh, xiv. 367; Neander, iv. 308.

[l] Tillem. xiii. 562; Walch iv. 570.

[m] The authorship has been questioned, but the book is now generally acknowledged to be by Pelagius, although not free from alterations. Walch, iv. 550-1.

[n] Pagi in Baron. vi. 485-6; Tillem. xiii. 566-8; Schröckh, xiv. 338-342, 366-7.

from an expression of St. Jerome,[o] has been supposed to have been a Scot—*i.e.* a native of Ireland.[p] He was a man of family, had practised as an advocate, and had since led an ascetic life.[q] Whether he learnt his opinions from Pelagius, or had before adopted them from another teacher, is doubtful. Jerome bestows his usual abuse on Cœlestius; Augustine describes him as younger than Pelagius—bolder, and less crafty.[r]

After the sack of Rome (A.D. 410), the two friends passed into Africa. Pelagius did not remain long, but Cœlestius endeavoured to obtain ordination as a presbyter at Carthage. On this a deacon, named Paulinus, who is supposed to be the same with the biographer of St. Ambrose, charged him with heresy, and the matter was examined by a synod.[s] The opinions imputed to Cœlestius were—that Adam would have died even if he had not sinned; that his sin did not injure any but himself; that infants are born in the same condition in which Adam originally was; that neither do all mankind die in Adam nor rise again in Christ; that infants, although unbaptised, have eternal life; that the law admits to heaven even as the Gospel does; and that before our Lord's coming there were men without sin.[t] He defended himself by saying that he admitted the necessity of infant-baptism; that the propositions generally, whether true or not, related to matters of speculation on which the Church had given no decision; and that consequently they could not be heretical. The council, however, condemned and excommunicated him, whereupon he appealed to the bishop of Rome. No attention was paid to this appeal—the first which is recorded as having been made to Rome from another province—nor is it mentioned at any later stage of the controversy. Cœlestius, without attempting to prosecute it, left Carthage for Ephesus.[u] Augustine had not been present at the synod, but the progress of the new opinions soon drew his attention. At the request of the bishop, Aurelius, he preached in opposition to them at Carthage, and he wrote several tracts against them.[x]

A.D. 412.

[o] "Scotorum pultibus prægravatus," which Wall translates "having his belly filled, and his head bedulled, with Scotch porridge." (Hist. of Infant Baptism, i. 354, ed. Oxf. 1836.)

[p] Pagi in Baron. vi. 600. 623, maintains that he was an Italian. See Walch, iv. 560; Schröckh, xiv. 364; Quart. Rev. xciii. 19-20 (June, 1853).

[q] Tillem. xiii. 572-3.

[r] Schröckh, xiv. 364-5.

[s] Baron. 412. 20, seqq., with Pagi's notes; Tillem. xiii. 571-4; Walch, iv. 577; Schröckh, xiv. 367.

[t] Gieseler, I. ii. 108.

[u] Aug. Ep. clvii. 22; Baron. 417. 17; Tillem. iii. 575; Schröckh, xiv. 368-9; Neander, iv. 310.

[x] Tillem. xiii. 572, 575, 604; Fleury, xxiii. 14; Schröckh, xiv. 396-8; Gieseler, I. ii. 109.

In the mean time, Pelagius had taken up his abode in the Holy Land—expecting to find the East more favourable to his opinions than Africa. He was at first on friendly terms with Jerome; but they soon disagreed, and Jerome became his vehement opponent.[y] Augustine, little acquainted with the Greek writers, had spoken of the Pelagian opinions as novelties unexampled either among Catholics or heretics; but Jerome traced them to the hated school of Origen and Ruffinus.[z]

In July 415, Pelagius was charged with heresy before John, bishop of Jerusalem, and a synod of his presbyters. The accuser was Orosius, a young Spaniard, who had lately come into the Holy Land with a recommendation from Augustine to Jerome.[a] He related the proceedings which had taken place at Carthage, and read a letter from Augustine. Pelagius asked, "What is Augustine to me?" but was rebuked for speaking so disrespectfully of a great bishop, by whom unity had been restored to the Church of Africa. John, however, was inclined to befriend Pelagius; he invited him, although a layman, to take his seat among the presbyters, and exerted himself to put a favourable construction on his words. When Pelagius was accused of saying that men could live without sin, the bishop said that there was scriptural warrant for the doctrine, and cited the instance of Zacharias and Elizabeth, with others equally irrelevant; and when Pelagius acknowledged the necessity of Divine grace in order to living without sin, his judges were satisfied.[b] Pelagius, in truth, used the term *grace* in such a manner that his professions sounded orthodox; while he really meant by it only the outward means employed by God for instruction and encouragement in righteousness—not an inward work of the Holy Spirit, influencing the heart and moving it to obedience.[c]

[y] Tillem. xiii. 667; Walch, iv. 586; Schröckh, xiv. 401; Neander, iv. 311-2; Gieseler, I. ii. 109-110.

[z] Schröckh, xiv. 407. It has been said that both Pelagius and Cœlestius learned their doctrines from Ruffinus, and that *he* had derived them from Theodore of Mopsuestia (who will be more particularly mentioned in the next chapter). Cœlestius himself mentions that he had heard "the holy presbyter Ruffinus" deny original sin (Gieseler, I. ii. 109); but it does not follow that he had drawn his opinions from Ruffinus, and the doubt is still stronger as to Pelagius. It is also questioned whether this Ruffinus were the presbyter of Aquileia, or a Syrian. See Pagi in Baron. vi. 507-9; 597-600; Tillem. xiii. 562, 569; Fleury, xxiii. 1; Walch, iv. 538-540; Schröckh, xiv. 336, 408; Gieseler, I. ii. 109; Tzschirner in Schröckh, xiv. 336—(referring to Wiggers' "Augustinismus und Pelagianismus," which I have not seen).

[a] Ep. clxvi. 2; Pagi in Baron. vii. 51; Tillem. xii. 326; xiii. 668; Schröckh, xiv. 420.

[b] Schröckh, xiv. 421-2; Neander, iv. 313,

[c] He also applied it to the forgiveness of sins; and even to the natural free will of man—inasmuch as this was given without any previous desert. Aug. Epp.

The inquiry was carried on under the difficulty that Orosius could not speak Greek, while the council understood no Latin, and the interpreter was either incapable or unfaithful.[d] Pelagius, being acquainted with the languages and the doctrinal peculiarities of both East and West, had an advantage over his accuser and his judges.[e] Orosius therefore proposed that, as the question was one of Latin theology, and as the parties were Latins, it should be referred to the bishop of Rome; and to this John agreed—ordering Pelagius in the mean time to abstain from venting his opinions, and his opponents from molesting him.[f] It need hardly be observed that the reference to Rome involved no acknowledgment of the later Roman pretensions; it was merely a resort from an incompetent to a competent tribunal—that of the highest bishop of the West.[g]

In the end of the same year, two Gaulish bishops, Heros of Arles and Lazarus of Aix,[h] brought an accusation against Pelagius before Eulogius of Cæsarea, who thereupon assembled a synod of fourteen bishops at Diospolis (the ancient Lydda). Orosius did not appear; one of the accusers was sick, and the other excused himself on this account; so that Pelagius was left to make good his cause without opposition.[i] He disavowed some of the opinions imputed to him, and explained others—or explained them away—in a manner which the council admitted as satisfactory. The acts of the Carthaginian synod were read; Pelagius declined entering into the question whether Cœlestius held the doctrines there censured, but declared that he himself had never held them. And being desired to anathematize the holders of these and other errors of which he had been suspected, he consented—professing, however, that he condemned them, not as heretics, but as fools.[k] The council—little versed in Western questions, and desirous to act with moderation—acknowledged the orthodoxy of Pelagius. For this Jerome[l] stigmatized it as a "miserable

A.D. 415, December.

clxxvii. 4, 7, 8, 9; clxxix. 3; Tillem. xiii. 654; Wall on Inf. Baptism, i. 373-4; Walch, iv. 726-7, 732; Schröckh, xiv. 355.

[d] Pagi in Baron. vii. 53; Tillem. xiii. 671; Walch, iv. 590.

[e] Neander, iv. 312.

[f] Tillem. xiii. 672; Neander, iv. 313.

[g] Walch, iv. 591; Schröckh, xiv. 425.

[h] It does not appear for what purpose these bishops had gone into Palestine. Many writers speak of them as at this time deposed; but such does not seem to have been the case. Zosimus, in 417, says that they had got their bishoprics irregularly; that they had *abdicated* them from a consciousness of this, and that *he* had *then* deposed them. Baron. 417. 21; Comp. Pagi in Baron. vii. 53; Tillem. xiii. 681, 720; Walch, iv. 598.

[i] Tillem. xiii. 681; Walch, iv. 591, seqq.; Schröckh, xiv. 435-6.

[k] Walch, iv. 604-6; Schröckh, xiv. 440; Neander, iv. 315.

[l] Ep. cxliii. Some Pelagians, in their triumph, attacked the monasteries of

synod." Augustine, however, spoke of it more respectfully, and expressed his satisfaction that, although from defective information it had allowed the heretic to escape, it yet had condemned his errors.[m]

Pelagius sent Augustine some of the documents connected with his acquittal by the bishops of Palestine. Orosius soon after returned to Africa, with a collection of papers on the subject, and synods were held there, which condemned Pelagius and Cœlestius, and wrote to Innocent, bishop of Rome, A.D. 416. requesting that he would join in the sentence.[n] This application would seem to have been made from a fear lest the Pelagian party at Rome should secure the bishop's favour by pressing on him the judgment of the Eastern bishops.[o] Innocent was glad to receive it, and complied with the request—taking occasion to accompany his consent with much swelling language about the dignity of his see, notwithstanding which the Africans throughout the affair treated with him and his successor on a footing of perfect equality.[p]

Innocent died soon after. The next bishop, Zosimus, as being a Greek,[q] was disposed to look favourably on the sus- A.D. 417, March. pected teachers. Cœlestius, who had been ordained at Ephesus, appeared again at Rome: he made a profession of orthodoxy, declaring that any speculations which he might have vented did not concern the faith, and requested that his case might be once more examined.[r] About the same time Zosimus received two letters addressed to his predecessor—the one, in favour of Pelagius, from Praylius, who had lately succeeded to the bishopric of Jerusalem; the other from Pelagius himself, vindicating his orthodoxy and stating his belief.[s] By these letters, and by the personal communications of Cœlestius, Zosimus was won over. He held a council, at which Cœlestius disavowed all doctrines which the Apostolic See had condemned. Zosimus then wrote to the Africans, reproving them for having too readily listened to charges

Bethlehem, burnt a part of the buildings, killed a deacon, handled Eustochium and her niece, the younger Paula, roughly, and drove Jerome to take refuge in a tower. (Innocent. in Hier. Epp. cxxxvi.-vii.; Tillemont, xii. 337; xiii. 705.) M. Guizot (i. 383) is inclined to question whether these outrages were the work of Pelagians. Jerome died in 420, at the age of about ninety, according to the earlier date of his birth. Pagi in Baron. vii. 209; Tillem. xii. 350.

[m] Baron. 315, with Pagi's notes; Tillem. xiii. 683-4; Wall, i. 411; Walch, iv. 609-614; Schröckh, xiv. 435-444; Neander, iv. 317.

[n] Aug. Epp. clxxv.-vii.; Tillem. xiii. 635-8, 690-2; Walch, iv. 615, seqq.; Schröckh, xv. 5-7; Neander, iv. 317-8.

[o] Walch, iv. 623-4.

[p] Aug. Epp. clxxxi.-iii.; Tillem. xiii. 701-2; Walch, iv. 623-5; Schröckh, xv. 10-1; Neander, iv. 319-320.

[q] Baron. 417. 17, and Pagi's note.

[r] Tillem. xiii. 717-720; Schröckh, xv. 16-7; Neander, iv. 320.

[s] Baron. 417; Walch, iv. 639, 640; Schröckh, xv. 15-6; Neander, iv. 318-9.

against men whose life had always been correct, and for having exceeded the bounds of theological determination in their synods; he spoke strongly against the characters of Heros and Lazarus, whom he declared to be deposed from their sees;[t] he stated that Cœlestius made frequent mention of grace; and he required that the accuser should appear at Rome within two months, or else that the charges against Pelagius and Cœlestius should be abandoned.[u] Paulinus refused to obey this summons; Aurelius and others replied that the condemnation which they had passed must stand until the objects of it should have clearly retracted their errors; they asserted their independence of Rome; and a great African synod of two hundred and fourteen bishops passed nine canons, which were afterwards generally accepted throughout the Church, and came to be regarded as the most important bulwark against Pelagianism.[x] These canons the council forwarded to Rome, telling Zosimus that he himself had been hasty in his credulity, and exposing the artifices by which Cœlestius had disguised his errors.[y]

A.D. 418.

The civil power had now mixed in the controversy, probably at the solicitation of the Africans. An imperial rescript was issued, condemning Pelagius and Cœlestius, ordering that, if at Rome, they should be expelled, and that persons suspected of holding their opinions should be carried before the magistrates, and, if convicted, should be banished.[z] Zosimus, pressed by the Court and by the anti-Pelagian party in his own city, found it expedient to change his tone. He declared an intention of re-examining the matter, and cited Cœlestius to appear before a council; whereupon Cœlestius fled from Rome. Zosimus then condemned the two heresiarchs, declaring that they might be re-admitted to the Church as penitents on anathematizing the doctrines imputed to them, but that otherwise they

April 30, 418.

[t] Historians speak favourably of the two bishops: the displeasure of Zosimus against them is ascribed by some to the influence of Cœlestius, and by others to the misrepresentations of Proculus, who had supplanted Heros in the see of Arles. There were then great contests among the bishops of Gaul as to precedence and jurisdiction. See Baron. 417. 23; Pagi in Baron. vii. 103; Tillem. x. 692; Walch, iv. 631; Schröckh, viii. 447-452.

[u] Concilia, ed. Labbe, ii. 1559; Tillem. xiii. 726, seqq.; Walch, iv. 652-4; Schröckh, xv. 19-22; Neander. iv. 321-3. Baronius (417. 39) is amusing on the subject of the Pope receiving Cœlestius.

[x] Aug. t. x. coll. 1728-1730; Tillem. xiii. 730; Walch, iv. 655, 660; Schröckh, xv. 25-7; Neander, iv. 324.

[y] Tillem. xiii. 730-1.

[z] Baronius (418. 19, 23) and other zealous Romanists attempt, very improbably, to maintain that this rescript was solicited by Zosimus. It was earlier than the great or "plenary" African synod of 418, but was probably the result of an application from another African synod, held in the beginning of that year. (See Pagi, in Baron. vii. 117; Tillem. xiii. 743-4; Walch, iv. 660, 670; Giesceler, I. ii. 112.

were absolutely and for ever excluded; and he issued a circular letter (*tractoria*), adopting the African decisions, and required that it should be subscribed by all bishops as the test of orthodoxy.[a]

Nineteen Italian bishops refused, and were deposed. The most noted of them was Julian, of Eclanum, a small town near Benevento, who from this time became the leading controversialist on the Pelagian side. He was son of a bishop who was on terms of friendship with Augustine; he had obtained reputation and influence by giving all that he possessed to the poor during a famine. He is described as a man of learning and acuteness, but too confident, and of endless pertinacity as a writer.[b] The founders of the heresy, wishing to remain within the Catholic communion, had studied to veil their errors under plausible language, and to represent the points in question as belonging not to theology but to philosophy. But Julian scorned such courses: he accused his own party of cowardice, and declared that the very essence of Christianity was at stake; that the God of the *Traducianists*[c] (as he styled those who held that sin was derived by inheritance) was not the God of the Gospel.[d]

The Pelagians attempted to obtain an examination of their case by a General Council, whereupon Augustine told them that the matter had already been sufficiently investigated, and that the cry for a General Council was only a proof of their self-importance.[e] They endeavoured to obtain a reversal of the Roman decisions against them. They applied for a recognition at Constantinople, Ephesus, Thessalonica, and elsewhere, but in vain; both ecclesiastical judgments and edicts of the secular power were directed against them.[f] Theodore of Mopsuestia—although he has been regarded as even the originator of the heresy—although he had written against Augustine's views, and had sheltered Julian when banished from Italy,—is said to have taken the lead in anathematizing the Pelagian tenets at a Cilician

[a] Tillem. xiii. 746-7; Walch, iv. 656; Schröckh, xv. 28-9; Neander, iv. 325-6. On the perplexities caused to Romish writers by the behaviour of Zosimus, see Schröckh, xv. 34-6. He remarks, that neither the Africans nor the emperor show any idea of Roman supremacy.

[b] Baron. 419. 4, seqq., with Pagi's notes; Tillem. xiii. 750-2. 814, 821; Walch, iv. 702-4; Schröckh, xv. 37-9.

[c] A question as old as Origen and Tertullian—whether souls were derived by *traduction* or created—was revived by the controversy. Augustine, however, was not really a *Traducianist*, as his opponents said. Ep. clxvi.; Baron. 414. 16; 415. 10; Schröckh, xiv. 391-3; Gieseler, I. ii. 118; Neander, iv. 352; Ritter, vi. 369.

[d] Neander, iv. 328-330, 336-7.

[e] Tillem. xiii. 753-4; Walch, iv. 678.

[f] Baron. 420. 2-4; Pagi in Bar. vii. 231. seqq.; Tillem. xiii. 754-6, xiv. 154, 304-7, 353; Walch, iv. 684, 715; Schröckh, xv. 75, 89-92; Neander, iv. 42; Gieseler, I. ii. 126-7.

Council in 423.[g] They were condemned by the General Council of Ephesus in 431,—perhaps the more heartily because the party had lately endeavoured to secure the patronage of Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, who was the chief object of the Council's censure.[h]

Pelagius himself disappears from history after the year 418, and, as he was far advanced in life, may be supposed to have died about that time. Nothing is known with certainty as to the end of Cœlestius and Julian.[i] Neither Pelagius nor his associates made any attempt to form congregations separate from the Church.[k]

The fundamental question between Pelagius and his opponents related to the idea of Free Will. By this term, Pelagius underderstood an unbiassed power of choosing between good and evil. Such a faculty he maintained that man *has*, since the power of choice is essential to responsibility, and there can be no sin or guilt unless where there is *voluntary* evil.[l] Augustine, on the other hand, taught that freedom must be distinguished from power of choice between good and evil. God, he said, is free, although his nature excludes the possibility of his choosing or doing anything that is evil; hence a natural and necessary limitation to good is higher than a state of balance between good and evil; and such a balance cannot be, since the possibility of inclining to evil is a defect. Man is not free to choose between good or evil, but is governed either by grace or by sin. Our free will, without grace, can only do evil. Grace does not take away freedom, but works with the will, whose true freedom is the love of that which is good.[m]

As Scripture undeniably refers all good to grace, Pelagius acknowledged this in words, but (as has been already noticed)[n] he used the term *grace* in senses of his own—as meaning merely

[g] See Tillem. xiii. 569, 756-7, 817-9; Walch, iv. 683; Schröckh, xv. 92-3, 186. Perhaps Theodore, after having taken up Pelagianism as opposed to the new views set forth by Augustine, may have discovered that it differed widely from his own system. While Pelagianism allowed no place for a Redeemer, redemption was an essential point with Theodore; but he differed from the western teachers in viewing it rather as an exaltation than as a restoration. Neander, iv. 411, 416.

[h] Walch, iv. 684-8; Gieseler, I. ii. 128. Tillemont says that, as the Pelagians had wished for a general council, they *no doubt* attended at Ephesus (xiv. 440); but there is no apparent ground for this inference.

[i] Tillem xiv. 757, 819; Walch, iv. 704; Schröckh, xv. 88.

[k] Walch, iv. 717.

[l] Schröckh, xiv. 433.

[m] Aug. de Corrept. et Gratia, 31-2; Dupin, iii. 254; Neander, iv. 339-342; Ritter, v. 348-9; Hagenbach, i. 303.

[n] P. 379.

external gifts and benefits—free-will itself; the call to everlasting happiness; the forgiveness of sins in baptism, apart from any influence on the after spiritual life; law, doctrine, instructions addressed to the understanding—*not* the inward transforming and controlling power of the Holy Spirit.[o] Pelagius laboured to exclude from the notion of grace anything that might be inconsistent with free-will; Augustine anything that might savour of merit on the part of man. Pelagius supposed three stages in good,—the capacity, the will, and the performance; the second and third he referred to God's help, but the first he regarded as an attribute of human nature. Augustine, on the contrary, refused to admit the idea of a grace bestowed according to the previous receptivity of the soul; because this, as he thought, placed the determination in human merit. The will to do good must be God's gift, as well as the rest.[p]

While Augustine held that the Fall had injured man both spiritually and physically; that by communion with God Adam was enabled to live a higher life; that he might have avoided sin, and, if he had not sinned, would have been raised to perfection without tasting of death, even as the angels, after having borne their probation in a lower degree of grace, were gifted with that higher measure of it which lifts above the possibility of falling and confers immortality:—Pelagius maintained that man's original constitution was mortal; that Adam was placed as we are, and that we are not inferior to him.[q] The passages in which St. Paul speaks of death as the punishment of sin, he interpreted as meaning spiritual death only.[r] He supposed that Adam's sin did not affect his posterity, except as an example; that there is, indeed, a deterioration of the race through custom of sinning, even as an individual man becomes deteriorated by sinful habits; that this comes to affect us like a nature, and has required occasional interpositions of the Divine mercy by revelations and otherwise; but that man had all along been able to live without sin; that some had so lived;[s] and that if this had been possible under the earlier dispensations—nay, even in heathenism—the Gospel, which gives

[o] Walch, iv. 743-4; Schröckh, xv. 150-9; Neander, iv. 357-8; Gieseler, I. ii. 115. Sometimes, however, he owned the need of supernatural grace, but inconsistently. Neander, iv. 354-5.

[p] Walch, iv. 742; Schröckh, xiv. 395-6; Neander, iv. 357; Ritter, vi. 342.

[q] Aug. de Corrept. et Gratia, 27-8; Walch, iv. 736; Schröckh, xiv. 370-1; Neander, iv. 342-3, 347; Gieseler, I. ii. 117; Ritter, vi. 340.

[r] Neander, iv. 350-1.

[s] Abel, for example—as to whom the argument was this—that if he had sinned in a time when there were so few persons for Scripture to speak of, it would not have failed to mention his sin. Pelag. ap. Aug. Ep. clxxix. 8; Neander, iv. 353.

additional motives, higher rules of righteousness, and the light of a brighter Example, must much more enable us to do so.[t] With all this, Pelagius saw in Christ only a teacher and a pattern. "The living union of the faithful with Him was an idea as foreign to the system as the union of the natural man with Adam in death."[u] Yet Pelagius did not, as consistency might seem to have required, deviate from the doctrine of the Church with respect to the Saviour's Godhead.[x]

The practice of Infant Baptism, by this time universally regarded as apostolical, was urged against Pelagius. Why, asked his opponents, should infants be baptised for the washing away of sin, if they do not bring sin into the world with them? The Pelagians answered that infants dying in their natural state would attain "eternal life," which they supposed to be open to all, whether baptised or not; but that baptism was necessary for the higher blessedness of admission into "the kingdom of heaven," which is the especial privilege of the Gospel.[y] Augustine taught that infants dying without baptism must fall under condemnation; as to the nature of this he did not venture to pronounce, but he inclined to think that their state would be preferable to non-existence.[z]

Pelagius held that God had furnished man naturally with all that is needful for living without sin and keeping the commandments, and that the use of these gifts depends on our own will; Augustine, that at every point man needs fresh supplies of Divine and supernatural grace.[a] Pelagius understood justification to be merely the outward act of forgiveness; whereas Augustine saw in it also an inward purification through the power of grace.[b] Grace, he held, does not constrain the will, but delivers it from bondage, and makes it truly free; he distinguished it into—1. The *preventing* grace, which gives the first motions towards goodness; 2. The *operating*, which produces the free-will to good; 3. The *co-operating*, which supports the will in its struggles, and enables it to carry its desire into act; and lastly, 4. The *gift of perseverance*.[c]

[t] Walch, iv. 736; Gieseler, I. ii. 116; Neander, iv. 306-7, 353.

[u] Neander, iv. 360-1.

[x] Leporius, however, a Gaulish monk, who is styled a Pelagian, appears to have held something like Ebionite opinions. Both as to the person of the Redeemer and as to the doctrine of grace, he was convinced by Augustine. Baron. 420. 12, with Pagi's notes; Tillem. xiii. 879-892; Neander, iv. 332-3.

[y] Wall, i. 349; Walch, iv. 737-8; Schröckh, xiv. 370-1, 376; xv. 151; Gieseler, I. ii. 115.

[z] Wall, i. 360, ii. 204. See, on the opinions as to baptism, Neander, iv. 428, 432-3.

[a] Dupin, iii. 254; Neander, iv. 342-4.

[b] Neander, iv. 362-3; Gieseler, I. ii.

[c] Neander, iv. 369-70.

The existence of evil was a great difficulty which exercised the mind of Augustine. He thought that, as everything must be from God, and as He can only will what is good, therefore evil is *nothing*—not, as in the Manichæan system, the opposite of good, but only the defect or privation of good.[d] It has, however, been remarked that the power which he ascribes to evil is hardly consistent with this idea of its merely neutral quality—unless, indeed, his terms be understood in a meaning which they do not naturally suggest;[e] and some of the arguments which are reported from him on this subject must appear (to ordinary readers at least) to be merely a play on words.[f]

Some monks of Adrumetum, in Africa, were much disturbed by Augustine's doctrines, about the year 426. They supposed that, by referring everything in salvation to the Divine will, he rendered useless all exertion on man's part.[g] In consequence of this he wrote two treatises,[h] in which he, for the first time, distinctly set forth those views on the subject of predestination which have so largely entered into the controversies of later times. He still maintained the freedom of man's will, but held that this essential freedom was not inconsistent with the existence of an outward necessity controlling it in the prosecution of its desires. Our will, he said, can do that which God wills, and foresees that it will do; will, therefore, depends on his fore-knowledge.[i] God had from eternity determined to rescue some of mankind from the misery brought on us by sin. The number of these is fixed, so that it can neither be increased nor diminished; even before they have a being, they are the children of God; they cannot perish.[k] As He, being almighty, *might* save all, and as many are not saved, it follows that He does not will the salvation of all—a tenet which Augustine laboriously tried to reconcile with such texts as 1 Tim. ii. 4.[l] The elect are supplied with all gifts which are requisite for bringing them to salvation, and grace works *irresistibly* in them.[m] The ground of their election is inscrutable—

[d] Jul. Müller, Lehre v. d. Sünde, i. 397, ed. 3.

[e] For this, see Müller, i. 403-4.

[f] Neander, iv. 290; Ritter, vi. 350-6, 365, 372-3; Müller, i. 395-6, 399-400.

[g] Epp. 214-6; Pagi in Baron. vii. 275; Tillem. xiii. 875-6; Schröckh, xv. 97-100; Neander, iv. 373.

[h] "De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio;" "De Correptione et Gratia."

[i] Ritter, vi. 343-5. Neander says that there was a self-deception in his *continuing* to hold the freedom of the will. iv. 291.

[k] De Corrept. et Gr. 39; Gieseler, I. ii. 119-120; Hagenbach, i. 305.

[l] Gieseler, I. ii. 122-3; Ritter, vi. 390-1.

[m] De Corr. et Gr. 13.

resting on the secret counsel of God.[n] He does not predestine any to destruction—for his predestination regards such things only as He himself works, whereas *sin* is not his work.[o]—but He knows who are not chosen and will not be saved. These perish either through unforgiven original sin or through actual transgression.[p] That they have no portion in Christ is no ground for impugning the divine justice: for, if God do not give grace to all, He is not bound to give it to any; even among men, a creditor may forgive debts to some and not to others. "By giving to some that which they do not deserve, God has willed that his grace shall be truly gratuitous, and therefore real; by not giving to all, he shows what all deserve. He is good in benefiting the certain number, and just in punishing the rest. He is both good in all cases, since it is good when that which is due is paid; and just in all, since it is just when that which is not due is given, without wrong to any one."[q] If we sin, we are guilty, because we have rejected grace, either in our own persons or in that of the common father.[r] Those who are not of the elect may be baptised, and may for a time live piously, so that in the sight of men they are God's children; but they are never such in God's sight, since He foresees their end. If they go on well for a time, they are not removed from the world until, lacking the gift of perseverance, they have fallen away. That God gives to some faith, hope, charity, but not perseverance, is astonishing; but it is not so much so as that, of the children of religious parents, He brings some to his kingdom by baptism, while others, dying unbaptised, are shut out; and that some perish through not having heard the Gospel—(for "faith cometh by hearing")—is no less wonderful than that others perish through not having received the gift of perseverance. And, since worldly gifts are variously bestowed, why should it not be so with this gift also?[s] There are, however, differences of degree in the condemnation of those who are not elect; thus the infant, who is not accountable for any other than inherited sin, is to be distinguished from those who have been guilty of actual transgression.[t]

Augustine himself was able to look on these doctrines only as

[n] De Corr. et Gr. 17; Dupin. iii. 255; Neander, iv. 298; Gieseler, I. ii. 120; Guericke, i. 502.

[o] Müller, i. 352.

[p] De Corr. et Gr. 42.

[q] De Dono Perseverantiæ, 29-8; cf. De Corr. et Grat. 28.

[r] Dupin, iii. 255; Tillem. xiii. 878; Neander, iv. 298; Gieseler, I. ii. 121-2.

[s] De Corr. et Grat. 11, 16, 18, 19; De Dono Persever. 21; Gieseler, I. ii. 122.

[t] Gieseler, I. ii. 121.

encouragements to trust in God. He exhorted others to do the same, and teachers to set them forth in that light, without questioning as to the election of individuals, or driving any to despair through the apprehension of being hopelessly reprobate.[u] But we cannot wonder that they were regarded with alarm by many, both on account of the startling novelties of the theory and for the sake of practical consequences.

A middle party arose, which is known by the name of Semipelagian, originally given to it by the schoolmen of the middle ages.[x] Its leader—who, however, had probably no idea of founding a party—was Cassian, who is generally described as a Scythian by birth.[y] He had been a deacon at Constantinople under St. Chrysostom, and, after travelling in many countries, especially in Egypt, as to the monastic life of which his "Conferences" are a principal source of information, settled at Marseilles, where he founded two monasteries—one for each sex.[z] Cassian, unlike Pelagius, acknowledged that all men sinned in Adam, and stood in need of supernatural aid, but, although he admitted that in some cases the first call to salvation proceeds from preventing grace, he supposed that ordinarily the working of grace depends on the determination of man's own will.[a] In support of this opinion, he alleged such instances as those of Zacchæus and the Penitent Thief,—as to which he made the obvious mistake of regarding the visible part as if it were the whole.[b] He held that God furnishes man's *nature* with the seeds of virtue, although grace be needful to develop them; that Christ died for all men, and grace is offered to all men;[c] that there is a twofold predestination—the *general*, by which God wills the salvation of all men, and the *special*, by which he determines the salvation of those as to whom he foresees that they will make a right use of grace and will persevere;[d] that the notion of an *irrespective* predestination is to be rejected, as destructive of all motive to exertion, alike in the elect and in the reprobate, and as implying the Gnostic error, that there are naturally distinct species of men;[e] and A.D. 428.

[u] De Dono Persev. 57-62; Mosheim, i. 304; Schröckh, xv. 127; Neander, iv. 372, 382; Gieseler, I. ii. 121.

[x] See Walch, v. 4-7; Schröckh, xv. 116; Neander, I. ii. 379; Gieseler, I. ii. 130.

[y] Probably a native of some country bordering on the Euxine. See Tillem. xiv. 157, 739; Dupin, iv. 14; Walch, v. 37-8; Neander, iv. 375. Pagi (in Baron. vi. 460) supposes him a native of Gaul.

[z] Tillem. xiv. 157; Schröckh, xv. 117.

[a] Prosper ap. Aug. Ep. cxxv. 6; Aug. de Præd. SS. 2; Tillem. xiii. 915-8; Walch, v. 177; Guizot, i. 385.

[b] Neander, iv. 377-8.

[c] Walch, v. 160-1.

[d] Walch, v. 165, 178.

[e] Schröckh, xv. 108-110; Neander, iv. 378; Gieseler, I. ii. 130.

that, in any case, predestination ought not to be popularly taught, inasmuch as the teaching of it might be mischievous, whereas the omission of the doctrine could do no harm.[f] Faith and good works (it was said) do not *deserve* grace, but are *motives* to the bestowal of it. Grace must work with our own will and endeavour; it may be lost, and is to be retained by man's free will—not by a gift of perseverance.[g] God's purpose and calling, according to Cassian, bring men by baptism to salvation; yet the benefits of the Saviour's death extend to persons who in this life were never made members of Him—their readiness to believe being discerned by God, and reckoned to their credit.[h] So children who die in infancy are dealt with according to God's foreknowledge of what they would have become if they had been allowed to live longer: those who would have used grace rightly are brought by baptism to salvation; the others die unbaptised.[i]

These opinions found much favour in the south of France. Augustine, on being informed of their existence by Prosper, a layman of Aquitaine, and Hilary, bishop of Arles,[k] wrote two treatises[m] against them, which his Jansenist biographer declares to be nothing less than inspired.[n] He spoke of his opponents with high regard; he recognised the great and fundamental difference between them and the Pelagians; he treated them as being united with himself as to essentials, and expressed a trust that God would bring them to the fulness of a sound belief.[o] Prosper engaged in controversy with the party, attacking it not only in prose, but in a long "Carmen de Ingratis," and in epigrams.[p] The further history of Semipelagianism will come under our notice hereafter.[q]

A.D. 428-9.

IV.

Augustine's last years were saddened by the calamities of his country. Boniface, commander of the troops in Africa, had long been on terms of friendship with him; he had been dissuaded from

[f] Prosper ap. Aug. Ep. ccxxv. 3; Hilar. Arel. ib. ccxxvi. 2, 5. This is answered by Augustine De Dono Persev. 38-40.

[g] Walch, v. 162-4.

[h] Walch, v. 18-19; Schröckh, xv. 111.

[i] Prosper ap. Aug. Ep. ccxxv. 5; Aug. de Prædest. SS. 24-5; Walch, v. 166-7. Augustine speaks strongly against the doctrine of a judgment according to the foresight of things which are never realised. "Ita abhorret a sensibus Christianis, aut prorsus humanis, ut id etiam refellere pudeat." De Dono Persev. 22; Comp. 31.

[k] Aug. Epp. ccxxv-vi.

[m] "De Prædestinatione Sanctorum," and "De Dono Perseverantiæ."

[n] Tillem. xiii. 921.

[o] De Præd. SS. 2; Tillem. xiii. 918; Walch, v. 32, 60-1; Schröckh, xv. 113, 130; Neander, iv. 378, 381.

[p] Tillem. xvi. 7, seqq.; Walch, v. 66, 69; Schröckh, xv. 130-1; Neander, iv. 383.

[q] See below, C. xiii.

entering a monastery by Augustine and Alypius, who told him that he might do better by living Christianly in his military station,[r] and exerting himself for the safety of his country.[s] Boniface afterwards married a second wife, of Arian family; and, although she had professed Catholicism, it is said that the general, after entering into this connexion, declined both in faith and in morals.[t]

Aëtius, the rival of Boniface in power and in military distinction, endeavoured basely to undermine him. He persuaded Placidia, the sister of Honorius, who governed in the name of her son, the young Valentinian, to recal the general from Africa; and at the same time he persuaded Boniface to disobey the summons by telling him that his ruin was intended. Boniface fell into the snare, raised the standard of revolt, and invited to his assistance the Vandals, who about the year 420 had established themselves in the south of Spain.[u] A large body of them, under the command of Genseric, passed into Africa, where they were joined by the Moors, and by the fanatical Donatists—eager to take vengeance on the Catholics for many years of depression. The province was cruelly ravaged; the clergy in particular were marks for the enmity both of the Donatists and of the Arian invaders.[x] A.D. 428.

Boniface had been urged by Augustine to return to his allegiance. He was distressed at the savage proceedings of his allies, and, by explanations with the court, he discovered the frauds of Aëtius. He requested the Vandals to withdraw, but was answered with derision. He engaged them in battle, was defeated, and shut himself up in Hippo.[y]

Augustine was indefatigable in his labours during the invasion. He continued a treatise against Julian of Eclanum; he wrote other controversial works, and endeavoured by letters of advice and consolation to support the minds of his brethren in their trials.[z] His pastoral cares were increased by the multitudes of all classes who had sought a refuge within the walls of Hippo; and soon after the Vandals had laid siege to the town he fell sick in consequence of his exertions. Wishing to secure his devotions from interruption, he directed that his June, 430.

[r] Aug. Epp. clxxxix, ccxx. 3; Baron. 427. 11.
[s] Tillem. xiii. 712-4; Schröckh, xv. 489.
[t] Aug. Ep. ccxx. 4; Tillem. xiii. 886.
[u] Tillem. Emp. vi. 193; Mém. xiii., 897; Gibbon, iii. 206-9.
[x] Possid. 28; Victor Vitensis, i. 2, seqq.; Tillem. xiii. 899-900; Gibbon, iii. 211-2.
[y] Tillem. xiii. 889, 929, 939; Gibbon, iii. 212.
[z] Tillem. xiii. 940.

friends should not be admitted to him except at the times when medicine or food were administered. He desired that the penitential psalms should be hung up within his sight, and read them over and over with a profusion of tears. On the 28th of August 430 he was taken to his rest.[a]

[a] Tillem. xiii. 940-3. Hippo held out for fourteen months. Boniface had then got assistance from Italy and the East, but was again defeated by the Vandals. The people of Hippo escaped by sea. No bishop later than Augustine is mentioned. In the seventh century the town was destroyed, and its materials were used for the building of Bona, at a distance of about two miles. Tillem. xiii. 945-6; Gibbon, iii. 214.

CHAPTER IX.

THEODOSIUS II.—VALENTINIAN III.—NESTORIANISM.

THE younger Theodosius was carefully educated under the care of his sister Pulcheria, and throughout his life was directed by her influence.[a] His character was mild, but feeble. The nature of his piety may be inferred from a story which Theodoret[b] tells in commendation of it. An impudent monk, after having repeatedly met with a refusal in some application to the emperor, excommunicated him. When meal-time arrived, Theodosius declared that he would not eat until he were absolved, and sent to beg that the bishop of Constantinople would desire the monk to take off his excommunication. The bishop answered that no heed ought to be paid to such a sentence; but Theodosius could not be at ease until the monk was found and was prevailed on to recall it. Pulcheria vowed virginity, and persuaded her three sisters to join in the vow; the life and occupations of the imperial family resembled those of a monastic society.[c] A.D. 408-450.

In 421, Pulcheria provided her brother with a consort, Athenais, the orphan daughter of an Athenian rhetorician.[d] The empress took the name of Eudocia, and gave birth to a daughter, Eudoxia, who, in 437, was married to the emperor of the West, Valentinian the Third.[e] The mother then obtained leave to visit the Holy Land; she expended immense sums on its churches, monasteries, and hospitals, and carried back to Constantinople some relics which were regarded as exceedingly precious.[f] But soon after her return, she fell into disgrace; she was allowed to retire to Jerusalem, and there spent the remainder of her days.[g] A.D. 444.

[a] Soc. vii. 22; Tillem. Emp. vi. 16; Mém. xv. 175; Gibbon, iii. 195.
[b] v. 37.
[c] Baron. 416. 36; Tillem. xv. 173-4; Gibbon, iii. 193.
[d] Soc. vii. 21; Evagr. i. 20; Tillem. Emp. vi. 37; Mem. xv. 176; Gibbon, iii. 196.
[e] Soc. vii. 44; Evagr. i. 20; Tillem. Emp. vi. 75.
[f] Soc. vii. 47; Evagr. i. 20; Tillem. Emp. vi. 80-3; Gibbon, iii. 197-8.
[g] Tillem. Emp. vi. 85; Pagi in Bar. vii. 602; viii. 53; Gibbon, iii. 193.

The state of the Christians in Persia drew the empire into a war with that country. Maruthas, a Mesopotamian bishop, after having laboured with much success in Persia as a missionary, had been sent by Arcadius as an envoy to the king, Yezdegerd. He detected and exposed the arts by which the magi endeavoured to work on the superstitious feelings of this prince; he obtained a complete liberty of religion for the Christians, and it was hoped that Yezdegerd himself would become a convert.[h] But this state of things was changed through the indiscretion of a bishop named Abdas, who destroyed a temple of the national religion. The king summoned him into his presence, mildly reproved him, and ordered him to restore the building, on pain of death, and of retaliation on the Christian churches. Abdas refused,[i] the king's threats were executed, and many Christians were put to death with frightful tortures. The persecution, after an intermission during the last years of Yezdegerd, was renewed with greater violence under his successor, Bairam or Vararanes. The frontiers of Persia were guarded, lest the Christians should escape; but some of them made their way to Constantinople, and represented the sufferings of their community to the emperor. Theodosius refused to give up the fugitives; and a war ensued, which, after some years, was concluded in favour of the Romans.[k] In the course of this war, Acacius, bishop of Amida, distinguished himself by a remarkable act of charity. Having learnt that seven thousand Persian captives were in his neighbourhood, he called his clergy together, and, reminding them that the God of Christians had no need of cups or dishes, as being Himself all-sufficient, he proposed to sell the gold and silver vessels of the church. With the price he ransomed the captives, and, after having entertained them until they were recovered from the effect of their privations, he sent them to the Persian king, as evidences of the real spirit of Christianity.[l]

A.D. 414.

A.D. 420.

A.D. 422.

[h] Soc. vii. 8; Theod. v. 39; Baron. 420. 15, seqq.; Schröckh, vii. 361-2; Neander, iv. 156.

[i] Theodoret remarks, that the destruction of the temple was an error, since St. Paul did not use any such means against the idolatry of Athens; but that Abdas is to be admired for refusing to restore it, inasmuch as this would have been nothing less than sharing in the worship of fire (v. 39). Tillemont, as in the case of St. Ambrose (see p. 254), endeavours to subdue his doubts by a reference to authority (xii. 357). See Bayle, art. *Abdas*, n. C., and Schröckh, vii. 366.

[k] Soc. vii. 18-20; Theod. v. 39; Pagi in Bar. vii. 207; Tillem. Emp. vi. 36-9; Schröckh, vii. 368; Gieseler, I. ii. 337. Theodoret says, that at the time when he wrote the persecution had lasted thirty years. His meaning is supposed to be that the Christians continued to suffer annoyance.

[l] Soc. vii. 21; Gibbon, iii. 222.

Theodosius died in 450, when Pulcheria became in her own right empress of the East. Feeling that a female reign was a hazardous novelty, she bestowed her hand on a nominal husband, Marcian, a senator sixty years of age; and his conduct justified the choice.[m]

For some years the empire had been kept in terror by Attila, king of the Huns, who extorted humiliating submissions and concessions from Theodosius. Marcian took a bolder tone towards this enemy, and refused the tribute which his predecessor had paid.[n] Attila threatened vengeance, but before executing it he turned his arms against the empire of the West. There Aëtius, after having effected the ruin of his rival Boniface, had gained an entire ascendancy, and for twenty years sustained, with admirable vigour, the throne of the feeble and depraved Valentinian. Attila, at the head of an immense host, had penetrated as far as Orleans, spreading desolation along his course, when Aëtius, who had been stirred to action by Anianus, bishop of that city, advanced against him with a force composed of Romans, Visigoths under Theodoric, son of Alaric, and other allies. The Huns, who had already entered Orleans, were driven off. Attila was defeated in the great battle of Châlons, and was compelled to retreat across the Rhine.[o] In the following year he invaded Italy. The bishop of Rome, Leo, with two high officers of the empire, waited on him in the neighbourhood of Mantua, and persuaded him to retire on receiving a large sum of money. A few months later, the sudden death of the king, and the dissolution of the Hunnish monarchy, relieved both divisions of the empire from the fear with which he had inspired them.[p]

A.D. 433.

A.D. 451.

A.D. 452.

A.D. 453.

In the year after the death of Attila, Valentinian, on a suspicion that Aëtius aimed at the crown, stabbed him at an interview in the palace; and, having treacherously violated the wife of a senator named Maximus, he fell a victim to the vengeance of the husband, which was executed by two of the murdered general's adherents.[q]

Mar. 16, 455.

On the death of Sisinnius, the successor of Atticus at Con-

[m] Evagr. ii. 1; Tillem. Emp. vi. 284; Mem. xv. 176; Gibbon, iii. 251.

[n] Tillem. Emp. vi. 95-112; Gibbon, iii. 225, seqq.

[o] Tillem. Emp. vi. 149-162; Gibbon, iii. 254, 264-272.

[p] Tillem. Emp. vi. 169-175; Mem. xv. 750; Schröckh, xvii. 150; Gibbon, iii. 273-282.

[q] Tillem. Emp. vi. 251-3; Gibbon, iii. 288-4.

stantinople, a contest arose between the partisans of Philip of Side and Proclus. Both had been candidates in opposition to the late bishop; Proclus had since been ordained by Sisinnius for Cyzicum, but, as the people of that city denied the right of the bishop of Constantinople to appoint their pastor, he had been unable to enter on the see. The court, with a view to allay the strife of parties, resolved that the vacancy should not be filled by any of the Constantinopolitan clergy, and made choice of Nestorius, a presbyter of Antioch.[r] Nestorius had been a monk; he was of blameless life, had some character for learning, and was celebrated for his fluent and sonorous oratory; while he is charged with pride, vanity, and an eager desire of popularity, which led him (it is said) to make an ostentatious display of sanctity in his behaviour, and to affect an ambitious and unsubstantial style in preaching. His personal reputation and the circumstance that he came from the same Church with the revered Chrysostom combined to render the nomination acceptable, and he was willingly elected by the clergy and people.[s]

April, 428.

The new bishop entered on his office with a great display of zeal against heresy. Preaching in the cathedral on the day of his enthronement, he addressed the emperor—"Give me earth cleared of heretics, and I will give you the kingdom of heaven in return; aid me in subduing the heretics, and I will aid you to subdue the Persians!" The words were loudly applauded, but we are told that the wiser of the hearers conceived from them no favourable idea of the speaker's modesty and prudence.[t]

His declaration of war was soon followed up by deeds. Five days later he attacked a meeting-house of the Arians; the congregation in despair burnt it down; the flames reached to other buildings, and Nestorius got the name of "the Incendiary."[u] He persecuted other sectaries, and procured a law against them.[x] Socrates particularly notices his proceedings against the Novatians—a sect to which the historian himself inclined, and which Atticus had always spared, on the ground that they had suffered from the Arians in common with the Catholics, and that, as their separation was so ancient, their agreement in the doctrine of the Trinity was a valuable witness to the orthodoxy of the Church.[y]

[r] Soc. vii. 26, 29; Tillem. xiv. 283, 705; Walch, v. 382-3.

[s] Baron. 428. 21-3; Tillem. xiv. 284-6; Walch, v. 319, 339-340; Schröckh, xviii. 184-5.

[t] Soc. vii. 29.

[u] Soc. vii. 29; Tillem. xiv. 298.

[x] May 30. Tillem. xiv. 298; Walch, v. 329; Neander, iv. 190.

[y] Soc. vii. 25.

Nestorius himself was soon to fall under suspicion of heresy.

The schools of Alexandria and Antioch had been led, by their characteristic difference of tone, and by the necessity of opposing the several errors which more immediately pressed on each, to a diversity of view and expression on the subject of the Saviour's Incarnation.[z] At Alexandria, where Arianism was the enemy to be combated, the Divinity was so strongly insisted on that language is found, even in the writings of Athanasius himself, which, at a later time, would have been a token of Eutychianism; as where he speaks of "not two natures, but one incarnate nature of God the Word."[a] Although the distinctness of the Godhead and of the Manhood was recognised, they were viewed in their union; and as the Person in whom the natures met was one, the properties of one nature were, in speaking of Him, *transferred* to the other. Thus that which in strictness could belong only to his manhood, was predicated of Him as God, since the personality was in his Godhead before He assumed the nature of man. "God" (it was said) "was born, suffered, redeemed us with his blood."[b] In the West, a doctrine resembling that with which the name of Nestorius was afterwards connected, had been broached by a Gaulish presbyter, named Leporius, whose opinions as to original sin were also questionable.[c] Augustine, who succeeded in convincing him of his errors, illustrated the communication of properties by saying that we may speak of a "philosopher" as killed, dead, or buried, although it be in the body that such things befall the man, and not in that part of him to which the quality of philosopher belongs.[d]

On the other hand, the Syrians—having to contend against Apollinarianism, with its denial of the Saviour's entire humanity, and its consequent fusion of the Godhead and the Manhood into a third something different from either—were under a necessity of carefully distinguishing between the two natures. This method appears more scientifically correct than the other; but, in a school of rationalistic tendency (if the word may be used without offence, and without conveying too strong an idea) it was likely to become dangerous. Diodore, afterwards Bishop of Tarsus, and Theodore, afterwards Bishop of Mopsuestia—the former

[z] Walch, v. 894.

[a] The Catholics afterwards said that such expressions were interpolated by Apollinarians or Eutychians; but this is improbable. See Tillem. xiv. 534; Mosh. i. 490; Walch, v. 806-7, 884; Gieseler, I. ii. 133-4; Guericke, i. 467.

[b] Walch, v. 808; Neander, iv. 130; Wilberforce on the Incarnation, 193-4; Guericke, i. 463.

[c] See p. 386.

[d] Ep. clxix. 8; Gieseler, I. ii. 136-7; Guericke, i. 468.

Chrysostom's master, the latter his fellow-student and friend—were distinguished as teachers in this school. They introduced a system of explaining Scripture by the aid of history, criticism, and philology, whereas until their time commentators had been divided between the merely literal and the allegorical methods. Diodore and Theodore, therefore, may be regarded as the forerunners of modern interpretation; but it would seem that with the merits of their system they combined an unhappy inclination to lower and humanize the meaning of Holy Writ.[e] Theodore, for nearly fifty years, maintained the cause of the Church in controversy with various classes of assailants, and throughout his life his orthodoxy was regarded as unimpeachable. But after his death he was represented by some as the father both of Nestorianism and of Pelagianism, and his memory became the subject of disputes which it will be necessary to notice hereafter.[f] Nestorius has been described as a pupil of Theodore; but the description, if meant to imply a *personal* relation between the two, is probably incorrect.[g] Nor is much faith to be given to a story, that when Nestorius was on his way to take possession of his see, he visited the Bishop of Mopsuestia, who was then near his end, and that during this visit he imbibed the opinions which were so unhappily to distract the Church.[h]

A.D. 428. The first outbreak of the Nestorian controversy was on the occasion of a sermon, in which Anastasius—a presbyter who had accompanied the Bishop of Constan-

[e] See Neander, iii. 497.

[f] Theodoret, v. 40; Pagi in Baron. vii. 232-3; Tillemont, xii. 442; Schröckh, xv. 179. Walch (v. 893), and Schröckh (xviii. 266), maintain that, although Theodore's language was the same with that of Nestorius, he had no heretical meaning. Pétau and the Romanists in general condemn him. Theodore was bishop of Mopsuestia from 392 to 428 (Till. xii. 437). He is said to have rejected some books of Scripture, and to have denied the evangelical import of certain psalms which had been generally regarded as prophetic of the Messiah. (Walch, viii. 14-5.) His criticisms on the Book of Job may be mentioned as a specimen of his manner.—The writer, he says, instead of relating the story of the patriarch in a simple and edifying way, is ambitious of displaying his eloquence after the fashion of the heathen tragedians. Theodore finds fault with the conduct of the plot and of the argument. The heathenish tendency, he says, is sufficiently apparent from the circumstance that Job's youngest daughter has [*in the Septuagint*] the pagan name of *Amalthea's horn* (!). Theodore's exposition of the Canticles is remarkable in a similar style. (See Schröckh, xv. 190, seqq.; Gieseler, I. ii. 87.) We cannot wonder that German professors recognise a kindred spirit in this commentator, and regret the loss of most of his writings; but, while we admit that commentaries of such a kind may contain much that is valuable and instructive, the description of them is not likely to prepossess us in favour of the writer's orthodoxy. Theodoret, a warm admirer of Theodore, protests against his interpretation of the Psalms and Canticles. Tillem. xv. 257-8; Dupin, iv. 91; Schröckh, xviii. 391-4.

[g] See Walch, v. 315.

[h] Evagr. i. 2. See Tillem. xiv. 312; Walch, v. 886.

tinople from Antioch, and was much in his confidence—attacked the use of the word *Theotokos* (*Bearer*, or *Mother of God*), as applied to the Blessed Virgin. Mary, he said, was human, and from man God cannot be born.[j] The term thus called in question had been used in the preceding century by Eusebius of Cæsarea, by Athanasius, the two Gregories, and others.[k] The import of it was not to imply that the Blessed Virgin communicated the Divine nature to the Saviour, but to affirm the union of Godhead and Manhood in one Person, "because the Son of God took not to himself a man's person, but the nature only of a man."[l] To the Syrians, however, the epithet appeared to involve a confusion of the two natures, as in the Apollinarian doctrine; while the refusal of it by Anastasius suggested to his hearers at Constantinople the idea that the new bishop and his party maintained the mere humanity of the Redeemer—supposing the Spirit to have dwelt in Him only in the same manner as in the prophets.[m]

Nestorius supported his friend by preaching a number of sermons, in which he brought forward quibbling and sophistical objections to the term *Theotokos*. If this expression were to be allowed (he said) the heathens might be excused for assigning mothers to their deities; the Blessed Virgin ought not to be styled *Theotokos*, but *Christotokos*—Mother of Christ—Mother of the temple prepared by the Holy Spirit for the habitation of the Divine Word.[n] It may, he said, be affirmed that *Christ* has the attributes of either nature; but not that *God* was born, or that *man* may be adored.[o] Proclus, preaching in the cathedral on a festival to which the subject was appropriate, eloquently asserted the use of *Theotokos*. His discourse was received with enthusiasm, when Nestorius rose, and objected to the preacher's doctrine as confounding the two natures.[p] He declared, however, that he did not refuse to use the word Theotokos, provided it were rightly explained, so as not to deify the Blessed Virgin herself.[q]

The excitement at Constantinople was immense. Nestorius con-

[j] Soc. vii. 32; Evagr. i. 2; Fleury, xxv. 1; Tillem. xiv. 313; Walch, v. 361-2.

[k] Walch. v. 342-3; Schröckh, xviii. 193-4; Gieseler, I. ii. 134; Newman on Athan. Orat. 420. 447. Gibbon (iv. 343) says that it came from the Arians, which Dr. Newman (on Ath. Orat. 292) shows to be a calumny. Hesychius of Jerusalem, A.D. 343, had called David Θεοπάτωρ (*father of God*). Gieseler, I. ii. 134.

[l] Hooker, V. lii. 3.

[m] Neander, iv. 126.

[n] Soc. vii. 32; Tillem. xiv. 314; Fleury, xxv. 1; Walch, v. 364-7; Schröckh, xviii. 188; Neander, iii. 128; Gieseler, I. ii. 139.

[o] Dupin, iv. 64.

[p] Fleury, xxv. 2; Walch, v. 373-5; Neander, iv. 129; Gieseler, I. ii. 138. Some place this on Christmas-day, 428; others, on the Annunciation, 429; but it is doubtful whether the festival of the Annunciation was yet instituted.

[q] Walch, v. 376-7, 791; Neander, iv. 129.

tinued to preach on the subject in dispute, and was often interrupted in his sermons. Eusebius, an advocate, who afterwards became Bishop of Dorylæum, charged him with the heresy of Paul of Samosata, and openly placarded a parallel between the two systems.[r] The monks and most of the clergy were against the Bishop, and old jealousies connected with the election revived among them. The Court supported him; the majority of the people were as yet favourable to him, although many withdrew from his communion. He tells us that some of his opponents threatened to throw him into the sea. He himself made liberal use of such means as deposition, whipping, and banishment against such of them as were amenable to his jurisdiction.[s]

In the controversy which had thus arisen—as in the great controversy of the preceding century—the chief champion of orthodoxy was a Bishop of Alexandria; but his character and policy remind us less of Athanasius than of his own uncle and immediate predecessor Theophilus.[t]

Cyril had passed five years among the monks of Nitria. His friend the abbot Isidore of Pelusium,[u] a man of great piety and sincerity, tells him, in a letter written during this period, that, while he was praying in the desert, his heart was still fixed on the world.[x] In 412, on the death of Theophilus, he was elected bishop after a contest with the archdeacon Timothy.[y] In the administration of his office he was covetous and rapacious; he left at his death a large property, amassed from the revenues of the Church; he is even charged with simoniacal practices.[z] The earlier years of his episcopate were marked by many displays of violence. He acquired for his see an amount of secular power such as had not until then been attached to any bishopric.[a] He proceeded with great severity against the Novatianists. He expelled the Jews from Alexandria on account of a bloody tumult in the theatre; and in consequence of this act he quarrelled with the prefect, Orestes. A legion of monks from Nitria descended on the city, and attacked the prefect. One of them, who had hit him with a stone, was put to death, and was thereupon canonized

[r] Hardouin, i. 1271-4; Evagr. i. 9; Fleury, xxv. 1; Neander, iv. 131-2.

[s] Tillem. xiv. 319, 323-6; Walch, v. 380; Schröckh, xviii. 191-2.

[t] Walch, v. 417-421; Guericke, i. 468. Tillemont mildly remarks, that although St. Cyril be a saint, much of his conduct is not saintly, xiv. 541.

[u] See Schröckh, xvii. 520-9.

[x] Schröckh, xviii. 314.

[y] Tillem. xiv. 268.

[z] Schröckh, xviii. 351; Neander, iv. 133.

[a] Soc. vii. 2; Dupin, iv. 41.

by Cyril as a martyr.[a] The coolness with which the prefect regarded the bishop after these scenes was ascribed by the populace to the influence of Hypatia, a beautiful and learned virgin, whose lectures in philosophy drew admiring crowds to Alexandria. A mob of parabolani and others, headed by a reader named Peter, attacked her in the street, dragged her from her chariot, hurried her into the cathedral church,[c] and there barbarously murdered her.[d] That Cyril had any share in this atrocity appears to be an unsupported calumny;[e] but the perpetrators were mostly officers of his church, and had unquestionably drawn encouragement from his earlier proceedings; and his character deservedly suffered in consequence.[f] A.D. 416.

Cyril had accompanied his uncle in the expedition to Constantinople which proved so disastrous to Chrysostom. He held out longer than any other metropolitan against inserting Chrysostom's name in the diptychs of the Church; and, although he was at length persuaded to do so, and sometimes spoke respectfully of the great preacher's eloquence, it is certain that his feeling towards his memory was never cordial;[g] and it is evident that the same desire to humble the newly-exalted see of Constantinople which had actuated the former bishop of Alexandria mixed also with Cyril's motives in his proceedings against Nestorius.[h]

Cyril was drawn into the controversy by finding that copies of Nestorius' sermons had been circulated among the Egyptian monks, and that many of these had consequently abandoned the term *Theotokos*.[i] He denounced the novelty in his Paschal letter of 430, and entered into a correspondence with Nestorius himself, in which both parties soon became angry. He also opened a communication with some clergy and monks of Constantinople who were opposed to their archbishop.[k] It would seem to have been in consequence of the irritation caused by Cyril's letters that Dorotheus, a bishop attached to Nestorius, preaching in the archbishop's presence, anathematized all who used the title

[b] Soc. vii. 2, 13, 14; Schröckh, vii. 393-5; xviii. 316-7.

[c] The *Cæsareum* appears to have been at this time the cathedral.

[d] Soc. vii. 15.

[e] Schröckh, vii. 44-5. Gibbon assumes the truth of it as unquestioned, iv. 341.

[f] It is supposed to have been in consequence of this outrage that the number of the parabolani was reduced by order of the emperor. (See p. 280.) Fleury, xxxiii. 25.

[g] Baron. 412. 52-63; Tillem. xiv. 268; Schröckh, xviii. 318.

[h] Walch, v. 423; Schröckh, xviii. 196. Isidore, in a letter to Cyril himself, written during or soon after the Council of Ephesus, tells him that this was commonly said of him. Tillem. xiv. 403; Gibbon, iv. 343; Gieseler, I. ii. 148. (See pp. 408-9.)

[i] Baron. 429. 24; Pagi in Baron, vii. 310; Tillem. xiv. 328-330; Mosh. i. 480-1; Walch, v. 425; Neander, iv. 134.

[k] Hardouin, i. 1295-8.

Theotokos.[l] Nestorius accused Cyril of having caused the disturbance which ensued at Constantinople. Some Alexandrians of worthless character, who were there, charged their bishop with various misdemeanours, which Nestorius threatened to bring before a general council. Cyril replied that he should rejoice if his affairs contributed towards the assembling of such a council, but that he would not allow his opponent to sit as one of his judges. He declared himself willing to sacrifice everything for the suppression of Nestorius' heresies; and, in order to detach the court from the opposite party, he wrote to Theodosius, Pulcheria, and Eudocia.[m]

Nestorius had more than once applied to Celestine, bishop of Rome, for information as to the Pelagians, some of whose leaders were then at Constantinople;[n] but he had not received any answer. He now repeated his inquiries, and added some account of the new controversy which had arisen.[o] Cyril also applied to Celestine, but more skilfully. Whereas Nestorius had addressed the Roman bishop as an equal, Cyril adopted a strain of deference, or rather subserviency, of which there had been no example on the part of any among his predecessors.[p] His representations of Nestorius' opinions procured from Celestine and a Roman synod a condemnation of the bishop of Constantinople as a heretic, with a letter announcing to him that he should be deposed and excommunicated, unless within ten days after receiving it he should conform to the faith of Rome and Alexandria, and restore all whom he had deposed on account of the late disputes. Cyril was authorised to execute this sentence as plenipotentiary of the Roman bishop.[q]

August 430.

Cyril also wrote to some Eastern bishops, giving his statement of the controversy. From Acacius of Berrhœa (who was now a hundred and ten years old), from John of Antioch, and others, he received answers disapproving of what had been said by Nestorius,

[l] Fleury, xxv. 5; Tillem. xiv. 317-9, 327, 331-2, 337-9; Walch, v. 427; Neander, iv. 136, 139-141.

[m] Tillem. xiv. 334-7, 340-2; Walch, v. 428; Schröckh, xviii. 203-5.

[n] See p. 383.

[o] Hardouin, i. 1307-10; Baron. 430. 3, 7; Dupin, iv. 28; Tillem. xiv. 342-4; Walch, v. 395; Neander, iv. 144.

[p] Baron. 430. 9-11; Tillem. xiv. 344-6, 349-350; Walch, v. 433-4; Schröckh, xviii. 205-7. The messenger who carried Cyril's letter was instructed not to deliver it unless Celestine had received a communication from Nestorius. (See Fleury, xxv. 37; Walch. v. 393-5.) Although Cyril went far in flattering Celestine, the very extravagant language which is quoted as from him by Aquinas, and which was long relied on by the advocates of the Roman supremacy, is certainly spurious. Dupin, iv. 44-5.

[q] Hardouin, i. 1308; Baron. 430. 12, 13, 18-23; Tillem. xiv. 327, 350-1; Walch, v. 439-40; Schröckh, xviii. 210-2; Neander, iv. 143-5.

and more especially by Dorotheus, but desiring him to avoid an open breach.[r] John, in the name of several other bishops, wrote to Nestorius, expressing full confidence in his orthodoxy, and advising him not to insist on unnecessary scruples as to the disputed term; and, as Nestorius had professed his willingness to admit it in a certain sense, the patriarch of Antioch flattered himself that peace would easily be restored.[s]

Cyril, after some delay, forwarded the Roman letter to Nestorius, with one written in the name of an Alexandrian council. He summoned him to forswear his errors, and at the end he added twelve anathemas, which he required him to subscribe.[t] Nestorius replied by a like number of counter-anathemas, which, in their turn, were answered by Marius Mercator, a zealous layman from the West, who was then resident at Constantinople.[u] Of the propositions thus put forth on each side, some are contradictory of each other, while others, in words studiously contrasted, express different sides of the same truth. The leading object of Cyril is to assert the unity of the Saviour's person; that of Nestorius, to guard against a confusion of his natures. Cyril expressed the combination of natures by the word *Henosis* (ἕνωσις—*union*); Nestorius, by *Synapheia*, (συνάφεια—*conjunction.*)[x] The Alexandrian anathemas produced a great excitement in the East, where they were regarded as doing away with the distinction of natures in the Saviour. John of Antioch wished that they should be generally condemned as Apollinarian; treatises were written against them by Andrew, bishop of Samosata, and by Theodoret.[y]

The last-named of these objectors was the most learned divine of the age. He was born at Antioch about 390.[z] It is supposed that he was a pupil of Theodore of Mopsuestia; he was certainly a diligent reader and a warm admirer of his writings.[a] From the time of his appointment to the see of Cyrus (*Kars*), in the Euphratesian

[r] Baron. 430. 30-2; Tillem. xiv. 347-8; Neander, iv. 146-7. Pagi (in Baron. 430. 10) says that Acacius was favourable to the opinions of Nestorius; but the only proof of this is that he endeavoured to give his language an orthodox construction.

[s] Hardouin, i. 1327-32; Fleury, xxv. 18; Tillem. xiv. 353-6; Walch, v. 441-2; Schröckh, xviii. 200, 217.

[t] Hardouin, i. 1292-4; Routh, Script. Eccl. Opuscula, ii. 30; Dupin, iv. 292-3; Fleury, xxv. 22; Tillem. xiv. 356-7; Walch, v. 405, 443; Schröckh, xviii. 218.

[u] Hardouin, i. 1297-1300; Walch, v. 700-739; Schröckh, xviii. 223; Gieseler, I. ii. 143-6.

[x] Fleury, xxv. 10; Schröckh, xviii. 221; Neander, iv. 148; Guericke, i. 470. Walch says that it cannot be proved that Nestorius rejected *Henosis*, although he preferred the other (v. 781-2).

[y] Fleury, xxv. 29; Tillem. xiv. 370-2; Schröckh, xviii. 225-230; Neander, iv. 149; Gieseler, I. ii. 146-7; Guericke, i. 470.

[z] Between 386 and 393. Schröckh, xviii. 356.

[a] Ibid. 358.

province, about the year 420, Theodoret devoted his whole income to the benefit of his people, for whom, in addition to the more usual acts of bounty, he erected bridges and public buildings.[b] It is said that he entirely extirpated the heresies with which his diocese had been infested—Marcionism, Arianism, Macedonianism, and others.[c] The variety of his merits as a writer was extraordinary; it has been said of him that "he equally well sustains the character of a commentator, a theologian, a historian, a controversialist, an apologist, and a writer on practical religion."[d] Throughout the differences of his time he was the most eminent man on the Oriental side; but his moderation and fairness were ill appreciated amid the rage of party strife, and he suffered from the violence of opposite factions.[e]

Finding himself beset by the patriarchs of Rome and Alexandria, Nestorius saw no other chance of escape from his difficulties than an appeal to a general council. Some of his opponents had already petitioned for such an assembly;[f] and in November 430 Theodosius, in his own name and in that of the western emperor, issued orders for the meeting of one at Ephesus.[g] The time appointed was the following Whitsuntide; in the meanwhile things were to remain as they were, so that the execution of the Roman decree was suspended.[h] Each metropolitan was to bring with him so many of his suffragans as he might think expedient—taking care that a number sufficient for the performance of the ordinary pastoral duties should be left.[i] The citation sent to Cyril was accompanied by a special letter from Theodosius, in which the patriarch was charged with pride, turbulence, assumption of rights which belonged to a general council alone, and with fondness for intruding into palaces, as if there were discord be-

[b] Schröckh, xviii. 359.

[c] Tillem. xv. 236; Schröckh, xviii. 361.

[d] Dupin, iv. 85; comp. Schröckh, xviii. 355-6.

[e] Dupin, iv. 82; Schröckh, xviii. 367.

[f] Hardouin, i. 1340.

[g] Tillem. xiv. 362, 364 5; Walch, v. 451, 455; Schröckh, xviii. 231-2. Baronius and Bellarmine say that, although the emperor called the council, it was by the pope's advice and with his concurrence. But Dupin (iv. 320) observes that the pope knew nothing of it; that he was cited in the same way as other bishops; and that the emperor seems to have wished to reform or invalidate his judgment. (Comp. Tillem. xiv. 363, 759.) Rohrbacher does not think the matter worth disputing on the old ground. "Cette grande affaire allait se terminer ainsi d'une manière purement ecclésiastique, par la décision du pape, exécutée par le patriarche d'Alexandrie, sans que celui d'Antioche, ni aucun autre évêque, y trouvât à redire; cette voie était trop simple pour la cour de Constantinople. Il fallut à l'Empereur Théodose un concile œcuménique, *lequel, après bien des longueurs et des dépenses, ne fera que ce qu'on allait faire sans frais, exécuter, et celà nécessairement, ainsi que la dira le concile même, la décision du pape!*" (viii. 45-6.)

[h] Tillem. xiv. 365.

[i] Hardouin, i. 1343.

tween relations, or as if he hoped to set them at variance.[k] This last charge, which refers to the separate letters addressed by Cyril to Eudocia and Pulcheria, appears to indicate that the suspicion imputed to him was not without foundation.[l] Of bishops below the degree of metropolitan, Augustine alone was honoured with an invitation by name; but, unhappily for the council, he had died some months before.[m]

Nestorius arrived at Ephesus soon after Easter (April 19th), 431, attended by sixteen bishops. Before Whitsuntide (June 7th), Cyril appeared with fifty bishops, and a large train of sailors and other disorderly persons.[n] Memnon, of Ephesus, had about forty bishops under him. He was a man of unscrupulous character, and, as a great metropolitan, the independence of whose *apostolical* church was in danger from the neighbourhood of Constantinople, he had a special motive for taking part with Cyril against the patriarch of the new capital.[o] The African Church was prevented by the Vandal invasion from sending any representative to the Council; but Capreolus, of Carthage, wrote a letter, entreating that the fathers would not countenance any novelty.[p] Celestine, of Rome, deputed two bishops and a presbyter to represent himself and "the whole Council of the West;" they were instructed to guide themselves by Cyril's judgment, and to consult the dignity of the apostolic see by acting as judges, not as disputants. These, however, had not yet reached Ephesus.[q] Candidian, count of the domestics, was commissioned by the emperor to keep order.[r] In obedience to his instructions, he commanded that all monks and lay strangers should leave Ephesus, and that no bishop should on any pretence absent himself until the business of the Council should have been concluded.[s]

About two hundred bishops were assembled, but John of Antioch had not yet appeared. The beginning of his journey had been delayed, partly by the difficulty of collecting the suffragans from his wide patriarchate, and partly by disturbances in his city on account of a scarcity; and the state of the roads,

[k] Hardouin, i. 1341-4; Tillem. xiv. 365; Schröckh, xviii. 232; Neander, iv. 151-2.

[l] See Tillem. x. 176; Walch, v. 557; Schröckh, xviii. 257-8; Neander, iv. 142.

[m] Tillem. xiv. 365.

[n] Soz. vii. 34; Tillem. xiv. 377-8, 762.

[o] Tillem. xiv. 762-3; Dupin, iv. 294; Neander, iv. 154; Gieseler, I. ii. 188, 191.

[p] Hardouin, i. 1419-22; Tillem. xiv. 399; Fleury, xxv. 41.

[q] Hardouin, i. 1347; Tillem. xiv. 374-6, 761; Walch, v. 459-460; Neander, iv. 162.

[r] Hardouin, i. 1346-8.

[s] Tillem. xiv. 380-2; Walch, v. 461; Neander, iv. 153.

flooded by heavy rains, had obliged him to travel slowly.[t] The bishops who were at Ephesus, while waiting for the arrival of John and the Orientals, engaged in frequent informal discussions, which tended rather to exasperate than to heal their differences.[u] Nestorius declared that his life was in danger from the ruffians of Cyril's train, and from the peasants who were at the beck of Memnon; while the opposite party complained against the soldiers who acted as a guard to Nestorius.[x]

On the 21st of June, Cyril, who, in virtue of the dignity of his see, assumed the presidency of the Council,[y] declared that he would wait no longer, although he had received a courteous letter from John, apologising for his delay, and stating that he was within a few days' journey of Ephesus.[z] Nestorius was cited to appear before the Council next day; he answered that he would attend when John should be present, or when summoned by Candidian.[a] Theodoret and sixty-seven other bishops, of whom twenty-two were metropolitans, protested against proceeding to business without the presence of the Orientals.[b] But the Council met on the following day (June 22), in the Church of St. Mary, where the *Theotokos* was believed to have been interred. Candidian attended, and, at the desire of the bishops, read his commission from the emperor. His request that four days might be allowed for the arrival of the Orientals was refused; and as the commission restrained him from entering into questions of doctrine, he was—not without indignity, as he complains—obliged to leave the church, after protesting that anything which might be done in opposition to his directions should be of no effect.[c] The bishops refused even to look at the memorial of their sixty-eight brethren.[d] A second and a third summons were sent to Nestorius, but his guard prevented the delivery of them.[e]

The council proceeded to the question for the consideration of which it had been summoned. After the recitation of the Nicene

[t] Hardouin, i. 1460; Evagr. i. 3; Walch, v. 470-6; Neander, iv. 155.

[u] Walch, v. 465-9.

[x] Tillem. xiv. 382-4; Neander, iv. 154.

[y] Baronius (431. 50) and Rohrbacher (viii. 54) assert that Cyril presided as legate of Celestine. See, for the contrary, Dupin, iv. 320; Tillem. xiv. 393, 765-6; Fleury, xxv. 37. Walch (v. 476) and Schröckh (xviii. 237) vehemently contend that, as the doctrine of Cyril's own anathemas was in question, he ought, like Nestorius, to have appeared as a party, not as a judge.

[z] Hardouin, i. 1348; Evagr. i. 4; Tillem. xiv. 382-4, 390-2; Schröckh, xviii. 237; Neander, iv. 156.

[a] Walch, v. 481; Neander, iv. 157.

[b] Hardouin, i. 1349-52; Tillem. xiv. 392; Schröckh, xviii. 392.

[c] Hardouin, i. 1351-4; Tillem xiv. 395-6; Walch, v. 461, 479-480; Schröckh, xviii. 238.

[d] Tillem. xiv. 395; Walch, v. 479.

[e] Hardouin, i. 1360-1; Tillem. xiv. 396.

creed, Cyril's second letter to Nestorius was read; the bishops severally expressed their high approbation of it, and declared it to be conformable to the Nicene faith.[f] The answer returned by Nestorius was then read; many of the bishops spoke in condemnation of it, and the whole assembly joined in uttering anathemas against the writer and his doctrines.[g] Other documents followed; among them was Cyril's third letter to Nestorius—that containing the anathemas—which was received without any remark.[h] By way of proof that Nestorius still adhered to his errors, reports were made as to language which he had used in conversation since coming to Ephesus; as that he had asked how he could give the name of God to a child of two or three months old—a question which was understood as a denial of the Saviour's Godhead.[i] A collection of extracts from earlier theologians was produced, in evidence of the true doctrine on the disputed points;[k] and after it a number of passages from the writings of Nestorius were read amidst general disapprobation—the fathers stopping their ears at the occurrence of words which they considered blasphemous.[l] A sentence of deposition against Nestorius was drawn up "in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ whom he hath blasphemed;" it was signed by a hundred and ninety-eight bishops, and, in token of the feelings which animated them, it was addressed to the patriarch as "a new Judas."[m] Cyril afterwards attempted to excuse the indecency and the glaring unfairness of these hasty proceedings by such pretences as that John was not in earnest, that his delay was intentional, and that he was determined not to condemn one who had been promoted from among the clergy of Antioch. Perhaps the boldest of all the pleas was, that two Syrian metropolitans, who reached Ephesus on the day before the session, had answered some complaints of delay by expressing their patriarch's willingness that the council should be *opened* without waiting longer for him.[n]

Candidian was astonished on the following morning to find what had been done. He tore down the placard in which the deposition of Nestorius was announced; he issued an edict declaring the proceedings of the council to be null and void; he sent their

[f] Hardouin, i. 1364-88.
[g] Hardouin, i. 1388-96.
[h] Hardouin, i. 1396. The sanction of the council was afterwards constructively claimed for this letter. In the West, the anathemas were even supposed to be the work of the council. See Tillem. xiv. 358, 360. 397-8, 758; Walch, v. 484, 732-3; Gibbon, iv. 344.
[i] Hardouin, i. 1397-9; Soz. vii. 34 Tillem. xiv. 385, 398; Neander, iv. 158
[k] Hardouin, i. 1400-9.
[l] Hardouin, i. 1409-20; Dupin, iv. 321; Tillem, xiv 399.
[m] Hardouin, i. 1422-4; Tillem. xiv. 398; Dupin, iv. 321; Gieseler, I. ii. 148.
[n] Hardouin, i. 1505; Neander, iv. 156.

placard to the emperor, with a letter strongly reflecting on the irregularities of Cyril and his associates.[o] Nestorius also wrote to Theodosius, begging that an impartial synod might be assembled for the examination of his case; that each metropolitan should bring with him only two bishops—a regulation which, from the arrangement of the Egyptian patriarchate, would have left Cyril almost unsupported;[p] and that not only monks and clergy, but all such bishops as were not so summoned, should be kept at a distance from the place of meeting.[q]

On the 27th of June John of Antioch, with fourteen oriental bishops, reached Ephesus. A deputation from the council met them as they approached the city, and reported the transactions of the late session. John was filled with astonishment and indignation. Immediately on reaching his lodgings, he held a council of his companions and twenty-nine other bishops. Candidian appeared, gave his account of the late meeting, and withdrew. John and his synod proceeded to consider Cyril's conduct, and the anathemas which he had published; they pronounced him guilty of turbulence, and of reviving the heresies of Arius, Apollinarius, and Eunomius; they sentenced him and Memnon to deposition, and declared the rest of the two hundred to be separated from their communion until they should join in condemning the anathemas.[r] The deputies of Cyril's party attempted to communicate with John, but were insulted, beaten, and repulsed by the soldiers of his guard.[s] On receiving the report of this, and apparently before the decrees of the Orientals had reached them, Cyril and his synod declared John excommunicated until he should give an explanation of his behaviour. The Orientals attempted to carry out their condemnation of Memnon by consecrating a bishop in his stead; but they were unable to get entrance into a church for the purpose, and were beaten by a rabble of his adherents.[t]

Reports of the proceedings at Ephesus got into circulation, and produced in many quarters an impression unfavourable to Cyril. Isidore of Pelusium, with his usual frankness, wrote to beg that he would act with fairness and deliberation, telling him that he

[o] Tillem. xiv. 400.

[p] The bishop of Alexandria had originally been the only metropolitan in his patriarchate. By this time there were apparently some metropolitans under him (Tillemont says eight, xv. 529), although they seem not to have had the same amount of power as metropolitans elsewhere. See Planck, i. 612; Wiltsch, i. 180-1; note in Fleury, ii. 83; Neale's Holy Eastern Church, Introd. i. 112-3.

[q] Hardouin, i. 1438-40; Tillem. xiv. 400-1; Dupin, iv. 299; Neander, iv. 159-160.

[r] Hardouin, i. 1447-58; Tillem. xiv. 408-410; Walch, v. 493-8; Schröckh, xviii. 243.

[s] Evagr. i. 8; Tillem. xiv. 408-9, 413.

[t] Evagr. i. 5; Tillem. xiv. 413, 420.

was charged with seeking to disguise his private enmity against Nestorius under the name of a zeal for Christ, and that parallels were drawn between his conduct and that of his uncle Theophilus.[u]

The emperor, on receiving Candidian's letter, wrote to the bishops who had condemned Nestorius, blaming them for having proceeded irregularly and on motives of personal malice, and forbidding them to leave Ephesus until the affair should be rightly settled.[x] A reply was drawn up, in which they excused themselves for having acted without the presence of the Orientals, and begged that Candidian might be recalled, and that five of their number might be allowed to wait on the emperor.[y] The acts of the council, revised by Cyril, perhaps not without some unfairness,[z] were annexed to this letter.[a] But Candidian prevented the papers from reaching the court. The ways were so closely watched that the council, in order to communicate with Constantinople, was obliged to entrust a letter to a beggar, who carried it in a hollow staff.[b] The receipt of this missive produced a great agitation among Cyril's partisans. The monasteries of the capital poured forth their inmates. Among them was Dalmatius, an abbot who for eight-and-forty years had been shut up within the walls of his retreat, refusing to leave it even when entreated by the emperor to take part in solemn processions on occasion of earthquakes. He was now warned by a heavenly voice to go forth, and proceeded to the palace at the head of an immense multitude, filling the air with the chant of psalms. The abbots were admitted into the emperor's presence. Dalmatius showed the letter from Ephesus; he set forth the grievances of the orthodox party, and asked whether it were better to adhere to a single impious man or to six thousand bishops, dispersed throughout the world, but represented by their metropolitans and brethren at Ephesus. Theodosius was moved, and said that the council had only to send some of its members to state its case. Dalmatius explained the constraint in which the bishops were held, and obtained from the emperor an order that some deputies should be sent to the court. The crowd, which had been waiting in anxious expectation, received the abbots with enthusiasm as they left the palace.

[u] Fleury, xxvi. 5.
[x] Hardouin, i. 1537-40; Tillem. xiv. 417; Schröckh, xviii. 246.
[y] Hardouin, i. 1581-4.
[z] Tillem. xiv. 405; Walch, v. 489.
[a] Tillem. xiv. 418.
[b] Hardouin, i. 1588; Tillem. xiv. 406-7, 421. Some writers suppose that the bearer was not a real beggar. Baron. 431. 108; Neander, iv. 164-5. Neander thinks that the device was adopted for the sake of effect, not from any actual necessity.

Monks carrying lighted tapers, and chanting the 150th Psalm, escorted them to a church, where Dalmatius ascended the pulpit, read the Ephesian letter, and gave a report of the interview with the emperor. The whole multitude then joined in shouting anathemas against Nestorius.[e]

Some bishops of Cyril's party were now allowed to go to Constantinople, where their representations, seconded by heavy bribes, were so effective that the most influential persons about the court were gained to the Alexandrian interest.[d]

The council, in the mean time, held its second session on the 10th of July, when the envoys from Rome appeared, and were received with marks of honour. At the third session, they expressed their approbation of what had been done and signed the deposition of Nestorius.[e] The hostile parties remained at Ephesus, threatening and excommunicating each other, "with equal pride," according to the expression of an ancient historian,[f] and with a deplorable want of temper and decency on both sides. The emperor—supposing (it is said) that the depositions of Nestorius, Cyril, and Memnon were all determined by the whole council—confirmed the sentences;[g] John, Count of the Sacred Largesses, superseded Candidian as commissioner, and put the three bishops under arrest.[h]

August 431.

Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, now became president of the council.[i] The commissioner in vain attempted to mediate between the parties; he reported their mutual exasperation to his master, but laid the greater share of blame on the Cyrillians.[k] The extreme heat of the summer, and the confinement within the walls of Ephesus, affected the health of many of the bishops, as well as of their attendants; a considerable number of deaths took place; while many, who had not made provision for so long an absence from their homes, were reduced to distress for the means of subsistence.[l]

Dalmatius was again employed to represent the case of his

[c] Hardouin, i. 1588-9; Tillem. xiv. 422-3; Walch, v. 502; Schröckh, xviii. 248; Neander, iv. 164-5.

[d] Tillem. xiv. 425, 458; Dupin, iv. 304; Bayle, art. *Nestorius*, n. C.; Walch, v. 534, 551; Schröckh, xviii. 258, 275; Neander, iv. 166; Gieseler, I. ii. 149. It is Cyril's use of bribery that draws from Tillemont the remark quoted, p. 400[c].

[e] Hardouin, i. 1465-82; Tillem. xiv. 429; Schröckh, xviii. 249; Neander, iv. 162.

[f] "Pari fastu." Liberatus, quoted by Tillem. xiv. 436.

[g] Tillem. xiv. 427; Walch, v. 506. Acacius of Berrhœa is said to have advised this. Dupin, iv. 66.

[h] Tillem. xiv. 455-7; Walch, v. 514-6; Schröckh, xviii. 251; Neander, iv. 168-9.

[i] If Cyril had presided in the quality of Celestine's representative, the presidency would have devolved on one of the other Roman legates. Dupin, iv. 320.

[k] Tillem. xiv. 455-9; Walch, v. 517.

[l] Tillem. xiv. 462-3; Walch, v. 519.

friends to the emperor, and at length, at the request of both parties, a conference of eight bishops from each of the rival councils was held at Chalcedon, in the presence of Theodosius.[m] The Court was now against Nestorius,—partly influenced by Cyril's money, partly by Pulcheria, whom the patriarch had offended, partly by dread of the monks and of the populace.[n] Before the arrival of the bishops at Chalcedon, the emperor issued an order that Nestorius—agreeably to a request which he had formerly made—should retire to the monastery near Antioch of which he had been an inmate before his elevation. Nestorius professed himself willing to suffer for the truth, but expressed a wish that an order should be issued for a general condemnation of the Egyptian anathemas.[o]

The deputies at Chalcedon had five audiences of the emperor. The party of Cyril refused to enter into any argument, and insisted on the condemnation of Nestorius, while their opponents were equally bent on that of Cyril's anathemas. Theodosius, finding a reconciliation hopeless, resolved to put an end to the council. The letter in which he announced this appears to show that he was rather overpowered by the influence of Cyril, than convinced of the justice of his cause. He declares that he cannot condemn the Orientals, since no one had argued against them, and they had not been convicted of any error before him. By the same letter it was ordered that Cyril and Memnon should retain their sees.[p] Maximian was ordained for Constantinople, in the room of Nestorius.[q] Sept. 431.

The Council of Ephesus is received as the Third General Council, and its doctrine respecting the Saviour's person is a part of the Catholic faith. But it would be vain to defend the proceedings of those by whom the true doctrine was there asserted; and there remains a question whether Nestorius was guilty of holding the errors for which it condemned him. Socrates, whose prejudices were all against Nestorius, acquits him of any worse error than the use of improper language, into which the historian supposes him to have been led by a conceit of his own eloquence, and a disregard of the writings of earlier divines.[r] The great

[m] Dupin, v. 303; Tillem. xiv. 438, 464-6, 470; Walch, v. 522; Schröckh, xviii. 254.

[n] Walch, v. 548.

[o] Hardouin, i. 1631; Evagr. i. 7; Tillem. xiv. 473-5; Neander, iv. 166.

[p] Hardouin, i. 1616; Tillem, xiv. 477, 483; Walch, v. 534; Neander, iv. 172.

[q] Tillem. xiv. 487-490.

[r] Soc. vii. 32; Tillem. xiv. 309-10.

body of the Orientals, who supported him at Ephesus, are unimpeached in their character for orthodoxy.[s] Perhaps, therefore, Nestorius, in using the language which gave a colour to the charge of heresy, may, in truth, have meant only to guard against opposite errors which *might* have been inferred from the Alexandrian language, and which shortly after were actually put forth by Eutyches; and the most startling of his expressions may rather have been exaggerations, into which he was driven by irritation, than serious denials of the truths which they seemed to contradict.[t] He steadily disavowed the more odious opinions which were imputed to him; he repeatedly professed his willingness to admit the term *Theotokos*, provided that it were guarded against obvious abuses.[u] The controversy more than once appeared to be in such a position that it might have been ended by a word of explanation; but an unwillingness to concede, and personal animosities on both sides, prolonged it.[x]

The breaking up of the council left the parties greatly exasperated against each other: The Orientals, on their way homewards, held a synod at Tarsus, and, after reaching Antioch, they held a second. At these meetings they renewed the deposition of Cyril, and extended the sentence to the bishops who had appeared against them at Chalcedon, and had consecrated Maximian for Constantinople. They declared that they would never consent to the deposition of Nestorius; that they were resolved to adhere to the Nicene faith, and to resist the Egyptian anathemas.[y] Theodoret, Andrew of Samosata, and others wrote against Cyril, and kept up a correspondence with the friends of Nestorius at Constantinople.[z] Many bishops were deprived, and the Church was in a miserable state of distraction.[a] Theodosius was anxious for peace, and, after a time, by advice of Maximian, proposed that the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch should meet at Nicomedia, to confer on the means of restoring it. Count Aristolaus,

[s] Dupin, iv. 326; Tillem. xiv. 543-5.

[t] "In his calmer moments," says Gibbon, "Nestorius confessed that [the term *Theotokos*] might be tolerated or excused by the union of the two natures and the communication of their *idioms*; but he was exasperated by contradiction to . . . draw his inadequate similes from the conjugal or civil partnerships of life, and to describe the manhood of Christ as the robe, the instrument, the tabernacle of his Godhead." (iv. 343-4.)

[u] Soc. vii. 34; Fleury, xxv. 29; Dupin, iv. 288; Mosh. i. 483-4; Schröckh, xviii. 208; Walch, v. 778-802; Gieseler, I. ii. 140-1; sup. p. 399.

[x] Walch, v. 849-851, 917, 926; Schröckh, xviii. 176.

[y] Tillem. xiv. 495; Dupin, iv. 306; Walch, v. 574; Schröckh, xviii. 261-2.

[z] Tillem. xiv. 491-3; 507-9.

[a] Tillem. xiv. 497-500; Walch, v. 575.

to whom the letters were entrusted, was charged to labour for a reconciliation of the parties; and the emperor wrote to beg the prayers of Symeon the Stylite, and the exertions of Acacius of Berrhœa.[b]

John declined the conference on the ground of ill health, and also because he had been told that there was a plot to waylay him.[c] He consulted with the bishops of his party, and it was agreed that, putting aside the personal question as to Nestorius, they would communicate with Cyril, on condition of his condemning his own anathemas and acknowledging the Nicene Creed as a sufficient rule of faith.[d] Cyril was urged from many quarters to accept these terms. He replied that he had written nothing but what was conformable to the Catholic faith; that to condemn his own writings would be to deprive himself of the means of combating Nestorianism in future, but that he would give explanations of his former words, if the Orientals would accept the acts of the late Council, the deposition of Nestorius, and the ordination of Maximian; that he acknowledged the sufficiency of the Nicene Creed, but not in such a way as should exclude proper interpretations of it in points where it might be misrepresented by heretics.[e] In a letter to Acacius, Cyril stated his opinions in such a form that Theodoret declared him to be orthodox, and to have abandoned his former errors. John of Antioch was disposed to an accommodation, and sent Paul, Bishop of Emesa, to Alexandria, with instructions to promote it. Cyril subscribed a creed which was substantially the same with one drawn up by Theodoret at Ephesus; the envoy preached at Alexandria with great applause, enlarging on the term *Theotokos*;[f] and John agreed to sign the condemnation of Nestorius, and to approve the ordination of Maximian. On these terms Alexandria and Antioch were reconciled in April 433.[g] Dec. 25, 432. Jan. 1, 433.

In the course of these transactions Cyril expended enormous sums in maintaining his interest at court. A letter from his archdeacon Epiphanius is extant, in which it is stated that the Alexandrians groaned under the heavy imposts to which they had been subjected in order to provide the means of this corruption, and that nevertheless a debt of fifteen hundred pounds of gold

[b] Hardouin, i. 1685; Baron. 432. 47-50: Tillem. xiv. 514-6; Dupin, iv. 307; Walch, v. 580; Schröckh, xviii. 267-8.

[c] Tillem. xiv. 517-8; Schröckh, xviii. 267.

[d] Tillem. xiv. 517-8.

[e] Fleury, xxvi. 18; Tillem. xiv. 519-521, 535.

[f] Hardouin, i. 1693-9.

[g] Tillem. xiv. 523-5, 527-9, 530-4, 536-8, 542-7; Dupin, iv. 309-310; Walch, v. 595, 600-4, 621; Schröckh, xviii. 272-8; Gieseler, I. ii. 150-1; Guericke, i. 472.

(upwards of 63,000*l.*) had been contracted in the name of the Church.[h]

The accommodation was not satisfactory to the adherents of either side. Isidore of Pelusium, and other friends of Cyril, expressed surprise that he had agreed to admit two natures in the Saviour. He replied that, while in one sense he acknowledged two natures, in another sense he allowed only one: that the two natures are separate in conception, although united in the one person of Christ, and that their predicates are properly distinct—a statement which Nestorius himself would probably not have declined, and might in fairness have been invited to make.[i] On the other hand, Theodoret remonstrated with John against making peace on such terms as would not secure the restoration of the deposed bishops and include all who had been in the same interest; that Cyril, after having proved himself orthodox by his late explanations, should require consent to the condemnation of Nestorius, was, he said, much the same as if a convert from Arianism were to insist on anathematizing those who had always been sound as to the doctrine of the Son's consubstantiality with the Father. He was still for a condemnation of Cyril's anathemas, and declared that he would rather suffer both his hands to be cut off than subscribe the condemnation of Nestorius.[k] Others, among whom was Theodoret's metropolitan, Alexander, Bishop of Hierapolis, an aged and venerable man, still refused to admit the orthodoxy of Cyril. On the pretence that Alexander had forfeited or abdicated his rights as metropolitan, John took it upon himself to ordain some bishops for the Euphratesian province. This proceeding called forth a loud remonstrance, both as being an invasion of jurisdiction, and on account of the personal character of the new bishops. Nine provinces of the Antiochene patriarchate renounced communion with John, who at length called in the aid of the secular power to eject such bishops as refused to accede to his agreement with Cyril.[l]

Theodoret was prepared to withdraw into a monastery, but the

[h] Walch, v. 607-8; Schröckh, xviii. 278; Gibbon, iv. 349; Neander, iv. 173; Gieseler, I. ii. 149; note in Fleury, iii. 161.

[i] Hardouin, i. 1704-5; Baron. 433. 1-4; Dupin, iv. 309-10; Tillem. xiv. 566-571; Walch, v. 623-4; Schröckh, xviii. 269; Neander, iv. 175-6; Gieseler, I. ii. 149. Tillemont remarks, that, but for the opposition of the Orientals, which drew forth such explanations from Cyril, the Eutychians might have been much stronger in their argument from authority.

[k] Tillem. xiv. 522-3, 551-3; Gieseler, I. ii. 151.

[l] Tillem. xiv. 523, 554-6, 573-9; Walch, v. 629-631; Neander, iv. 178-181; Gieseler, I. ii. 151.

urgent entreaties of his flock prevailed on him to seek an interview with John, and he agreed to retain his see on condition of being excused from condemning Nestorius or his opinions.[m] Alexander, however, resisted all the importunities of Theodoret, John, and others, who entreated him to yield. He declared that if all the dead were to rise and testify in favour of the Egyptian doctrines, he must yet follow the light of his own conscience, and reject them. He was ejected, and was banished to the mines of Famothim, in Egypt, while his clergy and people displayed their grief at his removal by closing for a time all the churches of the diocese.[n] Other recusant bishops were driven from their sees by military force, and by these means a general conformity was established throughout the East in the year 435.[o] April, 435.

The unhappy author of these commotions was, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Cœlestine with the emperor, allowed to remain nearly four years in his retirement at Antioch, where he was treated with great respect.[p] But, in 435, John of Antioch represented to Theodosius that Nestorius persisted in his blasphemies and was perverting many from the faith; whereupon an edict was issued, commanding that all the heresiarch's books should be burnt, that his followers should be called *Simonians*, "even as the Arians were called *Porphyrians* by a law of Constantine of blessed memory,"[q] and that their meetings should be suppressed. His property was seized, and he was sentenced to be banished to Petra; but—apparently before this sentence was executed—the place of his exile was changed to the Great Oasis.[r] There he employed himself in composing a history of his troubles, until he was carried off by the Blemmyes, a wild tribe of marauders who devastated the Oasis. The old man was dismissed by his captors as useless, and surrendered himself to an imperial officer in Egypt, who inhumanly caused him to be hurried from place to place until he sank under the treatment. A writer quoted by Evagrius relates that his tongue was eaten up by worms, and that so he "departed to everlasting torment." A somewhat later author, of kindred About A.D. 440.

[m] Tillem. xiv. 580-5; xv. 250; Neander, iv. 183.

[n] Pagi in Baron. vii. 466-7, 476-7; Tillem, xiv. 582-5, 592-8, 601-3; Dupin, iv. 313-5; Neander, iv. 184.

[o] Tillem. xiv. 604; Fleury, xxvi. 33; Walch, v. 634-8.

[p] Pagi in Baron. vii. 402; Tillem. xiv. 494, 607; Walch, v. 559; Schröckh, xviii. 280-1.

[q] Sup. p. 192.

[r] Hardouin, i. 1715-8: Tillem, xiv. 608-9; Walch, v. 575; Schröckh, xviii. 280-1; Gibbon, iv. 350.

spirit, is not content with less than a living putrefaction of the heresiarch's whole body.[s]

Fresh discords broke out in the East on the subject of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Diodore of Tarsus. The memory of these teachers had some years before been attacked by Rabula, bishop of Edessa, who, after having acted with the Orientals at Ephesus, made himself conspicuous by the vehemence with which he espoused the opposite side.[t] Now that Nestorianism was formally suppressed, Cyril resolved to make an attempt against the authority of Diodore and Theodore, whose writings were diligently read by the Nestorians since those of their nominal leader had been forbidden. The attempt was zealously urged on by a large monastic party; and Rabula and other bishops took part in it.[u] Proclus, who had succeeded Maximian at Constantinople in 434,[x] extracted some propositions from the works of Theodore, and, without naming the author, proposed that they should be generally condemned; but some over-zealous agents betrayed the authorship, and the name of Theodore, which was generally revered throughout the East, excited a commotion. A synod of bishops, held at Antioch, while they approved of Proclus' doctrine, appealed to Theodosius against a condemnation of one who had done important services to the Church; they said that the language quoted from Theodore had been used by him in controversy with Arians and Eunomians, and ought to be interpreted with a fair consideration of its object. The emperor, in consequence of this appeal, recommended that nothing should be done against the memory of men who had deserved well of the Church and had died in its communion.

Easter, 432.

A.D. 437.

[s] Evagr. i. 7; Baron. 436. 9; Tillem. xiv. 610; Walch, v. 568; Schröckh, xviii. 283-4; Gibbon, iv. 350-1; Neander, iv. 188-190; Gieseler, I. ii. 152. The story that Nestorius lived till the Synod of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), and was summoned to it, is generally rejected. It was circulated by the Eutychians, for the purpose of discrediting that Council. See Walch, vi. 461; Gibbon, iv. 351; Gieseler, I. ii. 347.

[t] Baron. 435. 2; Tillem. xiv. 504-5; Walch, v. 656.

[u] Tillem. xiv. 624-8; xv. 256; Dupin, iv. 317; Walch, v. 639-640; Schröckh, xviii. 301.

[x] Proclus had been set aside after the deposition of Nestorius, on account of the canonical objection to translations. But on an investigation of the case, it was declared that, as he had never obtained possession of the see to which he was consecrated (see p. 396), the objection did not apply to him. On the death of Maximian, the Nestorians demanded the restoration of their chief. The emperor, apprehending an outbreak, forthwith nominated Proclus, who was installed before the interment of the late bishop. Tillemont remarks that such a nomination was awkward as a precedent, but that, as the love of the people for Proclus was well known, it was an anticipation of their choice, not an usurpation of their rights. (See Socr. vii. 35-6, 40; Tillem. xiv. 571-3; xv. 706-7.)

Proclus withdrew from the affair, declaring that he had not intended any censure against the person of Theodore; and Cyril himself at length found it expedient to desist from the prosecution of his attempt, and to profess himself satisfied with the condemnation of Theodore's errors which was implied in the sentence against Nestorius. He afterwards wrote against Theodore, and was answered by Theodoret.[y] The death of Cyril took place in the year 444.[z]

Although suppressed within the empire, Nestorianism found a refuge beyond its bounds. At Edessa there was a flourishing school of clergy for the Persian Church. Its head, Ibas, was favourable to Nestorius, and translated some works of Diodore and Theodore into Syriac. Rabula, in 435, broke up the institution, but Ibas, who succeeded him as bishop, re-established it,[a] and it continued to flourish until the emperor Zeno finally suppressed it in 485.[b] From this seminary Nestorianism was propagated in Persia and India, and continued to exercise a powerful influence on the Christianity of the East.

[y] Fleury, xxvi. 27; Tillem. xiv. 628-642; Dupin, iv. 318; Schröckh, xviii. 303; Neander, iv. 192-5.

[z] Tillem. xiv. 643-4; Neander, iv. 196-8.

[a] Tillem. xiv. 506, 564; Walch. v. 658; Neander, iv. 269; Gieseler, I. ii. 153.

[b] Tillem. xvi. 373; Mosh. i. 488; Walch, v. 659: Schröckh, xviii. 307-311; Neander, ii. 271.

CHAPTER X.

Eutychianism.—The Council of Chalcedon—Advance of the Roman See.

I.

When Dalmatius went to the palace of Constantinople for the purpose of representing the case of Cyril and the Ephesian Council, one of the most remarkable persons among the multitude which accompanied him was Eutyches, abbot of a large monastery near the city.[a] Like Dalmatius, he had at that time remained nearly fifty years within the walls of his retreat, and had resolved never to leave them, but considered the peril of the faith a sufficient ground for breaking through his determination. Eutyches was generally revered for sanctity, and was highly regarded by Cyril on account of his zeal; but he appears to have been a person of narrow understanding and obstinate temper.[b] He was himself soon to give name to a heresy which produced a longer controversy, more complicated dissensions, and a more disastrous schism than the errors which he so warmly opposed.[c]

Notwithstanding the formal reconciliation which had been established, a difference of opinion, and mutual suspicions, continued to exist between the Egyptian and the Syrian schools. The Syrians considered the Egyptians to be tainted with Apollinarianism, and were in their turn regarded by them as Nestorians. The monks in general were violent against Nestorianism, and were fond of imputing it to their ecclesiastical superiors, and to all others who neglected to court their favour. Imperfectly understanding the system to which they professed to adhere, they exaggerated the Alexandrian forms of expression, and, under pretence of reverence for divine mysteries, made use of words which seemed to annihilate the Saviour's humanity. They spoke of it as absorbed in his Godhead "like a drop in the ocean;"

[a] Tillem. xiv. 421; See Walch, vi. 32.
[b] Tillem. xv. 486-7; Walch, vi. 33. Comp. Schröckh, xviii. 438.
[c] Schröckh, xviii. 435-6. The Eutychian controversy, and those which arose out of it, fill three volumes (vi-viii.), averaging about 1000 pages each, in Walch's laborious and inconceivably tedious *Historie der Ketzereien.*

some of them were grossly Apollinarian in their language.[d] Theodoret, perceiving that this tendency, if it did not introduce positive heresy, must throw back Theology into the undefined state from which the writers and the councils of more than two centuries had been labouring to deliver it, wrote, in 447, a dialogue entitled "Eranistes" (*The Man of Scraps*)[e]—so called because the opinions which he combated were no new invention, but a combination of fragments gathered from various quarters. In this work he maintained the unchangeableness, distinctness, and impassibility of the Redeemer's Godhead; his enemies charged him in consequence with holding *two* Sons. He, Ibas of Edessa, and Irenæus of Tyre, were marked out by the monastic party for special vengeance.[f]

Dioscorus, who, in 444, succeeded Cyril as bishop of Alexandria, is said to have borne a high character before his elevation, but afterwards showed himself violent, domineering, rapacious, and scandalously immoral. He had with him the favour of the court, and especially that of Chrysaphius, the eunuch who held sway over the feeble Theodosius; and he kept up an extensive correspondence with the monks who were ill affected towards their bishops.[g] Dioscorus took offence at Theodoret for having signed a synodical letter of Proclus,—an act which, according to the Alexandrian bishop, implied an acknowledgment of the precedence of Constantinople, or even of its jurisdiction over the Syrian patriarchate; he charged him with heresy, and, although Theodoret disavowed and condemned the errors imputed to him, he uttered an anathema against him.[h] The secular power was set in motion against the bishop of Cyrus; an imperial edict was issued in 447 or 448, by which he was accused of exciting disturbances by holding frequent meetings, and was ordered to leave his diocese.[i] Ibas was about the same time harassed with accusations by the monastic party, but succeeded in making his peace.[k] The Orientals attempted to

A.D. 447.

A.D. 448-9.

[d] Dupin, iv. 328; Walch, vi. 100; Neander, iv. 199; Gieseler, I. ii. 155. See note in Fleury, iii. 345.

[e] ἐρανιστής, a contributor to a picnic (ἔρανος).

[f] Tillem, xv. 269, 270-2, 481-3; Schröckh, xviii. 418-9; Neander, iv. 201. As to Irenæus, see Tillem. xv. 265-7; as to Ibas, Walch, vi. 54.

[g] Fleury, xxvii. 3; Tillem. xv. 434-7, 481-3; Gibbon, iv. 355; Neander, iv. 198-9.

[h] Theod. ap. Leon. Epp. 52-3.

[i] Dupin, iv. 114; Tillem. xv. 273-5, 278-280; Schröckh, xviii. 371; Neander, iv. 203.

[k] Tillem. xv. 465-479; Walch, vi. 54-78; Schröckh, xv. 438-9.

vindicate their orthodoxy by sending a deputation to court, of which the result is not recorded.[1]

A rumour arose that Eutyches, in the eagerness of his opposition to Nestorianism, had vented unsound opinions on the doctrine of the Incarnation. Domnus, bishop of Antioch, made a representation on the subject to Flavian of Constantinople, charging Eutyches with Apollinarianism and with confounding the Saviour's natures; but as the Syrian accusers lay under a suspicion of Nestorianism, it met with little or no attention.[m] In 448, however, at a meeting of the local synod of Constantinople,[n] which was attended by about thirty bishops, Eusebius of Dorylæum, the same who had been the first to oppose Nestorius,[o] denounced Eutyches as a heretic. He stated that he had in vain endeavoured by private conference to convince him of his errors, and he desired that an inquiry should be made into his opinions.[p]

About A.D. 447.

Flavian, the successor of Proclus, knowing the powerful interests by which Eutyches was likely to be supported,[q] and dreading a general disturbance of the Church, endeavoured to dissuade Eusebius from proceeding, but was obliged reluctantly to grant the investigation.[r] At the first summons Eutyches refused to appear before the council, alleging his resolution not to quit his monastery; but he was told that this was no reasonable excuse, and was reminded of his appearance in the Nestorian controversy.[s]

Nov. 22, 448.

After repeated citations he made his appearance, attended by a large body of monks and soldiers, whose protection he professed to think necessary for his safety, and accompanied by the patrician Florentius, who, by a remarkable innovation, was commissioned to assist at the trial on the ground that it was a question of faith,[t] whereas in all previous controversies

[1] Tillem. xv. 289, 486; Fleury, xxvii. 17.

[m] Tillem. xv. 492-3; Walch, vi. 102, 105; Schröckh, xviii. 439. Some place this as early as 441.

[n] *σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα*—a council composed of such bishops as happened to be in the capital. See below, p. 435.

[o] Sup. p. 400.

[p] Hardouin, ii. 110-2; Baron. 448. 23; Tillem. xv. 494-7; Walch, vi. 108.

[q] There is a story that on the appointment of Flavian to his see (A.D. 446), Chrysaphius sent to demand *eulogiæ* (benedictions) from him—such being the name given to the presents which were made in consideration of influence employed in such matters; and that Flavian offended the eunuch by either sending him the church-plate in order to shame him, or sent some consecrated loaves, of the kind called *eulogiæ*, and, on being told that gold was required, answered that he had none but the sacred vessels, since the funds of the church belonged to God and his poor. Evagr. ii. 2; Tillem. xv. 446.

[r] Hardouin, ii. 112-3.

[s] Hardouin, ii. 144, 149; Tillem. xv. 499-501.

[t] Hardouin, ii, 160.

the imperial commissioners had been restricted to the regulation of external matters.[u] On being questioned Eutyches professed that he held the Nicene faith, and cited a prohibition which the Council of Ephesus had uttered against the imposition of any other formulary. He said that there were two natures in Christ before his incarnation;[x] he admitted, although with hesitation, the phrase that Christ is "consubstantial with us according to his flesh," as well as with the Father according to his Godhead.[y] But his answers were equivocal and unsatisfactory. He stated that he held only "one incarnate nature of God the Word"—a phrase for which he referred to the authority of Athanasius and of Cyril.[z] He professed an unwillingness to define, a reverence for Scripture, and a wish not to go beyond it, and he refused to anathematize the errors of which he was suspected, although he professed himself willing to accept in part the language opposed to them.[a] He was consequently pronounced guilty of renewing the errors of Valentinus and Apollinaris; he was sentenced to deprivation of his abbacy and to deposition from the priesthood; and he and all who should adhere to him were declared excommunicate.[b] It would seem that there was some confusion in the proceedings of this council, and Eutyches afterwards complained of it as unfair. He asserted that he had appealed from it to the judgment of Rome, Alexandria, and Jerusalem; but his appeal was not made in the form or at the time which were necessary to its technical validity.[c]

The condemnation of Eutyches was generally approved, but his monks adhered to him in defiance of the sentence, and were put under a sort of interdict by Flavian.[d] Dioscorus, contrary to all canonical order, admitted Eutyches to communion, and acknowledged him both as a priest and as an abbot.[e] Leo, of

[u] Tillem. xv. 506-8; Schröckh, xviii. 443-4; Neander, iv. 206.

[x] This might have been interpreted as meaning a pre-existence of the Saviour's humanity,—thus making two *persons* in Christ, which is the error imputed to Nestorius; but the real meaning of Eutyches evidently was, that he acknowledged an abstract human nature as well as the impersonate Divinity,—that the two were distinct in *conception*. Tillem. xv. 489-490; Neander, iv. 207.

[y] Hardouin, ii. 164-5.

[z] Hardouin, i. 168. Pétau says that there may be three senses of this expression, and that Eutyches had not the penetration to discriminate between the sound and the unsound senses. Tillem. xv. 489.

[a] Tillem. xv. 500, 509-512; Neander, iv. 207-8; Gieseler, I. ii 155-7.

[b] Hardouin, ii. 168; Tillem. xv. 515 Dupin, iv. 333; Neander, iv. 206-7 Gieseler, I. ii. 157.

[c] Evagr. i. 9; Tillem. xv. 514-7; Dupin, iv. 135; Schröckh, xviii. 445-6. It will be observed that Antioch was excluded from this appeal. Rome was probably included from a belief that, as on former occasions, it would side with the monastic party. Neander, iv. 210.

[d] Tillem. xv. 519-20.

[e] Tillem. xv. 525; Walch, vi. 172; Schröckh, xviii. 450. Tillemont

Rome, a man of great ability and energy, who was bent on asserting all the real or imaginable rights of his see, on receiving representations of the case from Theodosius and Eutyches, wrote to Flavian, expressing surprise that *he* had not before reported it; but, on receiving Flavian's explanation, and the acts of the late synod, he approved of the decision.[f] Eutyches busied himself in writing to bishops and others in all directions, complaining of injustice, and urging that a general council should be summoned. By way of accounting for his refusal to acknowledge the two natures, he alleged that he was apprehensive of contravening the Council of Ephesus by exceeding the definitions of the Nicene Creed.[g] Theodosius in vain attempted to bring about a reconciliation between Flavian and Eutyches. The bishop, in answer to a question as to his own faith, admitted the expression, "one nature of the Incarnate Word,"[h] on the ground that the person of Christ is one, and he anathematized Nestorius; but he would not allow the sufficiency of the Nicene creed to shelter Eutyches in the opinions which had been condemned.[i] The opponents of Eutyches deprecated the assembling of a general council, as being unnecessary in so clear a case, and as likely to throw the whole Church into confusion. But Chrysaphius favoured the proposal, and citations were issued. The chief bishop of each eastern diocese was required to take with him ten metropolitans and ten other bishops.[k] The council was packed with gross unfairness. An imperial letter, after mentioning in a tone of disapproval the proceedings of Flavian against Eutyches, declared that it had been summoned in order to root out the remains of Nestorianism—as if the later heresy were not in question.[l] The bishops who had taken part in the judgment on Eutyches, and the Orientals who had been suspected of Nestorianism, were not to be allowed any voice; while Barsumas, a Syrian abbot, the leader of the malcontent monks, was to have a seat and the privileges of a bishop, as representing his brethren.[m]

A.D. 449.

strangely says that the enmity between Alexandria and Constantinople was so old that it could not have entered into the motives of Dioscorus (xv. 524-5).

[f] Ep. 23, 26-7; Tillem. xv. 416-9, 525-7; Walch, vi. 200.

[g] Tillem. xv. 522-3.

[h] Hardouin, ii. 8. This was admitted in order to save the honour of Athanasius and Cyril. Schröckh, xviii. 452.

[i] Tillem. xv. 520-2; Schröckh, xviii. 451-2.

[k] Hardouin, ii. 72. Tillemont says that Egypt had but eight metropolitans (xv. 528). Mr. Neale, that it had none (Holy Eastern Church, Alexandria, i. 290. But compare his Introduction, i. 112-3). See above, p. 408, note [p].

[l] Hardouin, ii. 77-9; Neander, iv. 212.

[m] Hardouin, ii. 76; Baron. 449. 29-30; Tillem. xv. 531-3, 554; Walch, vi. 202-3, 253-4.

Theodoret was expressly forbidden to attend the council, unless his presence should be unanimously desired by its members.[n] Two lay officers, the Counts Elpidius and Eulogius, were commissioned to keep order, and to imprison any persons who might be refractory.[o]

The council met in the same church at Ephesus in which the Third General Council had sat eighteen years before. A hundred and twenty-six bishops were present at the opening. Leo, after having in vain endeavoured that it might be held in Italy, had excused himself from appearing, on the ground that the Roman bishops were not accustomed to attend councils beyond the seas, and also on account of the political troubles of his country.[p] He deputed three legates as his representatives, and sent by them a document which, under the name of his *Tome* or *Letter to Flavian*,[q] became very famous in the controversy. In this the entireness and yet the distinctness of the two natures united in the Saviour were defined with an ability, a command of Scripture proof, and a copiousness of illustration for which it has been thought necessary to account by fables as to the circumstances in which Leo composed the letter, and by referring the final revision of it to the Apostle St. Peter.[r] Dioscorus had with him a large train of monks and parabolani, and Barsumas appeared at the head of a thousand rabid monks, prepared to coerce the assembly by their violence.[s] Aug. 8, 449.

As the bishop of Rome was not present, and the bishop of Constantinople was a party in the cause, Dioscorus was entitled to preside in right of his see; but the presidency was expressly confirmed to him by an imperial rescript.[t] The proceedings were violent and disorderly from the beginning. Dioscorus turned out all reporters but those of his own party.[u] He contrived to prevent the reading of Leo's letter, although it was received by the council.[x] Eutyches presented a petition, giving his account of the previous transactions, and praying, not for his own restoration—for that he supposed to be secured by the Alexandrian recognition of him—but for the punishment of his enemies.[y]

[n] Hardouin, ii. 72; Baron. 449. 25; Tillem. xv. 289; Schröckh, xviii. 453.

[o] Hardouin, ii. 76-7.

[p] Ep. xxxi. 4; Baron. 449. 33; Pagi in Baron. viii. 10; Tillem. xv. 538-9, 549, 902; Walch, vi. 209.

[q] Ep. 28.

[r] Baron. 449. 40, 46-58; Tillem. xv. 539-540; Schröckh, xviii. 458-461; Gieseler, I. ii. 158.

[s] Tillem. xv. 552-3; Neander, iv. 213.

[t] Hardouin, ii. 80; Baron. 449. 26; Tillem. xv. 533, 551.

[u] Tillem. xv. 555.

[x] Leo, Ep. xlv. 2; Hardouin, ii. 88; Baron. 449. 79; Tillem. xv. 555; Walch, vi. 221; Schröckh, xviii. 461-2; Neander, iv. 219.

[y] Hardouin, ii. 104-5; Dupin, iv. 341.

Flavian requested that the accuser, Eusebius of Dorylæum, should be heard, but was rebuked by Elpidius for interfering, and was told that the opponents of Eutyches had already had their opportunity of speaking at Constantinople.[z] The acts of the Constantinopolitan synod were read,[a] and whenever any of its members was reported to have spoken of *two natures*, there were loud outcries from the monks and the multitude—"Nestorian! Tear him asunder! Burn him alive! As he divides, so let him be divided!"[b] It was agreed that Eutyches should be recognised as orthodox, together with his monks, who in insolent language demanded that Flavian should be punished as he had punished them.[c] The prohibition which the Council of Ephesus had passed against adding to the Nicene faith was often appealed to—evidently contrary to its real meaning, which was not to exclude any explanation of articles in which the creed might be misrepresented. An anathema against Nestorius was proposed. Dioscorus desired that all who could not make their shouts heard should stretch out their hands in token of assent; and the anathema was pronounced amid cries of "Drive out, burn, tear, cut asunder, massacre—all who hold two natures!"[d] Some of the bishops who had sat in the Council of Constantinople quailed before the storm, and retracted the words which they had formerly used.[e]

Dioscorus then demanded whether those who contravened the canons of the Council of Ephesus and the Nicene Creed did not deserve punishment. The bishops assented, and he produced a sentence against Flavian and Eusebius. Flavian protested against being judged by him, and gave into the hands of the Roman legates an appeal to Rome and the West.[f] A number of bishops gathered round Dioscorus, and on their knees implored him not to proceed. He exclaimed "Call in the Counts!" and the proconsul of Asia entered, attended by soldiers and monks, with swords, clubs, and chains. The bishops in terror attempted to hide themselves in corners of the church or under benches, but they were dragged out, and with threats, abusive language, and

[z] Hardouin, ii. 106; Tillem. xv. 557.

[a] Eutyches had accused Flavian of falsifying these acts. An investigation had consequently been held by a commission of bishops and civil officers, but nothing had been proved against the correctness of the report. Hardouin, ii. 172, seqq.; Evagr. i. 9; Tillem. xv. 533-8; Schröckh, xviii. 455-6.

[b] Hardouin, ii. 161, &c.; Tillem. xv. 560-1; Walch, vi. 221-2; Schröckh, xviii. 462-4.

[c] Hardouin, ii. 236-8; Tillem. xv. 563-5.

[d] Tillem. xv. 560-1.

[e] Tillem. xv. 561-2.

[f] Against the idea that he appealed to the pope alone, see Tillem. xv. 568; Dupin, iv. 342; Walch, vi. 257-260.

blows were compelled to sign the condemnation of Flavian,—or rather a blank paper, on which the sentence was afterwards to be copied.[g] It is said that Dioscorus and Barsumas struck Flavian in the face, kicked him, and stamped on him;[h] and, although the report of these savage acts may be an exaggeration, it seems to be certain that, in consequence of the treatment which he received in the council, the patriarch of Constantinople died within a few days, on his way to a place of banishment.[i] Eusebius was deposed and imprisoned, but found means of escaping to Rome.[k] Theodoret and Ibas, although confined to their own dioceses, were cited, and in their absence condemned as heretics. Domnus, of Antioch, who had weakly consented to the earlier acts of the council, was at last deposed on the charge of approving a Nestorian sermon, which was said (probably without truth) to have been preached in his presence by Theodoret. He retired into a monastery, and made no attempt to recover his see.[l] One of the Roman legates had died on his way to the council.[m] The behaviour of the two who were present at it is not distinctly recorded. It seems probable that the elder, Julius, bishop of Puteoli, was overpowered, and consented to the proceedings of Dioscorus. The younger, Hilary, then a deacon, and afterwards Leo's successor, alone stood firm in opposition to them; he was obliged to abscond from Ephesus, and to travel by unfrequented ways to Rome.[n]

Theodosius, by edicts which bore the name of the western emperor as well as his own, confirmed the decisions of the council, taxing the deposed bishops with Nestorianism, and ordering that their writings should be burnt, and that no one should give shelter to them or to their followers.[o] In the face of these edicts, Leo with a Roman synod declared the proceedings at Ephesus invalid. The assembly, he said, was not a council, but a meeting of robbers (*Latrocinium*)[p]—a name which was generally adopted and has continued to be used in designating it;[q] and he applied, although

[g] Hardouin, ii. 216; Tillem. xv. 559, 570-2. There are 149 signatures—10 of them made by proxy.

[h] Evagrius, ii. 2, says that Eusebius of Dorylæum accused Dioscorus of acting thus. Schröckh would seem to have overlooked the passage when he named Theophanes, a writer of the ninth century, as the oldest authority for the story (xviii. 465).

[i] Tillem. xv. 570-3, 905-6; Walch, vi. 265; Schröckh, xviii. 265.

[k] Tillem. xv. 574.

[l] Evagr. i. 10. The council of Chalcedon assigned him an allowance out of the revenues of Antioch. Hardouin, ii. 544; Baron. 451. 131; Tillem. xv. 581-3; Dupin, iv. 357-9. See note in Fleury, iii. 382.

[m] See Dupin, iv. 339; Walch. vi. 251-2.

[n] See Tillem. xv. 568, 577; Neale's Alexandrian Church, i. 296.

[o] Tillem. xv. 386. [p] Ep. xcv. 2.

[q] Baron. 449. 46-50: Schröckh, xviii. 467; Neander, iv. 220.

in vain, to Theodosius for a fresh council, to be held in Italy.[r] A visit which Valentinian, with his wife and mother, paid to Rome early in the following year,—probably for the festival of St. Peter's Chair (Feb. 22)—afforded the bishop another opportunity of urging his cause. As the imperial party entered the church of the Apostle, Leo appeared at the head of a large company of bishops, and, prostrating himself on the floor, represented with tears the miserable distractions of the Oriental Church, where Egypt, Thrace, and Palestine were arrayed against Syria, Pontus, and Asia;[s] he implored Valentinian and the princesses to intercede with the eastern emperor that the sentences against Flavian and others might be annulled, and that a new general council might be assembled in Italy. They assented, and fulfilled their promise;[t] but Theodosius was persuaded to reply that he had not innovated on the faith; that the proceedings of the late council had been fair; that it had produced excellent effects; and that the East was now united in the true doctrine.[u]

A.D. 450.

The sudden death of Theodosius, in July 450, was followed by important changes in ecclesiastical matters. Pulcheria had always been opposed to the Eutychian party, and had kept up a correspondence with Leo.[x] Chrysaphius was put to death. Marcian united with his empress in the wish to favour orthodoxy, and expressed his willingness to summon a general council.[y] Leo desired that it might be held in Italy, and that it might not discuss matters of faith—since these had been already sufficiently settled—but might limit itself to a consideration of the questions as to the bishops who had been condemned.[z] The Roman bishop evidently aimed at the advancement of his own authority by obtaining a recognition of his letter to Flavian as the standard of orthodoxy on the Incarnation.[a] But Marcian also had an object in appointing a place of meeting within his own dominions; and to this he steadily adhered.

Anatolius, an Alexandrian, had been consecrated by Dioscorus for Constantinople, and requested the communion of Leo. As the see had become vacant by the death of Flavian, there was no irregularity in the appointment of his successor. Leo, therefore,

[r] Epp. 43, 45, 54; Baron. 449. 54.
[s] Tillem. xv. 589-592.
[t] Their letters to Theodosius and Pulcheria are in the collection of Leo's Epistles, 55-9; the answers, 62-4.
[u] Tillem. xv. 600-2; Schröckh, xv. 595-7; Neander, iv. 220.
[x] Tillem. xv. 597-600.
[y] Ap. Leon. Epp. 73, 76.
[z] Epp. 82-3, 94; Evagr. ii. 2; Tillem. Emp. vi. 287; Mém. xv. 597-600, 609-612, 617, 629.
[a] Walch, vi. 323-4; Schröckh, xviii. 469-470; Neander, iv. 222.

expressed a willingness to recognise Anatolius, if he would give a satisfactory statement of his faith, and would anathematize all who taught amiss on the subject of the Incarnation. Marcian wrote to Rome in favour of the new patriarch; and Anatolius, on signing the letter to Flavian, was admitted by Leo to communion.[b]

The enemies of Theodoret had succeeded by means of bribery in procuring an imperial edict which ordered that his books should be burnt, and that no one should read them or give him shelter.[c] He remained in retirement in a monastery at Apamea, from which he wrote to Leo, asking whether he ought to submit to the judgment of the Ephesian council, and begging for a recognition of his orthodoxy, in proof of which he appealed to his numerous writings and to his labours for the faith.[d] His case was examined by a council at Rome, and Leo granted him communion.[e] In the beginning of 451, Marcian allowed the banished bishops to return from their exile, but reserved the question of their restoration to their sees for the consideration of the general council, which was appointed to meet at Nicæa on the 1st of September.[f]

Leo, finding that there was to be a council, resolved to turn it to the best advantage.[g] He had already sent a bishop and a presbyter into the East, on account of the negotiations with Anatolius and other bishops who desired his communion. To these envoys he now added another of each order. His instructions to the legates were in a very lofty style. They were to preside over the council; nothing was to be transacted except in their presence; they were not to admit Dioscorus to appear as a judge, but as an accused person. The legates endeavoured to act up to these orders; but, although much was allowed to them, they were not permitted to exercise that uncontrolled supremacy which their master contemplated.[h]

The opening of the council was delayed for some weeks, and the place of meeting was altered to Chalcedon, in order that it might be held under the eye of the emperor, who had promised to be present if it were in his power, but was prevented by public business from leaving Constantinople.[i] The number of bishops is

[b] Epp. Leon. 69-71, 80, 83; Tillem. xv. 587-9, 607-8, 617.

[c] Tillem. xv. 578-580; Schröckh, xviii. 466; Neander, iv. 217.

[d] Ap. Leon. Ep. 52; Tillem. xv. 293, 296, 592-4. That Theodoret did not mean to appeal to the pope alone, but to all western bishops, see Tillemont, xv. 294; Barrow, 236-8. His letter, amidst all the celebration of the Roman *primacy* which his circumstances rendered natural, gives no hint of a *supremacy*.

[e] Pagi in Bar. viii. 61; Tillem. xv. 305, 636; Dupin, iv. 116.

[f] Hardouin, ii. 45; Evagr. ii. 2; Tillem. xv. 301-2.

[g] Epp. 89-91.

[h] Tillem. xv. 631-4; Neander, iv. 224.

[i] Hardouin, ii. 49-52; Baron. 451. 30-3; Tillem. xv. 629.

traditionally reckoned at six hundred and thirty. The council itself reckons five hundred and twenty.[k] All were from the East, except the Roman legates, and two African bishops, who, however, do not appear to have been commissioned as representatives of their brethren.[l] The Roman legates and Anatolius of Constantinople sat as presidents of the clergy; but the real direction of the council was in the hands of the emperor's commissioners—nineteen civil officers, who had held the highest dignities in the state.[m]

The first session was held on the 8th of October, in the church of the martyr St. Euphemia, which was built on a gentle eminence without the walls of Chalcedon. Evagrius describes with enthusiasm the beauties of the situation and prospect; and he adds curious statements as to miracles customarily performed at the church, by the blood and other reliques of the patroness.[n] As soon as the members of the council had taken their places, the Roman legates rose and, speaking in Latin, demanded that Dioscorus should not be allowed to sit as a judge; otherwise, they said, their instructions would oblige them to withdraw. The commissioners told them that, if they were to be judges, they must not make themselves parties; but after some discussion, Dioscorus was desired to take a seat in the midst of the assembly, as a person under accusation.[o] Eusebius of Dorylæum then brought forward a petition which had been presented to the emperor, and by him had been referred to the council. In this he charged Dioscorus with wrongs towards himself, the deceased bishop of Constantinople, and the Catholic faith.[p] By desire of both Eusebius and Dioscorus, the acts of the Latrocinium—which included those of the Constantinopolitan synod against Eutyches—were produced, and the reading of them was begun. When Theodoret's name was mentioned in the acts, the commissioners ordered that he should be called in. This was the signal for an uproar. The Egyptian party protested that to admit him, the master of Nestorius, would be against the faith and the canons—that it would be a betrayal of Christ and a driving out of St. Cyril. They shouted, "Away with the Jew, the blasphemer, the Nestorian!" while their opponents, with equal zeal, exclaimed that Dioscorus should rather be ejected with his train of Manichæans and murderers. The commissioners reminded the bishops of the decency

[k] See Dupin, iv. 346; Walch, vi. 401-2.
[l] Tillem. xv. 640; Walch, vi. 403.
[m] Barrow, 192; Tillem. xv. 642-6; Planck, i. 685; Neander, iv. 224.
[n] Evagr. ii. 4.
[o] Hardouin, ii. 68; Tillem. xv. 647-8; Gieseler, I. ii. 227.
[p] Hardouin, i. 69.

due to their own character. Theodoret was allowed to take his seat—not, however, as a judge but as a plaintiff; and the reading of the Ephesian acts was resumed.[q] While it was proceeding, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and the other bishops of Palestine, left the position which they had taken up near the Egyptians, and removed to the opposite side of the church. Other bishops, who at Ephesus had acted with Dioscorus, followed, and were hailed by the Orientals with shouts of "Welcome, Orthodox!"[r] Even four of his suffragans were among the deserters, and at last he was left with only thirteen Egyptian bishops to support him.[s] But he continued to bear himself with unabated pride and with undaunted resolution. He demanded that his case should not be separated from that of the others who had shared in his proceedings; and often, with bitter sarcasm, denounced the tergiversation of his former allies.[t] He criticised the evidence with watchful acuteness. He told the members of the council that, in condemning him, they would condemn Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzum, Cyril, and all the orthodox fathers.[u] He said that he acknowledged Christ to be "*of* two natures," but, on being pressed, he declined to use the form "*in* two natures;" thus refusing to own that the distinction of natures had subsisted after the incarnation. He protested that he cared for no other interest but God and his own soul.[x]

Throughout the day there were continual bursts of uproar, as passages occurred in the acts which excited the feelings of the hostile parties. Mutual anathemas were shouted forth against the assertors and the deniers of the two natures;[y] the descriptions of the scene might recall to our minds the tempests of modern republican assemblies rather than the ideal which we might have naturally formed of the Church's greatest General Council.

It was late before the reading of the first day's proceedings at Ephesus was finished. The commissioners then said that it was enough for one day to have cleared the memory of Flavian and Eusebius; that the emperor was resolved to adhere to the faith of Nicæa and Constantinople; that, if he agreed in their view of the matter, the leaders in the proceedings at Ephesus ought to be deposed; but that they left the decision to the consideration of the bishops.[z]

[q] Hardouin, ii. 73; Dupin, iv. 84; Tillem. xv. 648-650; Neander, iv. 225.
[r] Hardouin, ii. 129.
[s] Tillem. xv. 651-2.
[t] Hardouin, ii. 80.
[u] Hardouin, ii. 132.
[x] Hardouin, ii. 136; Tillem. xv. 650-3.
[y] Tillem. xv. 654; Schröckh, xviii. 474.
[z] Hardouin, ii. 272-3; Evagr. iv. 4; Tillem. xv. 654.

Dioscorus was committed to a guard, probably from an apprehension that he might leave Chalcedon. At the third session of the council he was cited, but refused to appear, on the plea that he was under restraint. On being told that he was at liberty to attend the council, he renewed his refusal on other grounds—especially that the imperial commissioners were not then present in the assembly.[a] Additional charges were preferred against him—chiefly affecting his administration of his office, and his private morals, which were said to be even the subject of scandalous ballads sung about the streets of Alexandria;[b] and, after he had been thrice cited without appearing, the legates gave their judgment,—that, because of the misdemeanours proved against him (among which they included some which do not appear to have been mentioned in the previous proceedings)—for his behaviour at Ephesus, for having dared to excommunicate "the most holy and most blessed archbishop of the great Rome, Leo,"[c] and for having disregarded the citations of the council, they, in the name of the Roman bishop and of St. Peter, with the council, declared him to be deprived of all sacerdotal office and dignity.[d] Anatolius and other bishops gave their judgment in succession, and the condemnation was signed by about three hundred members of the council. Some of these specified particular charges as the grounds of their assent; many rested it on the contempt with which Dioscorus had treated the citations; and this was the main reason assigned in the notification of the sentence to himself.[e] The majority professed to be guided by the opinion of the council; very few made any reference to imputations on the faith of the accused. The condemnation was ratified by the emperor, and Dioscorus was banished to Gangra, in Paphlagonia, where he died in 454.[f]

Oct. 13, 451.

Leo had sent his Letter to Flavian to the council as a standard

[a] Tillem. xv. 658-660; Walch, vi. 346-8.

[b] Evagr. ii. 4; Hardouin, ii. 327, 336; Tillem. xv. 661-2; Walch, vi. 349-354; Schröckh, xv. 475; Gibbon, iv. 355.

[c] Hardouin, i. 324. Baronius (449. 168) places this excommunication at Alexandria, soon after the Latrocinium. Tillemont (xv. 203) rightly says that it was at Nicæa, but supposes it to have been pronounced during some visit to that city before Easter, 450. There is, however, no record of any such visit, and it is in itself improbable. Pagi (in Bar. viii. 47) thinks that the excommunication was uttered while Dioscorus and others were waiting at Nicæa for the opening of the Council. Tillemont argues that Dioscorus was not then strong enough to venture on such an act. But the question is not whether he was strong enough to give effect to his excommunication, but whether he was bold enough and desperate enough to pronounce it. Walch (vi 291-2) is undecided.

[d] Hardouin, ii. 345; Evagr. ii. 4; Tillem. xv. 612.

[e] Hardouin, i. 377.

[f] Evagr. ii. 4; Tillem. xv. 663; Walch, iv. 428; Schröckh, xviii. 476.

of doctrine on the Incarnation. Marcian had also recommended it to them, but as a document subject to examination and discussion.[g] The emperor was resolved that the faith should be settled by the authority of a council, not by the bishop of Rome.[h] His commissioners proposed at the second session that a definition as to the faith should be set forth. Cecropius of Sebastopolis, and others, demurred; the faith, they said, had already been secured by the creeds of Nicæa and Constantinople, and by the Letter to Flavian.[i] These documents, and Cyril's second letter to Nestorius, were then generally signed; but the commissioners desired the bishops to adjourn for five days, and in the meantime to confer on the subject of a decree as to faith.[k] October 10.

At the fourth session (the deposition of Dioscorus having taken place at the third), the commissioners again urged their proposal. The legates repeated the objection which had been already made—that the Letter to Flavian and the creeds were sufficient. The bishops were then individually asked whether the Letter were agreeable to the earlier documents, and replied that it was so.[l] The thirteen Egyptian bishops, who had adhered to Dioscorus, entreated that they might not be required to subscribe the letter while the see of Alexandria was vacant. Such, they said, was their subjection to their patriarch, that, if they should take it upon themselves to sign, their lives would not be safe on their return to Egypt. The commissioners interceded for them, and, after a warm discussion, they were allowed to remain at Constantinople until a new patriarch should be appointed.[m] At this meeting the bishops unanimously requested that Juvenal and the other metropolitans who had acted with Dioscorus at Ephesus should be pardoned, on the ground that they had been under constraint. The request was referred to the emperor, and he assented to it.[n] October 17.

A decree as to faith was produced at the fifth session, and was received with various expressions of feeling.[o] But in the most critical point, instead of stating that Christ is "*in* two natures," it used the expression "*of* two natures." As Dioscorus had deposed Flavian for the doctrine con- October 22.

[g] Walch, vi. 327-8. [h] Walch, vi. 445.
[i] Hardouin, ii. 284-5.
[k] Hardouin, ii. 309; Tillem. xv. 656-8.
[l] Hardouin, ii. 386, 413; Tillem. xv. 657-8, 665-6; Walch, vi. 361; Schröckh, xviii. 476.
[m] Hardouin, ii. 413-420; Tillem. xv. 667-9; Walch, vi. 457; Neander, iv. 231.
[n] Hardouin, ii. 413; Tillem. xv. 666.
[o] Hardouin, ii. 448; Tillem. xv. 677-8.

veyed in the former phrase, and had himself declared his willingness to agree to the other, the definition was obviously insufficient. The legates said that, unless the words were brought into agreement with Leo's letter, they would return to Rome, and refer the matter to a Western council. On this there were loud outcries against Nestorianism. The great body of the bishops exclaimed that the decree was dictated by the Holy Spirit, and must not be altered.[p] On a remark by a commissioner, that Dioscorus had deposed Flavian for using the words "*in* two natures," Anatolius observed that Dioscorus had not been deposed for heresy, but for his excommunication of Leo and for his disobedience to the council's citations.[q] The emperor was consulted, and suggested that a committee of bishops should confer with Anatolius and the Roman legates. The general feeling of the assembly was still against any further discussion of the matter; there were exclamations that those who did not like the definition might "go off to Rome;" but, on being reminded by the commissioners that Dioscorus had consented to the words "*of* two natures," and asked whether they preferred Dioscorus or Leo, the bishops agreed to reconsider it.[r] Thus the decree was at length brought into its present form. It confirms the creeds of Nicæa and Constantinople, and the decisions of the general council of Ephesus; it adopts Leo's letter to Flavian as a bulwark alike against Nestorianism and the opposite error; and, although it had recognised the sufficiency of the existing creeds, it defines, in opposition to the recent heresies, that Christ is "perfect alike in Godhead and in manhood, very God and very man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh, coessential with the Father as to his Godhead, and coessential with us as to his manhood, like to us in all things except sin . . . . . one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, only-begotten, to be acknowledged in two natures,[s] without confusion, change, division, or separation; the difference of the natures being in nowise taken away by reason of their union, but rather the properties of each nature being preserved, and concurring into one person and one hypostasis, not as it were

[p] Hardouin, ii. 447; Tillem. xv. 677-9.

[q] Hardouin, ii. 449; Tillem. xv. 679. See Walch, vi. 428-430.

[r] Hardouin, ii. 449; Tillem. xv. 679-680; Neander, iv. 226.

[s] The Greek reads ἐκ δύο φύσεων—"*of* two natures." But it is generally agreed that this is a mistake. Evagrius (ii. 4. p. 291) and the Latin version have "*in* two natures;" and, after the previous discussions, it would seem that these words must have been in the decree, either instead of, or (as Dr. Routh thinks, Scriptorum Eccles. Opuscula, ii. 119) together with "*of* two natures." See Tillem. xv. 681; Gieseler, I. ii. 161; note in Fleury, iii. 373.

divided or separated into two persons, but one and the same Son and only-begotten, God the Word."[t]

At the next (6th) session, Marcian appeared—accompanied by Pulcheria.[u] The bishops received them with loud acclamations, mixed with anathemas against Nestorius, Eutyches, and Dioscorus. The emperor made a speech, and gave his sanction to the definition of faith; which was thereupon generally subscribed.[x] October 25.

Theodoret signed the decree as bishop of Cyrus, but had not yet been restored to his see. Although the Roman recognition of him had been mentioned in the council, the fathers in the eighth session proceeded to an independent examination of his case.[y] He was received with violent outcries from many of the bishops, and was called on to anathematize Nestorius. He attempted to state his faith, declaring that the recovery of his bishopric was nothing to him in comparison of his reputation for orthodoxy. But the bishops would not listen to any explanation; and at length, after many vain attempts to overcome their clamour, he pronounced an anathema on Nestorius, with all who refuse the word *Theotokos*, or divide the two natures; whereupon he was acknowledged as orthodox and worthy of his see.[z] It might have been supposed that Theodoret intended his anathema against the errors which were popularly imputed to Nestorius, without implying that the imputation was just; but, if the notice of Nestorius in one of his latest works be genuine, it would appear that he had changed his opinion as to the heresiarch himself.[a] Ibas was also, not without some difficulty, restored to his see.[b] October 26.

The number of the council's sessions is variously reckoned, from twelve to fifteen.[c] Among its acts were two important regulations on the subject of ecclesiastical precedence and jurisdiction.

[t] Hardouin, ii. 452-6; Routh, Script. Eccles. Opusc. ii. 75-80; Tillem. xv. 682; Walch, vi. 371-2.

[u] Hardouin, ii. 463; Evagr. ii. 4. Tillem. (xv. 920) and Pagi (in Bar. viii. 31) argue that the statement as to Pulcheria is incorrect. But see Walch, vi. 404; Schröckh, xviii. 482; and note in Fleury, iii. 374.

[x] Hardouin, ii. 463-488; Tillem. xv. 683-6.

[y] Hardouin, ii. 497; Walch, vi. 439.

[z] Hardouin, ii. 497-500; Pagi in Bar. viii. 106-7; Tillem. xv. 308-9, 603-4; Dupin, iv. 84; Walch, vi. 377-9.

[a] The genuineness is questioned by Garnier and others, and is maintained by Neander, iv. 229-231. See Dupin, iv. 103-5; Tillem. xv. 621; Schröckh, xviii. 374-5. It is not certain whether Theodoret resumed his see or remained in his monastery, devoting himself to literary labour. He is supposed to have died about 457-8. Pagi in Baron. viii. 149-151; Dupin, iv. 85; Tillem. xv. 310-2, 875.

[b] Hardouin, ii. 504-544; Tillem. xv. 687-8; Walch, vi. 380-2.

[c] Tillem. xv. 713; Schröckh, xviii. 482.

(1.) Agreeably to the principle of correspondence between the ecclesiastical and the civil divisions, Palestine had been subject to the bishop of Cæsarea, the civil capital, as metropolitan. Jerusalem was but an ordinary bishopric; yet, on account of the sacred associations connected with the place, it always enjoyed something of a peculiar reverence.[d] The seventh Nicene canon formally sanctioned this undefined honour, on the ground of "custom and ancient tradition;"[e] and the importance of the Holy City had since been increased by the growing practice of pilgrimage, which drew to it a vast confluence of visitors from all countries to which the Gospel had penetrated. Juvenal conceived the ambitious idea of not only freeing himself from the superiority of Cæsarea, but raising his see to the dignity of a patriarchate. His first attempt was made at the general council of Ephesus, where the bishop of Cæsarea was absent, while John of Antioch, to whom both Cæsarea and Jerusalem were subject,[f] was obnoxious as the chief of the rival assembly. Relying on these favourable circumstances, Juvenal went so far as to assert that Antioch ought to be judged by Jerusalem; but his pretensions were checked by Cyril, and were not revived until after the Alexandrian bishop's death.[g] At the *Latrocinium*, where he was again favoured by the absence of the bishop of Cæsarea, and by the position of Domnus, Juvenal renewed his claims; he had subsequently obtained rescripts in his favour from the emperor, and the question now came before the council for final decision. Maximus, of Antioch, although dissatisfied with the change, did not oppose it; and the council assigned to Juvenal the dignity of a patriarch,[h] with jurisdiction over Palestine. Arabia, and the second Phœnicia, which had been included in Juvenal's claim, were left to the patriarch of Antioch, and the bishop of Cæsarea was allowed to retain the title of an *honorary* metropolitan.[i]

(2.) The twenty-eighth canon related to the see of Constantinople. The eastern emperors had had an interest in exalting the bishop of their capital, in opposition to metropolitans on the one hand, and to the bishop of Rome on the other.[k] And the im-

[d] Tillem. xiv. 451-3; xv. 198-9; Bingham, II. xvi. 11.—Against Blondel's notion that it was exempt from the jurisdiction of Cæsarea, see Tillem. xv. 200-1.

[e] Routh, Scr. Eccl. Opuscula, i. 374.

[f] Wiltsch, however, thinks that the bishop of Cæsarea was probably autocephalous (i. 204).

[g] Baron. 431. 102; Tillem. xiv. 453; xv. 202-3; Schröckh, viii. 98; Gieseler, I. ii. 214. Cyril drew Rome into opposing Juvenal's attempts. Leo, Ep. cxix. 4.

[h] Socrates is the earliest writer who uses this title in its modern sense. The Council of Chalcedon is the first ecclesiastical authority for it. Bingham, II. xvii. 6.

[i] Tillem. xv. 203-5, 686; Gieseler, I. ii. 191.

[k] Gieseler, I. ii. 189.

portance of the position had been continually increasing. An introduction by the bishop of Constantinople was necessary for such of his brethren as desired to be admitted into the imperial presence.[l] He presided over the *Home Synod*, a body composed of such bishops as had been drawn by their affairs to the residence of the court, and to which the emperors were accustomed to refer appeals in ecclesiastical matters.[m] The bishops of Constantinople even extended their interference into the patriarchate of Antioch, and became the general referees and arbitrators of the eastern Church.[n] Although the canon of the Second General Council, which placed Constantinople next to Rome, did not bestow on it any jurisdiction, the bishops attempted to exercise patriarchal authority over Thrace, Asia, and Pontus;[o] they claimed the right, not only of ordaining, but even of nominating, the metropolitans and inferior bishops.[p]

The twenty-eighth canon of Chalcedon was intended as a compromise of the differences which had arisen from these pretensions. It ordered that the metropolitans only of the three dioceses should be ordained by the patriarchs of Constantinople, and that after a certificate of undisputed election by their own suffragans.[q] The canon recognised the privileges bestowed by the Second General Council on "New Rome;" it referred these to the secular eminence of the city, declared that the privileges of Rome itself rested on like grounds, and enacted that Constantinople ought "to be magnified in ecclesiastical matters even like the elder imperial Rome, as being next to it."[r] The canon was signed by about a hundred and eighty bishops—many of those who supposed themselves to be aggrieved by it standing aloof. On the following day, which was the last of the council, the Roman legates protested against it, as having been passed in their absence, and through a surprise practised on those who had been present. The charge of surprise was denied by the parties concerned; and the legates were reminded that they had been summoned to the meeting of the preceding day. They threatened to

Nov. 1.

[l] Planck, i. 617-8.

[m] Tillem. xv. 703-4; Walch, vi. 145; note in Fleury, iii. 406.

[n] Tillem. xv. 705-6.

[o] Schröckh, xvii. 27. Chrysostom's intervention at Ephesus had been requested; but other bishops of Constantinople interfered of their own accord. Wiltsch, i. 140-2.

[p] Tillem. xv. 704.

[q] Tillem. xv. 707; Wiltsch, i. 155. By bestowing the privilege of ordaining metropolitans on one patriarch, the council is to be understood as giving it to all—whereas it had before belonged to the suffragan bishops. Planck, i. 611.

[r] Hardouin, ii. 611-4; Routh, Script. Eccl. Opusc. ii. 69.

report the matter to their master, whereupon the commissioners told them that it had been decided by the synod.[s]

Marcian followed up the council by laws against the Eutychians,[t] forbidding them to hold meetings, and inflicting various disabilities on them.[u] Leo expressed high approval of the decree as to faith, but no less indignation against the twenty-eighth canon. With a bold disregard of history,[x] he denied that the precedence of sees had depended on the importance of the cities in which they were. He asserted that the canon of the Second Council had never been acted on or notified to the Roman see,[y] although (besides other instances to the contrary) his own legates, at the Latrocinium, had made no objection to the position assigned to Flavian. He pretended that the new canon contradicted the Nicene Council by subjecting Alexandria and Antioch to Constantinople. He declared it to be annulled by the authority of St. Peter. He loudly complained of the ambition of Anatolius,[z] whom he charged with ingratitude for the favour shown by the Roman acknowledgment of him; he suspended intercourse with him, and threatened to excommunicate him.[a] Finding, however, that, although it was the interest of both Marcian and Anatolius to be on friendly terms with him, his lofty pretensions had no effect on them, he professed, in 454, to regard some conciliatory words of Anatolius as a retractation of the conduct which had offended him; and the patriarch of Constantinople was readmitted to his correspondence.[b] And, although some of the more extravagant Romish historians profess to suppose that Marcian abrogated the canon by

[s] Hardouin, ii. 625-644; Tillem. xv. 711-3; Schröckh, xvii. 29-30. Tillemont (xv. 709-711) thinks that the assuming behaviour of the legates may have disposed the bishops to pass the canon, with a view of setting up a rival to Rome.

[t] These laws show that the party was strong, not only among monks, but among the soldiery. (Hardouin, ii. 677; Walch, vi. 479.) Eutyches himself did not appear at Chalcedon, and was not noticed by the Council—probably because such notice was unnecessary, as Flavian's proceedings were vindicated. In 454, Leo suggested to Marcian that the heretic ought to be sent to a greater distance from Constantinople. (Ep. cxxxiv. 2.) The result is not known; but it is supposed that Eutyches died soon after. Bar. 454. 10; Tillem xv. 722; Walch, vi. 415-7, 480-1.

[u] Hardouin, ii. 659-664, 676-680; Baron. 452. 3-5; Tillem. xv. 723-4; Schröckh, xviii. 489-490.

[x] See Tillem. xv. 190.

[y] Ep. cvi. 5.

[z] Anatolius (ap. Leon. Ep. cxxxii. 4) says that his character was not ambitious, and that his clergy were the real movers in the affair. But Leo will not admit the excuse. Ep. cxxxv. 3.

[a] Epp. 104-7, etc.; Baron. 452. 10-16, 453. 3-4; Tillem. xv. 617, 700-2, 707-11, 719, 725-9, 762; Schröckh, xvii. 32-6; Neander, iii. 240; Hussey, 70-1.

[b] Leo, Ep. cxxxiv.; Tillem. xv. 729-730, 772.

an imaginary law, it is certain that from the time of its enactment it was steadily executed by the Eastern court.[c]

II.

The canon in favour of Constantinople agreed with the tendency of the age to centre authority in the great sees by overpowering the independence of the lesser.[d] In the same spirit which led the patriarchs of Constantinople to extend their jurisdiction over the neighbouring provinces, Alexander of Antioch had endeavoured, in the earlier part of the century, to assert a claim to the island of Cyprus, which had until then been *autocephalous* under its metropolitan, the bishop of Constantia or Salamis. He pretended that it had been originally subject to Antioch, but had withdrawn itself in the course of the preceding century, on account of the heresy and schism by which the mother church had then been distracted. The claim, however, failed; the council of Ephesus—perhaps in some degree influenced by its enmity against John, the successor of Alexander,—pronounced it inconsistent with the canons of Nicæa.[e] In some cases, patriarchs assisted bishops to obtain the title of metropolitans, on condition of subordination to themselves: sometimes they commissioned existing metropolitans to act as their vicars—an arrangement by which the metropolitan acquired an increase of power, but paid for it by the forfeiture of his independence.[f] By these and other means, the dignity of the patriarchs generally had been on the increase.

But the growth of the Roman influence during the earlier half of the fifth century was especially remarkable. As in the preceding century, controversies continued to arise in the East. From Chrysostom and Theophilus to Dioscorus and Anatolius, the great bishops were divided by enmities, and one of them after another was charged with heresy. In such circumstances they were driven to look towards Rome—not only as the principal Church of the West, but as representative of all the rest. Antioch and Alexandria were especially interested in courting its alliance, as a counterpoise to the new importance of Constantinople.[g] The Roman bishops affected to regard such applications as *appeals*; while those who received favourable answers from Rome were eager to magnify them as judgments.[h] The western emperors, by with-

[c] Tillem. xv. 729-730; Schröckh, xvii. 43-5; xviii. 491; Gieseler, I. ii. 228.

[d] Schröckh, viii. 136.

[e] Hardouin, i. 1620; Tillem. xiv. 444-7; Fleury, xxv. 57, and note in Oxford translation.

[f] Planck, i. 619-620.

[g] Mosh. i. 437-8.

[h] Planck, i. 635; Giesecler, I. ii. 200; Neander, iii. 242-3.

drawing to Milan and Ravenna, left the bishops as the chief resident personages of Rome; and both the decay of the empire, and the personal feebleness of the princes, contributed to the advancement of the ecclesiastical power. Thus favoured by circumstances, the bishops of Rome, with growing pretensions and various success, pushed onwards to that ascendancy which they were destined in time to attain.

The Roman bishops had before denied that their precedence originated in the secular greatness of the city, and had professed to trace it to their alleged succession from St. Peter. This theory, in truth, resolves itself into the other; and, if there were room for doubt as to the reason why the chief Apostle may be supposed to have fixed his see in the capital of the civilised world, the question would be decided by the fact that the other churches which traced themselves to him were those of the two cities which came next in importance to Rome; and, further, that in ecclesiastical as well as in civil rank, Alexandria took precedence of Antioch, although the foundation of the Egyptian see was referred to the agency of a disciple, whereas the Syrian was believed to have been founded by the Apostle himself. The derivation from St. Peter was, however, advanced as if it excluded the other view, and the claims founded on it became continually higher. For a time, it was said that the prerogatives of Rome had been *bestowed* on it by the fathers, out of reverence for the chief of the Apostles.[j] But afterwards it was asserted that they were *inherent* in the Roman see—a doctrine which was hinted at in the council of Ephesus, but was first broadly maintained by Leo.[k]

Innocent went beyond his predecessors in his assumptions. He laboured earnestly to subject independent metropolitans. Carrying out an usurpation which appears to have been begun by Siricius,[l] he assumed jurisdiction over the churches of Eastern Illyricum, and constituted the bishop of Thessalonica his vicar for the administration of that vast province —extending from the Morea to the Danube.[m] He laid down the principle that the whole Western Church was bound to conform to the usages of Rome—a principle which so lately as the time of St. Ambrose had been utterly disallowed.[n] The lofty language

A.D. 402-417.

[j] Gieseler, I. ii. 208-9.
[k] Gieseler, I. ii. 213.
[l] See Schröckh, viii. 113-5.
[m] Schröckh, 136-7; Hussey, 32.
[n] Innoc. Ep. ad Decentium, ap. Harduin, i. 995-6. Yet he seems to limit his claim by going on to say that the *western* countries had been evangelized by St. Peter's emissaries, and therefore ought especially (*præsertim*) to follow the Roman example. See Schröckh, viii. 130, 136-8; Gieseler, I. ii. 201, 209; Bindemann's Augustinus, i. 225-6; Hussey, 30.

of this bishop in receiving a communication from the Africans in the matter of Pelagius—the pretensions of his successor Zosimus in the same case, and the defeat of the latter in respect both of fact and right — have already been mentioned.[o] Yet in that affair, Zosimus, although with little credit to himself, made an important step towards increasing the authority of his see. His circular letter—the expression, not of his first independent opinion, but of that which had been forced on him—was the earliest instance in which a document emanating from Rome was proposed for general adoption as a standard of orthodoxy.[p]

The Africans, although desirous of Innocent's co-operation in the Pelagian controversy, entirely maintained their independence of him.[q] In like manner, when an African presbyter named Apiarius appealed to Rome, during the episcopate of Zosimus, the African bishops denied that appeals from Carthage might be made to churches beyond the seas, in contradiction to the Nicene and African canons.[r] Zosimus claimed the right of entertaining such appeals, by virtue (as he asserted) of a Nicene canon. The Africans heard of this authority with surprise, as no such canon was known to them. They sent to the Eastern patriarchs for authentic copies of the Nicene code, and, in notifying this step to Boniface, who in the mean time had succeeded Zosimus, they expressed a hope that they might no longer have cause to complain of the secular pride and arrogance of Rome.[s] The canon proved to be one, not of the Nicene, but of the Sardican council, and Zosimus had moreover stretched it far beyond its real meaning.[t] Apiarius again appealed to Rome in the time of Celestine; when the African bishops altogether refused to admit any interference of foreign churches with the affairs of their province, and declared the holding of an opposite opinion to be a ground for excommunication.[u]

A.D. 419.

About A.D. 424-6.

Among the attempts of Celestine to extend the power of his see, his assumption of a right to depose a bishop of Constantinople was the most unprecedented and startling. But the course

[o] Pp. 381-3.

[p] Pagi in Baron. vii. 173; Neander, iii. 241; Gieseler, I. ii. 201-2.

[q] Schröckh, viii. 141.

[r] See Tillemont, xiii. 775, *seqq.*; Hussey, 41.

[s] Hardouin, i. 1243, seqq.; Tillem. xii. 385; xiii. 775-780, 783-4; Gieseler, I. ii. 222; Hussey, 47.

[t] See Hussey, 49-52. Baronius is very amusing on this affair. See especially 419. 87.

[u] This had been already declared by African councils—"ad transmarina qui *putaverit* appellandum, &c." See Hardouin, i. 879, 1221; Tillem. xiii. 860-5, and note 84; Schröckh, viii. 164-176; Neander, iii. 247; Gieseler, I. ii. 224. How entirely the principle was regarded as settled, may appear from St. Augustine, Ep. xliii. 14.

of affairs prevented any result from this assumption; the execution of Celestine's mandate was superseded by the summoning of a general Council, and at that assembly Nestorius was deposed, not by the authority of the Roman letter, but after an examination of his case by the bishops who were present.[x]

The chief promoter of the Roman power in this period was the second successor of Celestine,—Leo, who, in later[y] times, has been styled "the Great." He employed in pursuit of his object extraordinary genius, political skill, and theological learning. He raised the claims of the Roman bishop, as the representative of St. Peter, to a height before unknown. With the utter defiance of historical fact which afterwards became characteristic of his successors and their advocates, he declared all the pretensions and all the practices of his Church to be matter of unbroken apostolical tradition; he ascribed that venerable character to regulations introduced within the preceding half-century by Siricius, and even by still more recent bishops.[z] Under such pretences he endeavoured to enforce the usages of Rome as a rule for the Universal Church;[a] even telling Dioscorus, before their disagreement, that Alexandria ought to follow the Roman model, and giving as his reason, that it would be impious (*nefas*) to suppose the disciple St. Mark to have varied from the rules laid down by St. Peter.[b]

A.D. 440–461.

In the earlier years of his episcopate Leo exerted himself against various kinds of heretics, as the Pelagians, the Manichæans —of whom many had been driven to Rome by the troubles of Africa, and who appear to have been convicted of gross depravity, as well as of errors in opinion[c]—and the Priscillianists, who were still a considerable party in Spain, and as to whom it is to be noted that Leo expressly approved the execution of their founder, which, sixty years earlier, had excited the general disgust and indignation of the orthodox.[d]

The calamities of the age removed from the path of Roman ambition the hindrance which had been opposed by the inde-

[x] Barrow, 221; Tillem. xiv. 364. See above, pp. 402-7.

[y] See Tillem. xv. 829.

[z] Tillem. xv. 418-9; Schröckh, xvii. 165-6. Leo repeated, in more than one case, the attempt to pass off a Sardican for a Nicene canon—notwithstanding the exposure of the imposture in the case of Zosimus. Tillem. xv. 595-7; Hussey, 60, 67.

[a] St. Jerome had spoken very differently—"*Unaquæque* provincia abundet in sensu suo, et præcepta majorum leges Apostolicas arbitretur." Ep. lxxi. 6.

[b] Ep. 9; Dupin, iv. 135; Schröckh, xvii. 135.

[c] Epp. 7-8; Baron. 443. 1-7, 444. 1-7; Schröckh, xviii. 61-4.

[d] Ep. 15, init.; Schröckh, xviii. 67-70; Gieseler, I. ii. 225. See above, p. 269.

pendent Church of Africa,—distinguished far beyond Rome itself by the services of its members to theology and learning. The Africans, oppressed by the Arian invaders of their country, were glad to seek support from a connexion with Rome; and the interference which had been boldly rejected in the days of Zosimus, was admitted, without objection, at the hands of the later bishop.[e] Leo extended his sway over Spain and in Sicily,[f] and in Gaul he interfered in a remarkable manner, with gross injustice to one of the most eminent men of the age.

Hilary, a monk of Lerins, was, at the age of twenty-eight, obliged reluctantly to accept the bishopric of Arles. A.D. 429. He became famous for his learning; for his zeal in executing discipline without respect of persons; for his charity towards the poor and captives; and for his unwearied labours and exertions in all the duties of his office. His eloquence was such that his sermons of four hours in length were listened to with unflagging attention, although bodily weariness obliged the hearers to introduce the novelty of *sitting* while he preached.[g]

The sees of Arles and Vienne had formerly contended for precedence, and Zosimus had, in 417, given a decision in favour of Arles, on the ground that it had been founded by Trophimus, the Ephesian, who (he said) had been sent into Gaul by St. Peter.[h] Hilary, at a synod held in 444, deposed a bishop named Celidonius, who thereupon complained to Leo that the Bishop of Arles had exceeded his jurisdiction. Hilary did not acknowledge any right in the Roman bishop to receive such appeals, and made his way to the capital on foot, in the middle of winter, for the purpose of asserting his independence. Leo, with his usual boldness, declared that the apostolic see had *always* been accustomed to receive appeals from Gaul. He restored Celidonius; he pronounced a sentence depriving Hilary of the power to hold synods —a power which he represented as depending on a commission from Rome;[i] and he procured from Valentinian a very remarkable law, which is supposed to have been dictated by himself. A.D. 445. In this the emperor, after magnifying the privileges of the Roman see, censures Hilary for his insubordina-

[e] Tillem. xv. 423; Schröckh, xvii. 133; Gieseler, I. ii. 226.

[f] Schröckh, xvii. 150.

[g] Baron. 445. 17; Tillem. xv. 36-52; Dupin, iv. 165-6; Schröckh, xvii. 136-8.

[h] Tillem. xv. 52; Schröckh, viii. 147-152, xvii. 138-9; Gieseler, I. ii. 217-9; Wiltsch, i. 97-9: Hussey, 39.

[i] Ep. 10; Pagi in Baron. vii. 584; Tillem. xv. 60-80; Schröckh, xvii. 139-147; Neander, iii. 245-7; Gieseler, iii. 220-1.

tion; he declares the Bishop of Rome to be rightful ruler of the whole Church; and he orders that no bishop, in Gaul or elsewhere, shall make any innovation on ancient custom; that the appointments of the Roman bishop shall be obeyed as laws by all others, and that any bishop who shall neglect a citation to the tribunal of the Bishop of Rome, shall be forcibly compelled to appear by the civil governor of his province.[k] This unexampled law, however, was not universally obeyed, and Hilary appears to have retained his dignity until his death in 449; after which Leo, at the request of the Gaulish bishops, settled the rivalry of Arles and Vienne by a division of jurisdiction.[l]

The power of assembling General Councils was not yet claimed by the Bishops of Rome, but was supposed to belong to the emperors.[m] The Council of Chalcedon, although summoned against the will of Leo, and although in many respects it thwarted his wishes and disallowed his pretensions, yet helped towards the realization of his schemes. It was at Chalcedon that the legates of Rome for the first time obtained the presidency of General Council,—a position which could hardly have been refused to them when the dissensions of the eastern patriarchs had compelled the emperor to rely so largely on the orthodoxy and the judgment of the Roman bishop. The Patriarch of Constantinople, indeed, was joined with them in the presidency, while both he and they had no privileges beyond other members of the Council, and were subject to the control of the imperial commissioners; but the part which the legates took in the Council was afterwards greatly magnified by Leo, who usually spoke of them as having judicially decided matters respecting which they had only given

[k] Leo, Ep. 11; Schröckh, xvii. 47-9, 148; Planck, i. 642; Gieseler, I. ii. 226; Hussey, 63-4. Baronius exults in this law (445. 9). Tillemont (xv. 73) says that, "*if* we may examine the matter by the lights of history," we shall find Leo's pretensions to be quite unfounded. "Cette loi," he remarks, p. 83, "est très propre, comme dit Baronius, pour faire voir que les empereurs ont beaucoup servi à établir la grandeur et l'autorité des papes. Ce n'est pas ici le lieu d'y faire d'autres réflexions; mais nous ne pouvons pas nous empêcher de dire que dans l'esprit de ceux qui ont quelque amour pour la liberté de l'Eglise, et quelque connoissance de sa discipline, elle fera toujours aussi peu d'honneur à celui qu'elle loue que de tort à celui qu'elle condamne." (Comp. pp. 86-7, 441.) Leo's successor, Hilary, in his interferences with Gaulish quarrels, repeatedly cites this law,—thereby tacitly admitting that the pretended prerogatives of Rome had no older or higher source. See Schröckh, xvii. 175; Planck, i. 647-650.

[l] Ep. 66; Pagi in Baron. viii. 64; Dupin, iv. 141; Tillem. xv. 84, 93-6; Schröckh, xvii. 148-9; Neander, iii. 247; Gieseler, I. ii. 221; Wiltsch, i. 98; note in Fleury, iii. 24-6.

[m] Barrow, 181; Planck, i. 481. Pelagius II., A.D. 487, was the first pope who pretended to this right. Planck, i. 681.

their opinion, and of which the decision had been pronounced by the voice of the Council at large;[n] and the adoption of the letter to Flavian, as a standard of doctrine on the Incarnation—although it was not received in submission to Leo, but was subjected to the examination of the Council[o]—must have contributed not a little to exalt the authority of the Roman see in the estimation of Christians generally.

In his later dealings with the Eastern Church, Leo ventured on some remarkable innovations. It had been the practice of the great patriarchs to maintain representatives at Constantinople, for the purpose of watching over their interests in such matters as might be referred to the emperor.[p] But whereas these representatives had been taken from the lower degrees of the hierarchy, Leo commissioned a bishop to act as his ordinary envoy. Although this bishop, Julian of Cos, belonged to another jurisdiction, Leo authorised him to absent himself from his diocese; and the object of the legation was evidently not so much to guard the interests of Rome as to overlook and coerce the patriarch of Constantinople.[q] Leo went so far as to interfere with the internal concerns of that Church by remonstrating with Anatolius against certain ordinations and appointments, and exciting the clergy of the eastern capital to control their bishop in the administration of his office.[r] Anatolius naturally resented such interference as intolerable,[s] but his death, in 548, prevented his quarrel with Leo from coming to a height.[t]

We need not question that Leo conscientiously believed himself to be acting for the benefit, not of his own see only, but of the whole Church. But neither respect for his great merits nor charity in the construction of his motives must be allowed to blind us to his ambition and love of domination. In him we for the first time meet with something approaching to the papacy of later times; the conception is, in the main, already formed, although as yet but imperfectly realised.[u]

A circumstance of different tendency must be mentioned before leaving this subject. After the death of Zosimus, the possession

[n] Tillem. xv. 644, 662-6; Walch, vi. 408; Schröckh, xviii. 488.
[o] See note in Fleury, iii. 359.
[p] Baron. 453. 9, and Pagi's note.
[q] Tillem. v. 760-1; Dupin, iv. 145, seqq.
[r] Ep. 111-3, 151, 155, 157, 161, &c.
[s] Leo, Ep. 163.
[t] Tillem. xv. 757-760, 802-811.
[u] Planck, i. 661-2. Barrow somewhere styles Leo a "*vixenly* pope."

of the see of Rome was for a time fiercely contested between Boniface and Eulalius, each of whom was consecrated by his partisans. Boniface was at length established by the emperor Honorius, who, apparently at the bishop's request, enacted that when two persons should be chosen for the see of Rome a new election should take place. And this was the beginning of the important influence which temporal princes afterwards exercised in the election of the Roman bishops.[x]

[x] Baron. 419; Tillem. xii. 387, seqq.; Schröckh, viii. 154-7.

CHAPTER XI.

FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.—CONVERSION OF THE BARBARIANS.—VANDAL PERSECUTION IN AFRICA.

I.

WITHIN about twenty years from the death of Valentinian III., the Western Empire had nine sovereigns. The first of these was Maximus, the senator whose vengeance had been fatal to his predecessor. His wife having died opportunely, he married the widowed empress Eudoxia; but his indiscretion in telling her that for her sake he had instigated the murder of her husband excited her disgust and indignation, and in order to obtain revenge, she invited the Vandals from Africa.[a] Genseric (or Gieserich), whose fleet had for years been the terror of the Mediterranean coasts, appeared at the mouth of the Tiber in the beginning of June, 455. Maximus, after a reign of less than three months, was stoned to death by the Roman populace; and three days later the invader was before the walls of Rome. Leo, at the head of his clergy, went forth to confront for the second time a Barbarian conqueror;[b] he obtained a promise that the city should not be burnt, that the lives of the inhabitants should be spared, and that they should not be tortured for the purpose of discovering their treasures. Thus the bishop's intercession mitigated in some degree the horrors of the sack which followed; but the Barbarians for fourteen days gave a loose to their lust and rapacity.[c] They returned to Africa laden with plunder, and carrying with them a multitude of captives, among whom were Eudoxia and her two daughters. The charity of Deogratias, bishop of Carthage, on this occasion, may be related in the words of Gibbon. "He generously sold the gold and silver plate of the Church to purchase the freedom of some, to alleviate the slavery of others, and to assist the wants and infirmities of a captive multitude, whose health was impaired by the hardships which they had suffered in their passage from Italy to Africa. By his order, two spacious churches were converted

Mar. 17, 455.

June 12, 455.

[a] Tillem. Emp. vi. 256, 260.
[b] See p. 395.
[c] Baron. 455. 3, seqq.; Tillem. xv. 779, 929; Gibbon, iii. 288-291.

into hospitals: the sick were distributed in convenient beds, and liberally supplied with food and medicines; and the aged prelate repeated his visits both in the day and night, with an assiduity that surpassed his strength, and a tender sympathy which enhanced the value of his services. Compare this scene," adds the historian, "with the field of Cannæ, and judge between Hannibal and the successor of St. Cyprian."[d]

The loss of Africa involved that of the revenues which the Roman nobles had drawn from their estates in that province, and the cessation of the supplies of corn on which the commonalty in great measure depended for its support.[e] With a view of recovering Africa, the emperor Majorian—a man of character and energy worthy of a better time—made war on Genseric in 457; and eleven years later, a vast armament, chiefly supplied by the eastern emperor Leo, was sent against the Vandal king; but the first of these expeditions was defeated through the treachery of barbarian allies, and the second through the incapacity of its commander, the emperor's brother-in-law, Basiliscus.[f] Britain had already been abandoned by the Romans; Gaul and Spain were gradually occupied by Barbarians of various races; and at length the imperial dominion was limited to a portion of Italy. The last Emperor of the West, Augustulus, was, in 476,[g] compelled to resign his throne, and become a pensioner on the bounty of Odoacer, the first Barbarian king of Italy.[h]

II.

In connexion with the fall of the Empire, the paganism of the West may be for the last time formally noticed.

Paganism had been combated in the East with severity and success. The younger Theodosius, as we have seen,[i] affected to question whether any of his subjects continued to adhere to it; and, in 435, he ordered that the remaining temples should be destroyed, or should be hallowed by the sign of the cross, and converted to Christian uses.[j] But in the West the old religion retained its hold longer. In cities, the pagans, when debarred from the public exercise of their rites, cultivated the household worship of the Lares and Penates, and had their private sacrifices, notwithstanding the imperial laws.[k] And in the country the pagan

[d] Gibbon, iii. 292.
[e] Gibbon, iii. 287.
[f] Tillem., Emp. vi. 322, 399-400; Gibbon, iii. 302-9, 318-321.
[g] Or 479. Compare Gibbon, iii. 335, with Clinton, A.D. 476.
[h] Gibbon, iii. 333-4.
[i] P. 339.
[j] Theodoret, v. 37; Tillem. Emp. vi. 72; Beugnot, ii. 220-1.
[k] Beugnot, ii. 204-8.

rites were still performed without disguise, and without molestation on the part of those to whom the execution of the laws for their suppression belonged. Maximus, bishop of Turin, about the middle of the century, remonstrates with Christian landowners for suffering their estates to be defiled with idolatry by the peasants; he describes and denounces the superstitious and disorderly celebration of the new year, which Christians had retained from the rites of Janus.[l] St. Leo speaks of some who continued to worship the sun.[m] While Pagans ascribed the calamities of the Empire to the suppression of their rites, Salvian[n]—the Jeremiah of his age (as he has been styled[o])—and other Christians, regarded them as chastisements on account of the remains of idolatry which were still tolerated in Gaul, Africa, and elsewhere.[p] Pagans are occasionally mentioned as holding important positions in the state; even the emperor Anthemius (A.D. 467-472) is suspected of having favoured the old religion.[q] Auguries and other methods of divination continued to be practised.[r] Genseric, by carrying off a number of statues, and by stripping the Capitol of its thickly-gilt bronze roof, removed from the sight of the Romans objects which recalled to mind the religion of their forefathers.[s] But in the very last years of the century, Gelasius, bishop of Rome, had to argue against the celebration of the Lupercalia, which, although only the lowest of the people took part in it, was defended by apologists of senatorial rank.[t] A.D. 455.

Theodoric the Goth, the conqueror of Odoacer,[u] enacted the punishment of death against all who should practise any pagan rites.[x] There is no evidence that this law was ever executed; perhaps no pagan was so firmly convinced of the truth of his religion as to brave death for the assertion of it; but from that time paganism ceases to appear in the light of history. Remnants of it, however, continued to lurk in most of the western countries; although both particular actions and popular customs which have

[l] Beugnot, ii. 252-9.

[m] Beugnot, ii. 214.

[n] Salvian, a presbyter of Marseilles, wrote a book "on the Government of God," with a view of combating the opinion which had grown up among Christians, that the miseries of the time indicated an Epicurean carelessness as to human affairs on the part of the Deity (Schröckh, xvi. 205). Niebuhr remarks that there is a strong republican element in this writer—his tone being that of reproof against those who had abused their prosperity, and were now suffering in consequence. Vorträge, iii. 325.

[o] By Baronius, 476. 3.

[p] Tillem. xiii. 898; Schröckh, xvi. 213-6; Beugnot, ii. 231.

[q] Gibbon, iii. 316-7; Schröckh, xvi. 200; Beugnot, ii. 211-2, 238, 248-9.

[r] Beugnot, ii. 216.

[s] Tillem. Emp. vi. 262; Gibbon, iii. 291; Beugnot, ii. 247.

[t] Baron. 496. 28; Beugnot, ii. 274; Gieseler, I. ii. 345.

[u] See below, p. 472.

[x] Beugnot, ii. 282.

been characterized as pagan are generally to be referred to a mixture of superstition with Christianity rather than to any intentional preference of heathenism; and although much confusion has been introduced by writers who speak of the duties of barbarous nations under the names of the Greek and Roman mythology.[y]

III.

(1.) As the empire of old Rome disappears from view, we begin to discern, not only the great spiritual power which will hereafter so largely engage our attention, but the origin of modern European states. And the appearance of the northern nations in civil history brings them into connexion with the history of the Church. The hosts which in succession poured down on the provinces of the Empire soon embraced Christianity;[z] but their creed was generally not that of the orthodox Church. The missionaries who wrought on the Teutonic nations appear to have gone forth from among the Visigoths, whose lapse into Arianism has already been related.[a] And in some cases, where the conversion was originally to the Catholic creed, Arianism was afterwards adopted in its stead,—as less perplexing to rude minds, as recommended by matrimonial or political alliances, and perhaps also by its difference from the system professed by the rulers of Rome and Constantinople.[b] Thus the Burgundians, on the Rhine, who became Christians about the year 413, exchanged Catholicism for Arianism half a century later;[c] and the Suevi, in Spain, originally converted by the orthodox bishops of Lusitania, became Arians in 469.[d] Genseric has been charged with having effected a similar change among the Vandals; but it would seem that the accusation was invented for the purpose of making his name more odious, and that the Christianity of the Vandals was Arian from the first.[e] The conversion of the Barbarians, unlike that of the

[y] When Belisarius was holding Rome against the Goths, in 537, it is said that "a fruitless effort to turn the gates of the Temple of Janus on their rusty hinges revealed the scandalous secret that some Romans were still attached to the superstition of their ancestors" (Gibbon, iv. 47: comp. Lord Mahon's Belisarius, ed. i. p. 225). Yet perhaps we need not infer more from this as to the belief of the persons than we infer from the existence of pagan ideas and practices in Scotland or in Scandinavia at the present day.

[z] Mosh. i. 420. Niebuhr remarks that the proportion of Christians among the Goths was much greater than among the populations which they invaded. Vorträge, iii. 316.

[a] P. 273; Revillout, 61.

[b] Schröckh, xviii. 72; Neander, iv. 91; Gieseler, I. ii. 340.

[c] Soc. vii. 30; Baron. 413. 27, with Pagi's notes; Mosh. i. 415.

[d] Schröckh, viii. 347-8; Gieseler, I. ii. 341; Revillout, 63-6.

[e] Schröckh, viii. 345; xviii. 89. Gibbon speaks of him as an apostate in early life, iii. 365.

Romans, usually began with the prince; and after his example the multitude pressed to the font, with very little understanding of their new profession.[f] Their Christianity was of a rude kind, and mixed with ideas derived from their old superstitions.[g] Yet, with all its defects, both in doctrine and in morals, it acted as a powerful softener of their ferocity, and greatly mitigated the sufferings of the subjugated races.[h]

(2.) The religious story of *Britain* is entitled to our especial attention; yet the duty of a writer who undertakes a general compendium of Church history is not, as I conceive, to exaggerate the proportion which that of his own country would rightly bear to the whole, but, endeavouring to preserve uniformity of scale, he must refer his readers for further information to works which are specially devoted to this portion of his subject.[i]

During the fourth century, we find mention of British bishops as having attended the Councils of Arles, Sardica, and Rimini; at the last of these it is said that some of them were compelled by poverty to accept an allowance from the emperor, which their brethren and the bishops of Gaul declined.[k] It is also argued that there were British bishops at the Council of Nicæa;[l] perhaps the fact that argument is needed on such a matter may be enough to determine our opinion in the case. Although it would appear that Arianism was not unknown in our island, the orthodoxy of the British bishops throughout the Arian controversy is attested by the weighty evidence of Athanasius and Hilary.[m]

Pelagius did not attempt to propagate his opinions in his native country, but, when proscribed elsewhere, they were introduced into Britain by one Agricola, and found so much acceptance that the clergy resolved to call in foreign aid[n]—much as their countrymen had been accustomed to invoke the help of the Roman legions for protection against the attacks of their northern neighbours. A synod of Gaulish bishops deputed Germain, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus,[o] Bishop of A.D. 429.

[f] Schröckh, viii. 333.
[g] Gieseler, I. ii. 341.
[h] Schröckh, viii. 337.
[i] Since this was written, a very able manual of 'Church History in England to the Period of the Reformation' has been published by the Rev. A. Martineau, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge (London, 1853).
[k] Collier, i. 69-70, 85; Lingard's Anglo-Saxon Church, i. 7.
[l] Stillingfleet, Origines Britannicæ, b. iii. 56-7; Collier, i. 65-6.
[m] Collier, i. 87; Lingard, A. S. Ch. i. 8.
[n] Beda, i. 17; Tillem xv. 15; Collier, i. 124.
[o] Lupus was brother to a monk of Lerins named Vincent, who has been identified with the author of the 'Commonitorium adversus Hæreticos.' But Tillemont thinks that it was another, xvi. 128.

Troyes, to combat the growing heresy.[p] Their preaching[q] and sanctity produced a great effect, which was seconded by an abundance of miracles. In a conference at St. Albans they defeated the heretical teachers; and it is said that Germain obtained for the Britons a victory over the Picts and Saxons by directing an army, mostly composed of newly-baptised converts, to raise a loud shout of *Allelujah!*[r] About eighteen years later, Germain was again invited to visit Britain, for the purpose of eradicating the remains of Pelagianism, which had begun to revive, and his labours were again successful.[s]

The Romans, finding themselves unable to spare the forces necessary for a military establishment in Britain, had abandoned the island in the year 409.[t] The government became gradually vested in the hands of a multitude of petty princes, and the moral condition of the inhabitants was such that the calamities which followed are represented as a righteous judgment on it.[u] In 449, the Jutes Hengist and Horsa are said to have landed in the Isle of Thanet.[x] The Jutes, Angles, and Saxons poured in on the country, and by degrees got possession of all except the mountainous districts of the west.[y] The savage invaders exterminated Christianity wherever they conquered. "Public and private buildings were alike destroyed," says Bede;[z] "priests were everywhere murdered at the altar; bishops and their people were indiscriminately slaughtered with fire and sword, and there was no one to bury the victims of such cruelty. Some of the wretched remnant were seized on the mountains, and were butchered by heaps; others, worn out with hunger, surrendered themselves, and, on

[p] Prosper, according to the common copies (see Monum. Hist. Britann. p. lxxxii.), says that these bishops were sent by Celestine, bishop of Rome, at the request of Palladius, a deacon. But the passage is doubtful; and, although it is very possible that Celestine may have wished to root out Pelagianism even from Britain, even the Romish writers, who rely much on it, are obliged to own the greater probability of the statement made by Germain's biographer and others—that the application from Britain was made to the bishops of Gaul. See Baron. 435. 16; Tillem. xiv. 154; xv. 15; Collier, i. 104; Lingard, A. S. Ch. i. 8.

[q] That the Gaulish bishops were masters of Celtic, see Lingard, A. S. Ch. i. 9.

[r] Beda, i. 18; Tillem. xv. 17-8; Collier, i. 102. This is usually placed in Wales, which later tradition represents as the chief scene of Germain's exploits, and as indebted to him for monasteries, schools, &c. But Dr. Lingard remarks that all such representations take their colour from a later time, when the Britons had been driven into the mountains by the Saxons. (A. S. Ch. i. 10-1.) It has been said that Germain and Lupus introduced the Gaulish liturgy into Britain; but this Mr. Palmer considers a mistake. Orig. Liturg. i. 176-7, ed. 2.

[s] Beda, i. 21; Tillem. xv. 19; Collier, i. 109.

[t] Gibbon, iii. 163.

[u] See Bede, i. 12, 14; Lingard, Hist. Engl. i. 66-7; Palgrave's Anglo-Saxons, 30.

[x] Lingard, Hist. Eng. i. 74-6; Palgrave, i. 34-7. See Martineau, 11-2.

[y] Collier, i. 124; Gibbon, iii. 423.

[z] i. 15.

condition that they should not be immediately put to death, embraced perpetual slavery for the sake of sustenance; some sorrowfully made for regions beyond the sea; others remained in their country, and, in continual trembling and anxiety, led a life of poverty among mountains, forests, and lofty rocks." Some of the Britons found a refuge in Armorica;[a] such of them as became serfs to the conquerors soon lapsed into heathenism; while those who maintained their independence in Cornwall, Wales, or Cumberland, although they preserved their Christianity, lost their Roman civilisation and the use of the Latin tongue. Britain was withdrawn from the view of the Roman world, and was for a time regarded as a land of mystery and fable.[b]

(3.) Amid the fictions with which the early history of *Scotland* is overlaid, it appears to be pretty certain that Ninian preached among the southern Picts in the beginning of the fifth century. This missionary, who is said to have been a relation of St. Martin of Tours, and to have received his education at Rome, fixed his see at Whithern, in Galloway, where he erected a church in honour of St. Martin. The building, being of stone—whereas the British churches were usually of less durable materials—was distinguished by the name of *Candida Casa*, which became that of the see. Ninian's labours may probably be dated between the years 412 and 432.[c]

(4.) It is to the earlier half of the fifth century that the conversion of *Ireland* is usually referred. Although there had probably been some Christians in the island before that time, the accounts of bishops who are said to have previously flourished there are generally rejected as fabulous.[d] Patrick, the apostle of Ireland,[e]

[a] Inett, i. 11. See Hallam, Middle Ages, i. 2, and addl. notes, No. 1.

[b] Gibbon, iii. 433-5. It is said that, although the Roman remains in Britain exhibit "records of almost every religion of the heathen world," there is not among them "the slightest trace of Christianity." "How contrary," exclaims a late writer, "is this to the bold averments of the old ecclesiastical writers, who would lead us to imagine that the Romans left Britain covered with churches and divided into bishops' sees [dioceses?]! and how conformable to the statement that Augustine did not find a single Christian either among the Romans or the Saxons in the south of England!" (Edinb. Review, xciv. 191, July, 1851.) Of the remarks which naturally suggest themselves on this strangely precipitate conclusion, I shall mention only one—that the traces of heathen religion found in Britain are all connected with things which were not practised by the Christians of the times in question—the worship of images, the use of sacrifices, the practice of burning the bodies of the dead, and of preserving their ashes in urns.

[c] Bede, iii. 4; Schröckh, xvi. 265; Notes in Spottiswoode by Bp. Russell, i. 12.

[d] Tillem. xvi. 454; Schröckh, xvi. 219.

[e] On the subject of St. Patrick, there are great and fierce disputes. By some

is supposed to have been born at a place which from him is called Kirkpatrick, between Glasgow and Dumbarton.[f] His original name was Succath. His father, a Romanized Briton, was a deacon; his grandfather was a presbyter.[g] At the age of sixteen the youth was carried off as a captive to Ireland, where for six years he was employed in keeping cattle. In this occupation he was exposed to great miseries, but his soul was visited by thoughts to which it had before been a stranger. He prayed often, and his inward fervour rendered him insensible to the cold, the rain, and other such inconveniences.[h] He was delivered from his captivity by miraculous means, and returned to his native country.[i] Years passed on; Patrick, according to some accounts, had travelled much; and he had been ordained a presbyter, when he felt himself called to preach the Gospel in the land where he had been a captive. His friends opposed his design of casting himself among its savage people; one of them, who was most familiar with him, endeavoured to prevent his consecration by divulging some act which Patrick had confided to him as having been committed at the age of fifteen—thirty years before. But Patrick broke through all hindrances, and was consecrated bishop of the Irish.[k] Palladius, a Briton by birth, and deacon of the Roman Church, had been sent a short time before by Celestine to labour among that nation[l]—perhaps with a view to the suppression of Pelagianism rather than to the conversion of the heathen;[m] but after a short stay he had withdrawn, and apparently had died.[n] Patrick was more persevering and more successful.[o] He devoted the remainder of his life to the Irish—denying himself the satisfaction of revisiting his country and his kindred, and labouring with great effect, although often exposed

A.D. 431.

his very existence is denied. (See British Magazine, vols. viii.-ix.) His birth is placed by Ussher as early as 372, and he is said to have lived to 120. Tillemont places his birth between 395 and 415. See Schröckh, xv. 223.

[f] Tillem. xvi. 455. Against the idea of his having been born in Gaul, see Wordsworth on the Irish Church, 31-2.

[g] Tillem. xvi. 456.

[h] Tillem. xvi. 456; Neander, Memorials, 426.

[i] Tillem. xvi. 457.

[k] Neander, iii. 175.

[l] "Ad Scotos in Christum credentes." (Beda, i. 13, after Prosper's "Chronicon.") It is generally supposed that the "Scots" here meant were the Irish. Perhaps, however, I ought to feel myself bound to take part with Skinner (i. 48-64), Bp. Russell (i. 7), and others of my countrymen, in maintaining that Palladius was sent to some of the same race who had already settled in *Scotland*.

[m] Hussey, n. in Bed. i. 13.

[n] Tillem. xvi. 454; Collier, i. 117; Schröckh, xvi. 220-1; Neander, iii. 174; Wordsworth, 27.

[o] Tillem. xvi. 460, seqq. The story of Patrick's having also been sent by Celestine is a fiction of his later mendacious biographers. His own writings clearly show that he was consecrated in Britain. See Tillemont, xvi. 458-9; note in Mosheim, i. 423; Schröckh, xvi. 222; Neander, Ch. Hist. iii. 174, 431; Memorials, 428-430; Gieseler, I. ii. 340; Wordsworth, 34.

to perils from the hostility of the Druids, and of the princes who were under their influence.[p] The date usually assigned for the commencement of his mission is the same with that of Ninian's death—A.D. 432; the year of his own death is uncertain.[q]

(5.) The Gospel now reached the nations of Southern Germany —the most eminent agent in the work being Severin, the "Apostle of Noricum." The origin of this missionary is unknown; he himself, as if from a feeling of humility, took pains to conceal it.[r] He appeared in the region of Bavaria and Austria, shortly after the death of Attila (A.D. 454), and declared that he felt himself called to forego his taste for a contemplative life, in order that he might labour among the people of those countries, which were then desolated by the barbarian invasions. The sight of his voluntary austerities encouraged the wretched inhabitants to endure the privations and other evils which for them were unavoidable; he gained a vast influence over all classes, and obtained from the richer the means of relieving those whose distress was greatest. His venerable character and life awed the rude invaders, who at his suit often showed mercy to the helpless population; his presence was supposed to be a protection to the place of his abode, so that the inhabitants of the Roman towns on the Danube entreated him to reside among them by turns. His prayers were believed to prevail with heaven; the gifts of prophecy and miracles were ascribed to him. The death of Severin, who had declined to be consecrated as a bishop, took place in 482.[s]

(6.) The most important conversion of the fifth century was that of Clovis (Chlodwig), who, from being king of the Salian Franks (A.D. 482), with a narrow territory in the neighbourhood of Tournay and Cambray,[t] became the founder of the great French monarchy. His wife, Clotilda (Chrotochild)—daughter of a Burgundian prince who had adhered to the Catholic faith while the rest of his family fell into Arianism[u]—had long urged him to embrace Christianity. She represented to him the

[p] Tillem. xvi. 460, seqq.; Neander, Hist. iii. 175-6; Memorials, 434.

[q] Tillemont places the mission not earlier than 440 nor later than 460 (xvi. 783-4). Dr. Wordsworth places the death of Patrick in 492 (p. 34).

[r] From the purity of his Latin it was inferred that he was a Roman, or, at least, an Italian. Fleury, xxix. 35.

[s] Baron. 459. 26; 473. 3, seqq.; 476. 1; 482. 53-63; Schröckh, xvi. 261-2 Neander, Ch. Hist. v. 34-6; Memorials, 333-341.

[t] Hallam, Middle Ages, add. notes, 4.

[u] Revillout, 66-7.

miracles for which the shrine of St. Martin, at Tours, was then famous; but Clovis remained obstinate—measuring the power of a deity by the prosperity of his worshippers, and supposing that the downfall of the Roman empire was a sufficient disproof of the religion which it had professed.[x] At length, when engaged with the Alemanni in the battle of Tolbiac (Zülpich, near Cologne), Clovis, finding himself in danger, invoked the aid of Christ, declaring that his old gods had failed him, and vowing to become a Christian if he should obtain the victory.[y] The Alemanni were defeated; and at Christmas, 496, Clovis, with three thousand of his warriors, was baptised at Rheims by the bishop, Remigius. The cathedral was sumptuously adorned, brilliant with tapers, and filled with perfumes, which are described as resembling the air of paradise.[z] As the king entered, he was struck with awe, and, turning to Remigius, who held him by the hand, he asked whether this were the kingdom of heaven that had been promised to him? "No," replied the bishop; "but it is the beginning of the way thither."[a] The words of Remigius at the administration of the sacrament are famous—"Gentle Sicambrian, bow thy neck; worship that which thou hast burnt, and burn that which thou hast worshipped." And no less celebrated is the exclamation of Clovis when the bishop one day read to him the story of the Redeemer's passion—"Had I been there with my brave Franks, I would have avenged his wrongs!"[b]

A.D. 496.

There is no reason for doubting that the conversion of Clovis was sincere, although, as in the case of Constantine, with whom the father of French history compares him,[c] it proved favourable to his political interests, and failed to produce in him a consistent Christian life.[d] It secured for him the powerful interest of the clergy; those of the south of Gaul, who had suffered severely from

[x] Baron. 494. 28-31; Gibbon, iii. 382; Schröckh, xvi. 233-4; Neander, v. 7-8.

[y] Baron. 499. 16 (placing the event three years too late); Pagi in Baron. viii. 628; Gibbon, iii. 385; see Hallam, Middle Ages, i. 2.

[z] Gregor. Turon. in Löbell, 258.

[a] Fleury, xxx. 46.

[b] Baron. 499. 20, seqq.; Schröckh, xvi. 236. The story of the phial of oil, said to have been brought from heaven for the baptism of Clovis, does not appear until the time of Hincmar, three centuries later; and even Rohrbacher (viii. 487) is ashamed now to maintain it. The phial was broken during the first French Revolution. See Mosh. i. 421-2 and notes; Schröckh, xvi. 239-245; Neander, v. 10; Gieseler, I. ii. 440; Guericke, i. 354.

[c] Greg. Turon. in Löbell, 262.

[d] Gibbon, iii. 386; Schröckh, xvi. 237-8. Planck (ii. 25-31) thinks that it arose merely from motives of policy. Against him see Löbell, 260-3. The *immediate* result was a loss of part of the Franks, who left Clovis to place themselves under another chief. Löbell, 221, 266.

the oppression of the Arian Euric, king of the Visigoths of Toulouse, were ready to welcome a Catholic invader.[e] When he was determined to make war on Euric's successor, Alaric, in the year 507, he gave the attack a character of religion, by asking with an indignant air whether it were to be endured that Arians should possess a part of the Gaulish soil.[f] While unscrupulous in the use of treachery and in profusion of blood for the removal of all who stood in the way of his ambition, he preserved the favour of the clergy by his liberality towards churches and monasteries.[g] His religious policy was chiefly directed by Remigius, who held the see of Rheims from 461 to 533; and by his advice Clovis, in the last year of his own life (511), summoned the first Frankish council to meet at Orleans.[h] A.D. 466-484.

At the time of his conversion Clovis was the only sovereign who professed orthodox Christianity; for the emperor Anastasius favoured the Monophysites, while the princes of the West were Arians. Hence the kings of France derived the title of "Eldest Son of the Church."[i]

IV.

From the first invasion of Africa, the Arian Vandals cruelly oppressed the Catholics.[k] When a deputation of bishops and clergy waited on Genseric for the purpose of representing the sufferings of their party, and of entreating that, although deprived of their churches, they might be allowed to live under the Vandal rule and minister to the consolation of their brethren, he burst into a fury, told them that he did not wish to leave one of their name or race alive, and was with difficulty dissuaded from throwing them into the sea.[l] Many bishops and others were banished among the savage tribes of Africa; and here, as had often happened, their exile became the occasion of spreading the Gospel to quarters which it had not before reached. After the death of Deogratias—whose charity towards Genseric's Roman captives is rendered the more admirable by the depression A.D. 457.

[e] Tillem. Emp. 445-6; Sismondi, Hist. des Français, i. 187; Revillout, 149, 154, 162.

[f] Gibbon, iii. 394-6; Schröckh, xvi. 251; Sismondi, i. 219; Gieseler, I. ii. 414; Neander, v. 10-1.

[g] Schröckh, xvi. 249, 250; Planck, ii. 55; Sismondi, i. 229-232. Löbell's vindication of the tone in which Gregory of Tours speaks of Clovis (253, 265) is ingenious, but not convincing. See Gieseler, I. ii. 453.

[h] Schröckh, xvi. 247-8, 252; Sismondi, i. 235.

[i] Gibbon, iii. 388; Sismondi, i. 188.

[k] The Vandal persecution is related by Victor, bishop of Vite, himself a Catholic confessor, whose work is edited by Ruinart, with additions—"Historia Persecutionis Vandalicæ," Paris, 1699.

[l] Victor, i. 5.

which his own church was suffering—no consecration of bishops was allowed in the province of Africa; and it is said that, in consequence of this prohibition, only three out of a hundred and sixty-four sees were found to be occupied thirty years after (A.D. 487). But Genseric, whose time and thoughts were chiefly employed on plundering expeditions abroad, was a less terrible scourge to the Catholics than his son, Hunneric, who succeeded him in 477.[m] In the beginning of his reign, Hunneric affected lenity towards them, and directed his severity against the Manichæans. These sectaries were in the habit of disguising themselves under the profession of less obnoxious forms of religion; and the king had the mortification of finding that most of those whom he detected had professed to be clergy and lay members of his own sect—naturally preferring the safest communion as that to which they should ostensibly attach themselves.[n] Hunneric was connected with the imperial family, by having married the captive Eudocia, daughter of Valentinian III. and Eudoxia. At the intercession of her sister Placidia, and of the eastern emperor Zeno, he intimated to the Catholics of Carthage, in 481, that they were at liberty to choose a bishop; but he added the condition that the same privileges which he allowed them should be granted in the East to the Arians, and that these should be at liberty to perform their services and to preach in whatever language they pleased.[o] He threatened that, if these terms were not observed, the new bishop and his brethren should be sent into banishment among the Moors. The elder Catholics dreaded such conditions, and declared themselves resolved rather to live still under the immediate government of Him who had hitherto protected them. But the eagerness of the younger brethren, who had never seen a bishop of Carthage, prevailed, and Eugenius was consecrated.[p]

The virtues of the new prelate made a general impression, and the Arian clergy took the alarm. At their suggestion, Hunneric issued an order that no person in a Vandal dress should be allowed to enter the churches of the Catholics. Eugenius declared

[m] Gibbon, iii. 363, seqq.

[n] Victor, ii. 1; Tillem. xvi. 539.

[o] Victor, ii. 2; Ruinart, p. 496. This, according to Neander (Memorials 323), "intimates that already in the East certain languages began to be considered as sacred, and that there was a wish not to employ the Teutonic language, as too rude for the service of the church. Chrysostom," he adds, "took a different view; for he gave a Gothic presbyter permission to preach at Constantinople in the Gothic language" (see p. 349), &c. Is not the meaning rather that Hunneric claimed for his fellow-sectaries in the East, the use not only of the barbarian tongues (which the emperor would have less scrupled to grant), but of the Greek —with liberty of Arianizing for Greeks as well as for barbarians?

[p] Victor, ii. 2.

that he could not comply with this order—that God's house was open to all; whereupon officers of the government were stationed at the doors of churches, with instructions to scalp all Vandals of either sex who should attempt to enter.[q] For a time, the king's attention was diverted from the persecution by anxiety to secure the succession to the throne for his son. With a view to this, he executed some of his nearest relations, burnt the patriarch of his own sect for the crime of being intimate with the objects of his jealousy, and put many others of the Arian clergy to the same horrible death.[r] The Catholics felt that his fury might probably be next turned on them, and visions and other omens are related as having foreshown it.[s]

An edict was issued that no one who did not profess Arianism should be employed about the court, or in the public service. The recusants were deprived of all their property, and were banished to Sicily and Sardinia. The possessions of bishops were confiscated; the virgins of the Church were seized, and were barbarously tortured in the hope of forcing from them an avowal of detestable sins.[t] Four thousand nine hundred and seventy-six Catholics—bishops, clergy, and laity—were condemned to banishment into Mauritania. Hunneric was entreated to spare one aged bishop, who was paralytic in body and imbecile in mind; but he answered that if the old man could not ride to the place of exile, he should be dragged by wild oxen. The victims, after attempts had in vain been made to cajole them by a show of kindness, were treated with shocking and loathsome barbarity. Many died on the way in consequence of the cruelty of their Moorish guards; and the survivors found their place of exile pestilential, and infested by venomous serpents.[u]

Hunneric now summoned both parties to a disputation at Carthage. Eugenius professed his willingness to argue, but said that, as the question concerned the whole Church, he was not at liberty to engage in a conference without the consent of his brethren in other countries. The objection was advanced in the hope that the Catholics might thus have an opportunity of making their sufferings generally known, and that they might obtain the aid of disputants who were not amenable to Hunneric's tyranny; he answered it by saying, "Make me master of all the world, and I will grant what you require."[x] As the conference drew near, Eugenius encouraged A.D. 484.

[q] Victor iii. 3.
[r] Ibid. ii. 5.
[s] Ibid. ii. 6.
[t] Ibid. ii. 7.
[u] Ibid. ii. 8-12; Tillem. xvi. 549-553; Gibbon, iii. 369.
[x] Victor, ii. 13-5.

his party by restoring a blind man to sight.[y] The Arians ascribed the miracle to magic; and Hunneric, in order at once to terrify the Catholics and to weaken them for the disputation, burnt Lætus, one of the most learned members of their party.[z] On the appointed day, the Catholics, at their entrance into the place of conference, found the Arian patriarch, Cyrila, seated on a lofty throne; they complained of this arrangement, as inconsistent with the equality and impartiality which ought to be observed at such meetings. Cyrila, finding them better prepared than he had expected, declined a disputation, on the plea that he could not speak Latin.[a] Eugenius handed in a long profession of faith;[b] and the meeting ended without any discussion.

Feb. 1, 484.

Hunneric followed it up by ordering that all the churches of the Catholics should be shut in one day, and that their funds should be transferred to the Arians. He also issued an edict in which he charged the Catholics with disorderly behaviour at the conference, and, after a recital of the penalties to which the Arians had been subjected by the imperial laws, he enacted that the Catholics in his dominions should be liable to the like. It was forbidden that any one should give them food or lodging, under pain of being burnt, with his house and family.[c] The bishops were then required to swear to the succession of the king's son Hilderic. Forty-six who refused, on the plea that Christians ought not to swear—a plea which, as Victor, the historian of the persecution, acknowledges, was intended only to serve as an excuse—were sent to cut wood in Corsica. Those who complied—three hundred and two in number—were banished, and obliged to work in agriculture, as having broken the Scriptural prohibition against oaths. Eighty-eight bishops were terrified or flattered into an abandonment of the Catholic faith.[d]

The barbarities which followed need not be here detailed.[e]

[y] Victor, ii. 17; Schröckh, xviii. 96. There is a story that the Arians,—in what stage of the contest is not certain—by way of opposing the miracles of the Catholics, engaged a man to counterfeit blindness, with the intention of pretending to cure him. When their bishop laid his hand on him, the pretender was struck with real blindness, accompanied by a horrible pain in his eyes. He confessed the imposture, and avowed himself a convert to the orthodox faith; whereupon he was cured by Eugenius and two other Catholic bishops. Tillem. xvi. 603.

[z] Victor, ii. 17.

[a] The Catholics said that this inability was pretended. (Victor, ii. 18.) But, as Gibbon remarks (iii. 370), Cyrila might have been able to converse tolerably in the language, without being able to dispute in it.

[b] This fills Victor's third book.

[c] Victor, iv. 1-3.

[d] Victor, iv. 4-5; Tillem. xvi. 567; Gibbon, iii. 371.

[e] See Victor, lib. v.

Victor states that the Arian clergy were more cruel than even the officers of the government; he tells us that they used to break into houses, sword in hand, and to force their baptism on the inmates of all ages, often during the night, and while the recipients of this strange sacrament were asleep.[f] The most celebrated incident in the story of the persecution is the case of the confessors of Typasa. The Catholics of that town stedfastly refused to acknowledge an Arian bishop, and persisted in celebrating their rites; whereupon, by Hunneric's command, a number of them—sixty, according to some accounts—had their right hands amputated and their tongues cut out by the roots. Yet, by a miracle, they continued to speak as before, and Victor mentions, as a particularly well known member of their company, a subdeacon named Reparatus, who found a home in the palace of Constantinople.[g]

In the midst of the persecution Africa was laid waste by famine and pestilence, and Hunneric died by the same loathsome disease as Herod and other persecutors[h] (A.D. 484).

Amid the inconsistent accounts which are given of Hunneric's nephew and successor, Gundamund, it would appear that at first he followed the policy of the preceding reign, but that afterwards he allowed the Catholics to enjoy a toleration.[i] His brother, Thrasimund, who reigned from 496 to 523,[k] was the ablest of the Vandal kings, and, unlike his race in general, was distinguished by a love of literature;[l] but he was a bigoted Arian. After attempting in vain to gain the Catholics by bribery, he laid snares for them, in order to obtain a pretext for persecution.[m] Their sufferings were great during this reign. A.D. 484-496.

[f] Victor, v. 13.

[g] Victor, v. 6; see Evagr. iv. 14; Tillem. xvi. 578-580; Ruinart, 482, seqq.; Mosh. i. 478, and notes; Schröckh, xviii. 102-3; Gibbon, iii. 373; Newman on Miracles, 200-213. The fact of these persons speaking after the loss of their tongues seems sufficiently attested—in particular, by Æneas of Gaza, a Platonic philosopher and convert to Christianity, who professes to have closely examined them. Other writers add circumstances which do not increase the probability of the story—as that among the confessors was a youth who had never been able to speak until he was deprived of his tongue; and that one (or, according to another account, two) of the number, through afterwards falling into carnal sin, forfeited the miraculous gift. (See Ruinart, 482, seqq.) It has been maintained by some writers, that the power of speaking without tongues is nothing miraculous. Dr. Newman has overstated the *motive* for the miracle, by assuming too decidedly that the mutilation of these persons was intended to silence their determined confession of the orthodox faith—a point which comes out more distinctly in proportion as the narrators are more remote from the time. Thus, Victor says nothing of it; but St. Gregory the Great—who (besides other mistakes) turns the confessors into bishops, and misdates the persecution by forty years or more—lays great stress on it. See Newman, 207-8.

[h] Victor, v. 21.

[i] See Ruinart, 547, seqq.; Tillem. xvi. 590-600; Schröckh, xviii. 103.

[k] Pagi in Bar. ix. 304.

[l] Gibbon, iii. 496.

[m] Tillem. xvi. 600.

Thrasimund forbade the consecration of bishops, and sent two hundred and twenty members of the order into banishment for a breach of his prohibition.[n] Among his victims was Eugenius, who died in exile at Albi.[o] On the death of Thrasimund, Hilderic—

A.D. 523. the same to whom an oath of fidelity had been exacted by Hunneric forty years before—succeeded to the throne, after that long exclusion. His predecessor had compelled him to swear that he would make no change in the state of religion; but Hilderic, a prince of gentle temper, thought it less sinful to break than to keep such an engagement, and granted the Catholics the free exercise of their religion.[p] The usurper Gelimer, in 530, revived the persecuting spirit of Arianism, but

A.D. 534. within four years the Vandal dominion was overthrown by the arms of Justinian's general, Belisarius.[q]

During the contest with the Vandals the most eminent controversialists on the Catholic side were Vigilius, bishop of Tapsus (to whom some have ascribed the authorship of the Athanasian creed), and Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe.[r]

[n] Baron. 504-37; Gibbon, iii. 368.
[o] Tillem. xvi. 604-6.
[p] Baron. 522-9; Gibbon, iii. 366; Schröckh, xvii. 120.
[q] Gibbon, iii. 366.
[r] Schröckh, xviii. 103.

CHAPTER XII.

MONOPHYSITISM.—JUSTINIAN.—THE "THREE ARTICLES."

A.D. 451-566.

I.

THE Council of Chalcedon was represented as Nestorian by its opponents, and the strife which it was meant to allay continued to distract the Church.[a] The name of *Eutychians* was soon superseded by that of *Monophysites* (maintainers of *one nature*); for Eutyches himself fell into discredit, and those who rejected the late council were generally willing to anathematize him, on account of a sort of Docetism which was imputed to him—as if the body of our Lord were not truly human, but had descended from heaven.[b] The Monophysites, on the contrary, maintained that the Saviour was "consubstantial with us, as touching his body;" and as to his soul, they rejected the idea of an absorption of the manhood in the Godhead, and reverted to the formula "one incarnate nature," acknowledging, moreover, that this *one* nature was *twofold*.[c] In addition to the elder authorities on which they had hitherto relied, they were reinforced, towards the end of the century, by a forgery executed in Egypt,—the works ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, which were at once received as genuine, and retained their credit for a thousand years.[d]

Juvenal, on returning to Jerusalem from the council, found his see occupied by a turbulent monk named Theodosius, who was countenanced by Eudocia, widow of the emperor Theodosius. For two years this intruder held possession of Palestine, being supported by monks and a force of ruffians, who exercised a general system of terror, burning houses and monasteries, expelling bishops and clergy, and committing murders without restraint. At length, through the conciliatory policy of Marcian and Pulcheria, his chief supporters were drawn away A.D. 451-3.

[a] Tillem. xv. 731-4; Gieseler, I. ii. 347.

[b] Tillem. xv. 788; Walch, vi. 504, seqq.; Gieseler, I. ii. 348-9. Walch says that the charge against Eutyches was unjust, but that he denied our Lord's consubstantiality with mankin (vi. 554-7).

[c] Tillem. xvi. 295; Mosh. i. 494, 497, 498; Schröckh, xviii. 496; Gieseler, I. ii. 349.

[d] Gieseler, I. ii. 352, 386

from him. Juvenal resumed his bishopric, and after a time Eudocia, partly influenced by the persuasions of Symeon the Stylite,[e] and partly by the calamities which had befallen her daughter and grandchildren in the Vandal expedition against Rome, was induced to rejoin the Catholic communion.[f]

A.D. 456.

At Alexandria Proterius was elected in the room of Dioscorus, but found himself opposed by a powerful faction, which was only kept down by a military force, at the expense of much bloodshed.[g] On the death of Marcian the malcontents thought that their opportunity was come. Timothy, named *Ælurus* (the Cat),[h]—who, with Peter *Mongus* (the Stammerer), had separated from the communion of Proterius, and had been excommunicated by him,—raised a mob, and was consecrated by two deposed bishops. On Thursday before Easter Proterius was murdered in the baptistery of his cathedral. His body, after having been hung up in mockery, was dragged about the streets, and cut in pieces; some of the multitude tasted his entrails. The remains were then burnt, and the ashes were scattered to the winds. The Catholic clergy were expelled, and the other adherents of Proterius were persecuted.[i]

A.D. 452, before July 28 (Clinton).

A.D. 457.

Marcian was succeeded by Leo, who was crowned by the Patriarch Anatolius,—this being the first instance of such a coronation.[k] He began by publishing a confirmation of all that his predecessor had done in the matter of religion.[l] The Alexandrian differences were soon brought under his notice by some envoys of each party; whereupon he issued a requisition to the bishops of every province, and to the most eminent monks, desiring them to give their opinions on the Council of Chalcedon and on the pretensions of Ælurus. By this expedient Leo probably hoped to obtain a judgment equivalent to that of a general council, without risking the inconveniences connected with such assemblies.[m] The result was an unanimous sentence against Ælurus and in favour of the Council—except that some bishops of Pamphylia, while they admitted the

A.D. 457. October.

[e] Leo also wrote to her (Ep. 122), and otherwise exerted himself in the case.

[f] Evagr. ii. 5; Baron. 452. 27, seqq.; 455. 18-20; Tillem. xv. 731-7, 752-4, 779-8; Walch, vi. 644-7; Schröckh, xviii. 493-9.

[g] Evagr. ii. 5; Baron. 452. 21; Tillem. xv. 744-7; Walch, vi. 657-660; Schröckh, xviii. 500.

[h] See Walch, vi. 681-2.

[i] Evagr. ii. 8; Baron. 457. 12-26; Tillem. xv. 747-8, 782-8.

[k] Gibbon, iii. 313-4; Palmer, Origines Liturgicæ, Supplem., p. 54.

[l] Tillem. Emp. vi. 367; Mem. xv. 789.

[m] Hardouin, ii. 689. See Walch, vi. 685.

correctness of the decisions of Chalcedon, and their utility for the defence of the faith, questioned the fitness of imposing them as terms of communion.[n] Ælurus was banished to Cherson, and another Timothy, called *Salophaciolus*, or the *White*—a Catholic—was chosen in his stead, and for fifteen years governed the Alexandrian Church with wisdom and moderation.[o] A. D. 460.

Leo was succeeded in 474 by his grandson of the same name, the son of his daughter Ariadne by Zeno; but the child died within a year, and Zeno remained in possession of the throne.[p] The private character of this emperor was stained by gross and shameless debauchery.[q] His reign was disquieted with many rebellions, one of which compelled him for nearly two years to give way to a rival, Basiliscus, the brother-in-law of Leo,—the same whose misconduct in the expedition against the Vandals of Africa has already been mentioned.[r] Basiliscus, who was supported by the Monophysite party, recalled Timothy Ælurus from banishment, and restored him to the see of Alexandria;[s] he also restored to Antioch Peter *the Fuller*, a Monophysite, who had been twice expelled from the see in the reign of Leo;[t] and he took it upon himself to issue a circular condemning the Council of Chalcedon, and laying down definitions as to faith—the first document of the kind which had been put forth by any emperor.[u] Timothy of Alexandria, Peter of Antioch, and, it is said, about five hundred other bishops, subscribed the circular.[x] But Acacius, who, in 471, had become A.D. 475–7.

A.D. 475.

[n] Hardouin, ii. 732; Evagr. ii. 9; Baron. 458. 16; Pagi in Baron. viii. 217-8; Tillem. xv. 793-7, 804-9; Schröckh, xviii. 504-5; Neander, iv. 233-4; Gieseler, I. ii. 354.

[o] Evagr. ii 11; Baron. 460. 2; Tillem. xv. 813, 821-3.

[p] Tillem. Emp. vi. 473; Gibbon, iii. 449.

[q] Evagr. iii. 1; Tillem. Emp. vi. 475-6.

[r] P. 446. Gibbon, iii. 449.

[s] Tillem. xvi. 290.

[t] Peter, while yet a presbyter, added to the Trisagion the words, "who was crucified for us"—meaning thereby to assert the *identity* of the Saviour's person. Calandion, one of the Catholic patriarchs who intervened between Peter's occupations of the see, made the further addition, "our Lord Jesus Christ;" but Peter rejected this, and his form was adopted by Catholics, until the council *in Trullo* (A.D. 692) condemned it; after which it was used only by Monophysites and Monotheletes. Peter's addition was interpreted by some as relating to the whole Trinity; hence the term *Theopaschites* (assertors that God suffered). The question "whether one of the Trinity was crucified?" occasioned, early in the sixth century, a controversy which I have not thought it necessary to detail. Baron. 482. 1; Tillem. xvi. 310, 319, 376; Mosh. i. 494; Walch, vi. 489, 798, 850; vii. 238; Schröckh, xviii. 506-7; Gieseler, I. ii. 355, 366.

[u] Evagr. iii. 4; Tillem. xvi. 295; Schröckh, xviii. 508; Neander, iii. 191, iv. 234; Gieseler, I. ii. 355-6.

[x] Evagr. iii. 5; Tillem. xv. 295.

Patriarch of Constantinople, resisted the usurper's authority. He arrayed his person and his church in mourning, and excited the monks and people of the capital by his preaching. Both the emperor and the patriarch sent envoys to Daniel the Stylite,[y] who had succeeded Symeon as the most revered oracle of the time. Warned by a vision, Daniel descended from his pillar, and appeared in Constantinople. He confirmed the cause of the Council of Chalcedon by performing a number of miracles, denounced against Basiliscus the judgments of this world and the next, and did not return to his retirement until the usurper, alarmed at the report that Zeno was approaching, and was supported by the whole Catholic party, published a second document, revoking his previous circular, anathematizing Eutyches as well as Nestorius, and approving the Council of Chalcedon.[z]

A.D. 476.

A.D. 477.

If Acacius erred in the manner of his opposition to Basiliscus, his habitual tendency was rather to be too much swayed by a regard for the favour of the Court. On this occasion—in addition to the interest of the faith, and perhaps a political interest—he may have been influenced by the circumstance that the Monophysites opposed that canon of Chalcedon by which the precedence of his see was confirmed and jurisdiction was bestowed on it.[a] It it said that Basiliscus fled for safety to a church, and that the patriarch—disregarding the example of his great predecessor Chrysostom[b]—gave up the unhappy man to the relentless vengeance of Zeno.[c]

Things were now again changed. Most of the bishops who had signed the circular of Basiliscus eagerly went over to the opposite party.[d] Peter the Fuller was ejected from Antioch, and Ælurus would have been ejected from Alexandria but that his advanced age promised a speedy vacancy in the see.[e] On his death, which happened before the end of 477, Peter Mongus was irregularly consecrated as patriarch by two deprived bishops, if not by a single bishop. The emperor deposed, but did not banish him,[f] and Salophaciolus was reinstated in the see.[g] He

[y] See p. 315.

[z] Evagr. iii. 7; Baron. 476, 24, 47-63; Tillem. xvi. 296-8, 302-3.

[a] Evagr. iii. 6; Tillem xvi. 285, 289-300; Walch, vi. 709, 723-4; Schröckh, xviii. 509.

[b] See p. 351.

[c] Baron. 477. 2. It must be remembered that the subsequent quarrel of Acacius with Rome has exposed him to hard treatment by writers in the Roman interest.

[d] Evagr. iii. 9; Baron. 477-12; Neander, iv. 236.

[e] Evagr. iii. 8; Tillem. xvi. 307.

[f] Evagr. iii. 11; Tillem. xvi. 309-310.

[g] Baron. 477. 6-20; Tillem. xvi. 313-320.

administered his office with a mildness which drew from the emperor admonitions to be more rigid in suppressing the meetings of the Monophysites, while with these he was so popular that on meeting him in the streets they used to express their regard for him, and their regret at being obliged to stand aloof from his communion.[h] On his death, in 482, John *Talaia*, steward of the church, was elected to the patriarchate; but the emperor objected to him on account of his connexion with Illus, an officer who had lately revolted. Talaia was expelled, and took refuge at Rome, and Peter Mongus renewed his pretensions to the see of Alexandria.[i]

The doctrines of the Monophysites had by degrees been so greatly improved from the original Eutychianism that the idea of reconciling the party with the Catholics might now appear not unreasonable or hopeless.[k] By the advice of Acacius, Zeno put forth a document bearing the title of *Henoticon* or *Form of Union*, which was originally addressed to the Egyptian patriarchate, but was afterwards made a standard for other churches also.[l] In this, the emperor, after alluding to the discords, the bloodshed, the destitution of the means of grace, and other unhappy consequences of the late controversies, declares the creed of Nicæa and Constantinople to be the only *baptismal* creed, anathematizes Nestorius and Eutyches, and approves of Cyril's twelve anathemas. He states that Christ is "consubstantial with the Father as touching his Godhead, and with us as touching his manhood;" that "the miracles and the sufferings were of one and the same Person." He reprobates those who "divide, confuse, or introduce the notion of a phantasy[m];" he anathematizes "any one who thought or thinks anything to the contrary, either now or at any other time, either *at Chalcedon* or in any other synod whatsoever."[n] The document was composed in the belief that the doctrine of Chalcedon would of itself be received without objection in quarters where the name of the council was obnoxious; and, while it avoided the expression "in two natures," and the confirmation of the council, it set forth those points of doctrine as to which both parties were agreed. But the care which was taken to consult the prejudices of the

A.D. 482.

[h] Tillem. xvi. 320; Neander, iv. 236-7.

[i] Tillem. xvi. 320-4; Walch, vi. 757-9; Schröckh, xviii. 511; Neander, iv. 238.

[k] See Walch, vii. 37-40.

[l] Evagr. iii. 13; Baron. 482. 31-2; Tillem. xvi. 327; Schröckh, xviii. 512-3.

[m] This word refers to the opinion ascribed to Eutyches, p. 461.

[n] Evagr. iii. 14; Walch, vi. 773-7; Gieseler, I. ii. 356-7.

Monophysites naturally rendered it objectionable to the Catholics; and the mention of Chalcedon, although only in a hypothetical form, appeared to go somewhat beyond a neutrality, as if a slight to the council were intended. At Rome, especially, no approbation was to be expected, inasmuch as the bishop had not been consulted on the occasion, and there was no mention of Leo's letter to Flavian.[o]

It was intimated to Peter Mongus, that, on condition of subscribing the Henoticon,[p] and of admitting the Proterians to communion, he might be allowed to hold the bishopric of Alexandria. He consented, and the great body of the Catholics submitted to him, while the extreme Eutychians formed a separate sect, which, as being without a head, received the name of Acephali.[q] Peter endeavoured to gain these by anathematizing the Council of Chalcedon and the letter to Flavian; it is even said, although improbably, that with the same view he disinterred the body of Salophaciolus; but his success was very imperfect.[r] In answer to a remonstrance from Acacius, he said that he had accepted the Council of Chalcedon as containing no innovation on the faith, but he did not deny that he had acted with a tortuous policy.[s] Such of the Catholics as refused to communicate with him were treated with great severity.[t]

Peter was received into communion by Acacius, and by Martyrius of Jerusalem; and the patriarch of Constantinople wrote in his behalf to Rome.[u] John Talaia, who had found a refuge there, enlisted in his cause the bishop, Simplicius, and his successor Felix.[x] They sent letters in favour of him both to the emperor and to Acacius; but the patriarch in reply assured Felix that Peter was a rightly-chosen and orthodox bishop, and Zeno threw out charges of perjury against John.[y] Acacius won over two

[o] Mosh. i. 494; Walch, vi. 814-9; Schröckh, xviii. 514-6. The Henoticon, however, was never *condemned* at Rome. See Walch, vi. 804-5.

[p] Walch (vi. 783, 819) supposes it to have been drawn up by a compromise between Acacius and the envoys of Mongus.

[q] Evagr. iii. 12-4; Baron. 482. 42; Tillem. xvi. 330; Mosh. i. 496; Walch, vi. 829-844; Schröckh, xviii. 517; Neander, iv. 239.

[r] Evagr. iii. 16; Tillem. xvi. 346. Peter denied the charge of violating his predecessor's grave (Evagr. iii. 17), but Tillemont believes it. See Walch, vi. 844.

[s] Evagr. iii. 17; Tillem. xvi. 347.

[t] Tillem. xvi. 346.

[u] Evagr. iii. 16; Tillem. xvi. 325-6; 332-4.

[x] Leo died in 461, and was succeeded by Hilary, the same who had been one of his legates at the Latrocinium. (Pagi in Baron. viii. 241.) Simplicius succeeded Hilary in 467, and in March 483 was succeeded by Felix, who is usually styled the Third of his name, although that reckoning involves the recognition of the Felix intruded by the Arians in the time of Liberius (see p. 210). Tillem. xvi. 337-9.

[y] Evagr. iii. 15, 21; Tillem. xvi. 335-7, 340-4, 350-1. It is said that when John was on a mission to Constantinople, a short time before the death of Salo-

legates of Felix, and persuaded them to be present at a service in which the name of Peter was recited in the diptychs—an act by which they apparently gave the sanction of Rome to his tenure of the Alexandrian patriarchate.[z] On their return home, the legates were tried before an Italian synod, which deposed and excommunicated them. The same synod condemned Acacius, whom Felix had previously cited to appear at Rome and give an account of his communicating with Peter Mongus.[a] The sentence was intimated to Acacius in a letter from Felix and other bishops, declaring him to be deposed, degraded, and separated from the number of the faithful, as having been condemned by the judgment of the Holy Spirit and by Apostolical authority, so that he should never be unloosed from the anathema pronounced against him.[b] The Roman bishop would probably not have ventured on this unexampled proceeding, but that the reign of Odoacer in Italy had encouraged him to disregard the emperor of the East. The Greeks complained of the irregularity with which it was conducted as well as of the assumption which it involved. Acacius took no other notice of it than by removing the name of Felix from the diptychs of Constantinople.[c]

Felix announced the deposition of Acacius to the clergy and people of Constantinople, and declared all who should not separate from the patriarch to be cut off from the communion of Rome. A great number of monks — including the Acœmetæ, a society of especial sanctity[d]—preferred the connexion of Rome to that of their own bishop.[e] The schism thus begun lasted five and thirty

phaciolus, the emperor made him swear not to accept the bishopric. The authority for this is Zacharias, a Monophysite, quoted by Evagrius, iii. 12. Tillemont (xvi. 321-2) supposes that the oath may rather have been not to *intrigue for* the election.

[z] Evagr. iii. 21; Baron. 484. 3; Tillem. xvi. 348-9, 352; Walch, vi. 908.

[a] Evagr. iii. 18-21; Baron. 484. 11; Tillem. xvi. 344, 353-4, 765-6; Walch, vi. 915. There is a question whether the condemnation and the deposition of Acacius were the work of one or of two synods. See Pagi, viii. 444, 486.

[b] Hardouin, ii. 831-2; Walch, vi. 866-8, 910, 927; Hussey, 86-90. Gelasius, the successor of Felix, laboured to explain these last words as meaning that Acacius could not be absolved until he should own his fault and ask pardon; but Tillemont (xvi. 359) remarks that they were not necessary if this were all that was intended.

[c] Pagi in Baron. viii. 445; Tillem. xvi. 356-7, 362-3; Mosheim, i. 496; Schröckh, xviii. 519-520. A patriarch was properly amenable only to a general or other great council; but it was pretended that Acacius fell under the condemnation of the Council of Chalcedon, as having communicated with persons whose opinions were there condemned. Baron. 492. 18-9; Walch, vi. 918.

[d] The founder of these was Alexander, who died about 428 or 430. The peculiarity of the Acœmetæ (or *sleepless*) was, that they were divided into classes, which by turns kept up an unintermitted course of worship. Alexander was not beyond the suspicion of heretical connexions, and for this or other reasons he is not reckoned among the saints; but his order was distinguished for its orthodoxy. See Pagi in Baron. viii. 230; Tillem. tom. xii. art. *Alexandre*.

[e] Tillem. xvi. 360; Dupin, iv. 258; Gieseler, I. ii. 358.

years. Tillemont laments the precipitancy with which the excommunication was pronounced, and the rigour with which it was carried out—the bishops of Rome treating the whole East as heretical for refusing to break with Acacius, although he himself had not been charged with heresy, but only with the secondary offence of communicating with alleged heretics.[f] The historian remarks that later popes have been glad to invoke the intercession of saints whom, when alive, their predecessors rejected from communion.[g]

Acacius died in 489.[h] Peter the Fuller—who in 485 had been established in the see of Antioch on signing the Henoticon, and had been acknowledged by his namesake of Alexandria, although Acacius evaded a recognition of him—died in 488;[i] and in 491 died the emperor Zeno. Fravitta, the successor of Acacius, held the patriarchate of Constantinople for only four months, and was succeeded by Euphemius, an orthodox bishop, who renounced the communion of Peter Mongus, and was preparing for a contest with him, when the patriarch of Alexandria died.[k] At the death of Zeno, the Church, instead of having been united by his Henoticon, was divided into three great parties:—Antioch, under Palladius, and Alexandria, under Athanasius, were Monophysite; Jerusalem was with Constantinople; while Rome and the West stood aloof.[l]

A.D. 490.

Anastasius, on whom the daughter of Leo and widow of Zeno bestowed her hand and the empire, had already attained the age of sixty, and reigned twenty-seven years. Before his elevation he bore a high character for piety; and his general reputation is attested by the cry with which he was greeted—"Reign as you have lived!"[m] He was, however, suspected by the patriarch Euphemius, who refused to consent to his promotion, except on receiving a written assurance that no innovation should be attempted in the matter of religion, and that the council of Chalcedon should be maintained.[n] It is said that some of the emperor's relations were Arians and Manichæans, and by many writers he is charged with the errors of those sects, as well as with that of the Monophysites, whose interests were favoured by the *result* of his policy.[o] Yet his orthodoxy has been warmly

A.D. 491-518.

[f] See Pagi in Baron. ix. 24.
[g] Tillem. xvi. 356, 366, 372, 642.
[h] Pagi in Baron. viii. 501; Tillem. xvi. 381.
[i] Tillem. xvi. 365-7; Walch, vi. 761.
[k] Tillem. xv. 397, 633.
[l] Tillem. xvi. 388, 633; Gibbon, iv. 359; Walch, vi. 931.
[m] Baron. 491. 11; Tillem. Emp. vi. 534; Gibbon, iii. 450.
[n] Evagr. iii. 32; Baron. 491. 7; Tillem. Emp. vi. 533-4; Schröckh, xviii. 521-2.
[o] Tillem. Emp. vi. 531.

defended; and his principle of action has been characterised as impartiality rather than indifference.[p] He professed to aim at peace, and to abhor the idea that persons who believed in Christ, and who bore the name of Romans, should be vexed on account of their opinions.[q] Evagrius tells us that, under Anastasius, the council of Chalcedon was neither openly preached nor wholly rejected; that the bishops took different courses with respect to it; and that the emperor, in his desire to check all innovation, ejected those who introduced into their dioceses a change in either direction.[r] Throughout the reign, the *Henoticon* was the test generally prescribed—a test which all but the extreme members of the opposite parties were willing to submit to, but which was insufficient to insure harmony among those who subscribed it. The dissensions of the clergy among themselves obliged Anastasius to depart so far in practice from the principle of peace or indifference, that to the Catholics he appeared a persecutor. His name is marked with especial detestation by the orthodox historians; tales of impiety which savour strongly of fiction are related of him, miracles and portents are said to have declared the wrath of heaven against him, and his end is described with circumstances of horror.[s]

Euphemius, of Constantinople, was deposed and banished in 496; his successor, Macedonius, in 511 or 512.[t] Although the ejection of Euphemius was ostensibly on political grounds, it is probable that in both cases the patriarchs had offended by refusing to enter into the policy of the court as to religion. Alexandria was held by a succession of bishops who rejected the council of Chalcedon, but nevertheless were unable to reduce the Acephali to their communion.[u] The religious agitations of the time occasioned much tumult and bloodshed in the patriarchate of Antioch. Flavian, one of its bishops, was banished in 512, although, in order to clear himself from the charge of Nestorianism, he had gradually yielded to anathematize, not only Nestorius, but Diodore, Theodore, Theodoret, Ibas, and, finally, the council of Chalcedon.[x] Elias, of Jerusalem, who in like manner had made large concessions, was notwithstanding deposed

[p] Walch, vi. 947-8, 1043; Schröckh, xviii. 523. Tillemont (xvi. 636-7) thinks that he really held with the *Acephali*, and that, having begun with a policy of indifference, he afterwards gave vent to his predilection for heresy.

[q] Tillem. xvi. 634-5.

[r] Evagr. iii. 30.

[s] Baron. 518. 16-9; Schröckh, xvi. 22; xviii. 529, 530, 533; Neander, iv. 240.

[t] Evagr. iii. 32; Pagi in Baron. viii. 592; Tillem. xvi. 660, 690, 810.

[u] Tillem. xvi. 638.

[x] Evagr. iii. 31-2; Tillem. xvi. 678, 705-7, 812: Baronius (512. 30) attempts to deny that Flavian gave up the council.

in the following year.[y] Throughout the reign of Anastasius, Rome remained in separation from the East. The overtures of Euphemius were met with unbending haughtiness by Gelasius, who filled the see from 492 to 496.[z] The next bishop, Anastasius II., opened communications with Constantinople in a tone of conciliation. It is said that he was willing, for the sake of peace, even to admit that the name of Acacius should remain in the diptychs; but his death put a stop to the negotiation.[a] His successor, Symmachus, exchanged with the eastern emperor messages of defiance and accusations of heresy.[b]

Nov. 498.

Severus, a monk,[c] who afterwards became Patriarch of Antioch on the deprivation of Flavian, introduced at Constantinople an addition which Peter the Fuller had made to the Trisagion — the words, "Who was crucified for us."[d] In consequence of this a serious collision took place between the Catholics and the Monophysites of the capital, during the episcopate of Macedonius; but after his deposition one of still more alarming character arose.[e] By order of the emperor, two prefects entered a church, ascended the screen, and began to chant the Trisagion with the Antiochene addition. A tumult ensued, many persons were killed, and a number of Catholics were committed to prison. Two days later, on the occasion of a solemn procession, Timothy, the Monophysite successor of Macedonius, gave orders that the new clause should be used. Those who obeyed him were met by bands of the Catholic monks, chanting the Trisagion in its old form. The parties fell to blows; the populace of the city mixed in the fray, and many lives were lost. A monk who was suspected of having suggested the performance of the prefects to the emperor was killed; his head was cut off, stuck on a pole, and carried in procession as that of an enemy to

A.D. 512.

[y] Tillem. xvi. 719-720.

[z] Baron. 492. 10, seqq.; Dupin, iv. 263-8, 271; Schröckh, xviii. 531.

[a] Much to the delight of Baronius, 497. 28. See Tillem. xvi. 637-642, 650-9, 665-8; Dupin, iv. 27.

[b] Baron. 503. 18, seqq.; Tillem. xvi. 671-4.

[c] Severus had been a heathen and an advocate. He became a monk, and was turned out of a monastery for his monophysite opinions, which were carried to the extent of rejecting the Henoticon, so that he is described as *acephalous*. (Tillem. xvi. 682; Walch, vi. 982.) It is said that on his elevation to the see of Antioch, he promised to sign the Henoticon, but did not keep his engagement (Walch, vi. 1021-2). He is described as a man of great ability, but is charged not only with great severities against the Catholics, but with embezzling ornaments and other property of the Church. Evagr. iv. 4; Schröckh, xviii. 536.

[d] See above, p. 463, note [t].

[e] Evagrius (iii. 44) speaks of only one tumult. So Neander, iv. 241. But Pagi (in Bar. ix. 97-100, 117-120) and Tillemont give reasons for thinking that there were two, xvi. 687-9. 810.

the Trinity. A female recluse was also murdered by the mob. Houses were sacked and burnt; the emperor's pictures and statues were defaced and thrown down; there were cries for a new emperor. Anastasius, then more than eighty years of age, withdrew from the city, but after three days he presented himself in the circus without the ensigns of sovereignty. The multitude received him by chanting the orthodox Trisagion. He addressed them by a herald, professing himself willing to abdicate, but reminding them that they could not all reign, and that they must make choice of one for their emperor. The people were moved by his words, and by the sight of his humiliation; he promised to gratify them with the blood of the obnoxious prefects, and resumed the government.[f]

The last years of the reign were disquieted by the insurrection of Vitalian, a Scythian or Gothic chief, who took arms for the Catholic faith, devastated Thrace and threatened Constantinople. He required that the orthodox bishops who had been banished should be restored; that the Council of Chalcedon should be acknowledged; that communion with Rome should be resumed, and that a new General Council should be called, at which the pope should assist. To these terms the emperor at length submitted. But the exorbitant demands of Hormisdas, the successor of Symmachus, prevented any accommodation between the east and the west during the lifetime of Anastasius.[g] The emperor died in 518, and was succeeded by Justin, an aged soldier of fortune, in whose name the government was really administered by his nephew Justinian.[h] Vitalian, after having been promoted to the highest offices by the new sovereign, was in the seventh month of his consulship treacherously murdered, by the contrivance (as is supposed) of Justinian.[i]

A.D. 511-6.

A.D. 520.

II.

Theodoric, prince of the Amali, after having endangered the empire of Zeno, had received his permission to undertake the

[f] Tillem. xvi. 698-700; Walch, vi. 1013. Gibbon (iv. 360-1) speaks as if the prefects had been put to death. But it appears that Anastasius did not find it necessary to fulfil his promise or oath. Tillem. xvi. 700.

[g] Evagr. iii. 43; Baron. 515. 19-36; 516. 1-19; 517. 1-48; Fleury, xxxi. 21; Gibbon, iii. 483; iv. 361; Schröckh, xviii. 532; Neander, iv. 242; Gieseler, I. ii. 359. Tillemont remarks that some of those whose names Hormisdas wished to exclude from the diptychs are now acknowledged as saints by Rome, xvi. 697, 708.

[h] Evagr. iv. 2; Gibbon, iii. 482.

[i] Baron. 520-1; Gibbon, iii. 483.

conquest of Italy. He defeated Odoacer in three great battles, and, after having besieged him for three years in
A.D. 489-90. Ravenna, admitted him to a treaty on equal terms.
A.D. 493. But Odoacer, on a pretended charge of conspiracy, was soon after stabbed at a banquet—perhaps even by the hand of Theodoric.[k] After the death of his rival, Theodoric reigned with vigour and in prosperity for thirty-three years. His dominions extended as far as the Danube, and he put a bar to the extension of the Frankish conquests under Clovis.[l] Although an Arian, he did not attempt to enforce his creed on his subjects,—"We cannot impose religion by command," he said, "since no one can be made to believe against his will."[m] He recognised the orthodox clergy in their position, made gifts to their churches, and exercised a control over the bishops of Rome, which the later emperors of the west had, through weakness, allowed to escape from their hands.[n] In 524, the emperor Justin issued an edict for the purpose of compelling the Arians of the East to conform to the orthodox church.[o] Theodoric resolved to obtain for his Oriental brethren the same freedom of religion which he allowed to his own subjects, and with this view despatched to Constantinople an
A.D. 525. embassy consisting of John, bishop of Rome, with five other bishops and four senators. It was the first time that a pope had visited the eastern capital. John was received with unbounded reverence; almost the whole population of the city poured forth to greet his arrival, bearing torches and crosses in their hands, and the emperor cast himself at his feet. The patriarch of Constantinople yielded him precedence; Justin, although already crowned, submitted to a new coronation by the hands of the successor of St. Peter.[p] But on his return to Italy, John
A.D. 526. was cast into prison, where he soon after died. The reasons of his imprisonment are matter of uncertainty and dispute; the most probable opinion appears to be, that the bishop, although he successfully performed the other parts of his commission, had refused to ask that Arians who had professed Catholicism might be allowed to return to their heresy; and that Theodoric was also offended by the excessive honours which had been paid to his subject by the eastern court.[q] An edict was

[k] Tillem. Emp. vi. 450-6, 519; Gibbon, iii. 453-6.

[l] Gibbon, iii. 458-469; Schröckh, xvi. 64.

[m] Gieseler, I. ii. 398.

[n] Baron. 494, 57; Gibbon, iii. 469-471; Revillout, 300-3, 313.

[o] Baron. 524. 1.

[p] Baron. 325. 7; Fleury, xxxii. 5; Schröckh, xviii. 214; Gibbon, iii. 473.

[q] See Baron. 525. 8-10 (who—although avowedly without any authority of ancient writers, except a letter forged in the name of John—maintains that the Pope acted in direct opposition to his

even prepared, prohibiting the exercise of the Catholic worship in Italy; but the king's death, or calmer reflection, prevented it from being carried into effect.[r]

The last years of Theodoric were stained by the executions of Boëthius and Symmachus. Boëthius had enjoyed the highest honours of the state; in learning he surpassed all his contemporaries; his works embrace an extraordinary variety of subjects—theology, philosophy, music, mathematics, astronomy, and other branches of physical science. He had long enjoyed the favour of Theodoric; but his character, both as a patriot and as a Catholic, rendered his position one of hazard in the court of a barbarian and heretical conqueror; and at length, a little before the time of John's mission to Constantinople, he fell a victim to the jealousy with which Theodoric, in his latter days, regarded his Italian subjects. Symmachus, the father-in-law of Boëthius, was executed on groundless suspicions in the following year (A.D. 525).[s] Theodoric died in August, 526.[t] A.D. 524.

III.

In April, 527, Justinian was formally associated with his uncle as a colleague, and in August he became sole emperor, at the age of forty-five.[u]

Among the secular events of his long reign, the wars in Italy and in Africa had an important bearing on the history of religion. A.D. 527-565.

In Africa, the usurper Gelimer was dethroned by the arms of the imperial general, Belisarius; and some years later, on a rebellion of the Vandals and Moors, the country was completely subjugated.[x] After the first conquest the Catholic Church was restored to its ascendancy, although the bishops were reduced to one-half or a third of their ancient number.[y] It is reckoned that during the reign of Justinian Africa lost five millions of inhabitants; thus Arianism was extinguished in that region, not by an enforcement of conformity, but by the extermination of the race which had introduced and professed it.[z] A.D. 533-4. A.D. 539-541.

instructions); Pagi in Bar. ix. 349, 351; Dupin, v. 42; Fleury, xxxii. 5-7; Schröckh, xvi. 192; xviii. 214-6; Gibbon, iii. 473; Rohrbacher, ix. 55; Revillout, 325-7.

[r] Gibbon, iii. 473.

[s] Pagi in Bar. ix. 337, 341, 355; Gibbon, iii. 474-8; Schröckh, xvii. 99-104; Gieseler, I. ii. 386.

[t] Pagi, ix. 538; Gibbon, ii. 479.

[u] Gibbon, iii. 485.

[x] Gibbon, iv. 3-23, 117-122.

[y] Only 217 could now be gathered for a council. Gibbon, iv. 20; Fleury, xxxii. 49.

[z] Gibbon, iv. 122.

The Ostrogoths of Italy, after the death of Theodoric, were distracted by factions and crimes.[a] The military achievements of Belisarius and Narses in the peninsula threw a last and deceitful splendour over the power of the Eastern empire. The Gothic kings, Vitiges (537-9), Totila (546-552), and Teias (553), were successively defeated by these generals; the invasions of the Franks and the Alemanni were repelled;[b] and Narses, with the title of exarch, administered the government of Italy from the year 554, as a deputy of the emperor.[c] The sufferings of the country during the revolutions of this period were greater than those which it has endured in any other of its calamities, whether earlier or later; the number of its inhabitants who perished by war, by famine, or in other ways, is supposed to have exceeded the whole of its modern population.[d] With the Gothic monarchy, Arianism disappeared from Italy.[e]

Justinian lived strictly and spent much of his time in theological studies. He was fond of mixing in controversy and of acting as a regulator of religion; his subjects derided him for devoting himself to such matters, while he left the great political and military affairs of the empire to the management of his ministers and generals.[f] He was munificent in his gifts for building churches and hospitals; but it is said that the means of this liberality were too commonly obtained by extortion, false accusations, and confiscation.[g] The greatest architectural monument of his reign was the cathedral of the Eternal Wisdom (St. Sophia). It had been originally built by Constantine, had been destroyed by fire after the banishment of Chrysostom,[h] had been restored, and was
A.D. 532 again burnt down in the tumult known by the name of *Nika*.[i] Justinian rebuilt it at a vast expense; and as he cast his eyes around the magnificent structure on the day of the dedication, after expressing his thankfulness to God who had
A.D. 544. permitted him to accomplish so great a work, he exclaimed, "O Solomon, I have surpassed thee!"[k]
A.D. 557. The church was afterwards shattered by an earthquake; but Justinian again restored its splendour, and performed a

[a] Gibbon, iv. 34-42.
[b] See Gibbon, chaps. xli. xliii.
[c] Gibbon, iv. 149.
[d] Gibbon, iv. 150, with Milman's note.
[e] Revillout, 349.
[f] Fleury, xxxiii. 34; Gibbon, iv. 362; Schröckh, xvi. 28.
[g] Baron. 565. 7, and Pagi's notes; Evagr. iv. 30; Schröckh, xvi. 24.
[h] See p. 359.
[i] For this sedition, which arose out of a quarrel between the blue and the green factions of the circus, see Gibbon, iii. 497.
[k] Pagi in Bar. ix. 505; Gibbon, iii. 520; Schröckh, xvii. 483.

second dedication in the thirty-sixth year of his reign.[1] The establishment of the cathedral was *limited* by one of his laws to sixty priests, a hundred deacons, forty deaconesses, ninety subdeacons, a hundred and ten readers, five and twenty singers, and a hundred ostiaries.[m] A.D. 562.

To the reign of Justinian is referred the extinction of philosophical heathenism. The Neoplatonists had until then continued to teach at Athens. They were obliged outwardly to respect the religion of the state; but their esoteric doctrines were pagan, and their system, in its mysticism and in its pretensions to intercourse with higher powers, bore a curious resemblance to the superstitions which were at the same time growing on the Church.[n] Proclus, the most famous professor of this school, died in 485.[o] With a view to depriving paganism of its last support, Justinian, in 529, ordered that the schools of Athens should be closed. Simplicius[p] and six other philosophers, who were thus bereft of their occupation, felt themselves insecure within the imperial territories; they resolved to emigrate to Persia and seek the patronage of King Chosroes, of whose enlightenment they had heard exaggerated celebrations. They were well received by the king, but found their expectations grievously disappointed, and sighed for their native country, to which they wished to return, even at the risk of encountering persecution. In a treaty with Justinian, Chosroes stipulated that they should be exempted from the penal laws against their religion. They lived unmolested during the remainder of their days, and left no disciples or successors.[q] A.D. 531.

In the same year with his order for closing the Athenian schools, Justinian issued an edict that no pagan or heretic should hold any civil or military office. They were allowed three months to choose between conformity and banishment; or, if permitted to remain without abjuring their errors, they were to be deprived of all civil privileges. A great mass of pretended conversion was the result, while many who abhorred such hypocrisy were driven by desperation to suicide. The most noted act of A.D. 529.

[1] Pagi in Baron. x. 209.

[m] Baron. 535. 5; Schröckh, xvii. 483. The reason of this limitation was, that bishops had been in the habit of ordaining clergy without considering whether the Church had the means of supporting them. Planck, i. 335.

[n] Neander, iv. 118; vi. 376-7; Gieseler, I. ii. 33.

[o] Schröckh, xvi. 72.

[p] See Neander, vi. 377-382.

[q] Baron. 554. 14; Gibbon, iii. 540-1; Schröckh, xvi. 74; Neander, iv. 119.

this kind was performed by some Montanists in Phrygia, who shut themselves up in their meeting-house, set fire to it, and perished in the flames.[r]

IV.

Timothy, patriarch of Constantinople, died a short time before the emperor Anastasius. When his successor, John, appeared in the cathedral on the first Sunday after the accession of Justin, he was greeted with loud outcries, that, since the Manichæan Anastasius no longer reigned, the council of Chalcedon should be confirmed, Severus of Antioch with the rest of the "Manichæans" should be expelled, and a reconciliation should be established with Rome.[s] The new government was disposed to comply with the popular desire; Severus and other Monophysites were deprived. Many of them found a refuge at Alexandria, where their party was so strong that the emperor did not venture to excite the unruly population by any attempt against it.[t] But the concourse of Monophysite teachers had the effect of producing or bringing to light differences among themselves; and many of them branched off into minor sects—such as Agnoëtes, Aphthartodocetes, and Niobites—which need not be here more particularly mentioned.[u]

A.D. 518, July 15.

Fresh overtures were now made from Constantinople to Hormisdas of Rome, and all his demands were granted. The names of Acacius and his four successors who had died during the schism, with those of the emperors Anastasius and Zeno, were removed from the diptychs. The orthodox confessors, Euphemius and Macedonius, were not distinguished from the heretical Fravitta and Timothy; but Acacius was more especially reprobated by an anathema.[x] It was found, however, that many churches of the East were not so ready as that of Constantinople to abandon the memory of their late bishops; for Hormisdas required the sacrifice of all who had communicated with Acacius. In some quarters there were disturbances so serious that the imperial government requested the Pope to abate the rigour of his terms. He empowered the patriarch of Constantinople to act for him in receiving the churches into com-

A.D. 519.

[r] Fleury, xxxii. 27; Gibbon, iv. 363-4.

[s] Baron. 518. 4-13; Walch, vii. 58-63; Schröckh, xviii. 534-5; Neander, iv. 242-3.

[t] Evagr. iv. 4; Walch, vii. 185; Schröckh, xviii. 536.

[u] Pagi in Bar. ix. 267; Schröckh, xviii. 538; Gieseler, I. ii. 360-3. Guericke, i. 483. Walch (viii. 520, seqq.) devotes about 300 unreadable pages to these varieties.

[x] Bar. 519. 53; Pagi in Bar. ix. 235.

munion.[y] The matter was accommodated by the retention of some names on the diptychs; and eventually Euphemius and Macedonius, with Flavian of Antioch, Elias of Jerusalem, and some others who had died during the separation, were acknowledged by Rome as saints.[z] The Henoticon, without being formally repealed, from this time disappeared; and everywhere except in Egypt the Council of Chalcedon was received.[a]

Justinian was a partisan of the council; but his wife Theodora, whom he raised to the position of a colleague in the empire,[b] was a zealous Monophysite.[c] As her influence over her husband was unbounded in all other respects, it has been suggested that this division of theological interests may have been a matter of politic arrangement between the imperial pair.[d] Theodora assembled a party of Monophysites at Constantinople; she prevailed on Justinian to invite Severus to the capital; she even promoted Anthimus, a secret enemy of the Council of Chalcedon, to the patriarchate.[e] In the year after this appointment, Agapetus, bishop of Rome, was obliged by the Gothic king Theodahatus to undertake a mission to Constantinople, for the purpose of averting the threatened attack of Justinian. He failed of that object; but, at the request of the Catholic party, he exposed to the emperor the heterodoxy of Anthimus, and obtained his deposition on the ground of uncanonical translation from another see. Mennas was raised to the vacant chair, and was consecrated by Agapetus. A council which he soon after held examined the opinions of his predecessor, who was found guilty of heresy and was excommunicated.[f]

A.D. 535.

A.D. 536.

Agapetus died at Constantinople before the meeting of this council. Vigilius, his archdeacon, who had accompanied him, was urged by Theodora to become a candidate for the see. She promised to support him with influence and with money, if he

[y] Baron. 520. 35, 40; 521. 14, 27-30, and Pagi's notes.

[z] Tillem. xvi. 697; Walch, vii. 110-5; Schröckh, xviii. 539-541; Neander, ii. 243. Pagi is noticeable on this point (in Bar. ix. 235-6, 297-9).

[a] Schröckh, xviii. 544.

[b] Gibbon, iii 491. Dean Milman, in a note at p. 487 of that volume, gives a caution against implicitly believing "the extreme and disgusting depravity of Theodore's early life" (which Gibbon relates with even more than his usual delight in such details)—as the only authority for it is the "Anecdota" of Procopius—"a virulent libel"—"the basest and most disgraceful work in literature." Comp. Pagi in Bar. x. 236.

[c] Schröckh, xviii. 533; Gibbon, iv. 336.

[d] Evagr. iv. 10.

[e] Fleury, xxxii. 52; Mosh. ii. 46; Walch, vii. 172-4; Neander, iv. 244.

[f] Hardouin, ii. 1257-62; Evagr. iv. 11; Baron. 536, 9, seqq.; 17, seqq.; 80-4, and Pagi's notes; Fleury, xxxii. 52-5; Schröckh, xvi. 222 (where it is shown, against Baronius, that the appointment of Mennas was not by papal authority. Comp. Barrow, 222); Walch, vii. 17-8, 180, 184; Neander, iv. 246.

would condemn the Council of Chalcedon and communicate with Anthimus and other Monophysites; but before he could reach Rome, Sylverius, a subdeacon, son of Pope Hormisdas, was elected.[g] In the following year, while Rome was besieged by the Goths, the new bishop was summoned to appear before Belisarius. The general's wife, Antonina, who was seated on a couch, while Belisarius occupied a place at her feet, reproached him for having entered into a treasonable correspondence with the enemy. His attempts at a denial were overpowered by the production of written evidence; he was immediately stripped of the ensigns of his dignity and was sent off by sea to the East.[h] Vigilius was elected in his room, and paid for the interest of Belisarius two hundred pounds of gold.[i] Sylverius, after having been banished to Patara, in Lycia, was sent back to Italy by Justinian, in order to a fresh investigation of his case;[k] but through the contrivance of the intruder he was seized and carried off to the island of Palmaria, where he died of starvation.[l] Vigilius had made a secret compact with Theodora to labour against the Council of Chalcedon; while his public engagements bound him to an opposite line of conduct.[m]

A.D. 537.

The course of ecclesiastical politics now took a curious turn. From about the year 520, there had been disturbances among the monks of Palestine on the subject of Origen's opinions, which were especially maintained by the members of the "New Laura," while the majority of the monks were violent Anti-Origenists. There had been censures, expulsions, frequent affrays, and bloodshed.[n] The patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem were unable to allay the differences, and Justinian was well pleased to receive an appeal on the subject. He published a letter to the patriarch Mennas, censuring certain doctrines extracted or inferred from Origen's writings; he declared that they

A.D. 536.

[g] Baron. 536. 133; Fleury, xxxii. 57; Walch, vii. 224-6; Schröckh, xvi. 225-7.

[h] Baron. 538, 6, seqq.; Pagi in Bar. ix. 568. Gibbon (iv. 50-1), and Lord Mahon (Life of Belisarius, ed. 1, pp. 226-8), suppose Sylverius to have been guilty. But most writers think that the evidence against him was forged in consequence of a plot between Theodora and Antonina. See Dupin, v. 68; Fleury, xxxii. 57; Walch, vii. 226; Schröckh, xvii. 226; Neander, iv. 247.

[i] On this transaction Baronius (538. 12, seqq.) is remarkable. His attempts to clear away some part of the story are acknowledged by Pagi to be unsuccessful.

[k] Baronius (540. 4-10) says that after the death of Sylverius, and some miracles wrought by his relics, Vigilius resigned the popedom, was legitimately reappointed to it, and thenceforth became another man. But Pagi shows that there is no ground for this story.

[l] Baron. 539. 1-9; 540. 2; Fleury, xxxii. 57; Gibbon, iv. 124.

[m] Fleury, xxxii. 58; Walch, vii. 227-9; Schröckh, xvi. 227-230; xviii. 548; Neander, iv. 247.

[n] Baron. 532; 538. 29, seqq.; Pagi in Bar. ix. 441.7; Fleury, xxxiii. 3; Mosh. ii. 44-5; Walch, vii. 657; Schröckh, xviii. 43.

were borrowed from Plato and the Manichæans (apparently forgetting that Manes was later than Origen); and he desired Mennas to bring the question before the Home Synod.[o] This body again censured the opinions of Origen, and pronounced fifteen anathemas against them.[p] The imperial manifesto was subscribed by Vigilius and by the four patriarchs of the East.[q]

Theodore *Ascidas*, a monk of Origenistic opinions, who had been appointed to the bishopric of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, but usually resided at Constantinople, acquired great influence over Justinian. By some process of casuistry, he prevailed on himself to sign the anathemas against Origen; but he felt the necessity of diverting the emperor's mind from the dangerous direction which it had taken. Knowing Justinian's anxiety to reduce the *Acephali* to conformity, he told him that their opposition to the Council of Chalcedon did not arise from repugnance to its doctrines, but from its recognition of persons suspected of Nestorianism—such as Theodoret and Ibas; he therefore suggested that, by a condemnation of these bishops, with the reputed father of Nestorianism, Theodore of Mopsuestia, the prejudices of the party might be overcome, and they might be won to a reconciliation. As for the objection to condemning persons who had died in communion with the Church, it was (he said) removed by the late precedent of the anathemas against Origen.[r] By this suggestion Ascidas may have hoped not only to secure the important object of engaging the emperor in a new question, but to gratify himself, as an Origenist, by proscribing the great master of *literal* interpretation, and, as a Monophysite, by striking a blow at the authority of the Fourth General Council.[s]

The device was in so far successful that, instead of controversies as to Origenism and Monophysitism, the general attention was soon occupied by a dispute whether certain writings a century old were favourable to Nestorianism. Justinian published an edict in which he condemned Theodore of Mopsuestia and his works, Theodoret's writings in favour of Nestorius A.D. 544.

[o] Hardouin, iii. 243-281.

[p] Hardouin, iii. 284-8; Baron. 538, 33, seqq.; Fleury, xxxiii. 4; Walch. vii. 640, 645-6; Schröckh, xviii. 51-4. These anathemas were long supposed to have proceeded from the fifth general council; but it appears to be now agreed that they belong to a local synod under Mennas (see n. on Mosheim, ii. 47). By some this is supposed to have been the same which condemned Anthimus in 536 (Walch, vii. 181, 673; Guericke, i. 486). Schröckh (xviii. 51) places it about 540; Pagi (in Bar. ix. 584) in 543; and Gieseler (I. ii. 368) in 544.

[q] Schröckh, xviii. 48.

[r] Evagr. iv. 38; Baron. 538. 85; Fleury, xxxiii. 21; Mosh. ii. 46; Walch, viii. 147-8; Schröckh, xviii. 527-3; Neander, iv. 249-253.

[s] Fleury, xxxiii. 21; Schröckh, xviii. 47, 570; Gibbon, iv. 366; Gieseler, I. ii. 369.

and against Cyril, and a letter from Ibas to Maris, a Persian. This letter, written under great exasperation, severely reflected on Cyril; but its orthodoxy as to doctrine had been expressly recognised at Chalcedon. The emperor, however, contrived to reconcile his condemnation of the letter with his profession of respect for the council, by the supposition that a forged document had been substituted for that which the fathers of Chalcedon had approved.[t] It was required that the edict should be subscribed by all bishops. Mennas signed it with the stipulation that he should be at liberty to retract his signature if the bishop of Rome should refuse to concur—a reservation of which he did not afterwards avail himself.[u] The eastern bishops in general submitted, although the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem were at first reluctant to do so; the few who refused were banished. But in Africa—where the old independent spirit of the Church had been exercised in opposition to the temporal power during the century of Vandal oppression—the proposal met with a lively opposition.[x] The African bishops protested against reopening questions which the council of Chalcedon had settled, or condemning persons who had died in the communion of the Church; and a like temper was displayed elsewhere. The commotions rose to such a height that Ascidas is said to have afterwards owned that he himself, and Pelagius, who had been concerned in bringing the Origenistic question under the emperor's notice, deserved to be burnt alive as the authors of them.[y]

A.D. 545. Vigilius, alarmed by these events and by the temper of his own clergy,[z] refused to sign the edict, and was obliged by the emperor (who probably apprehended a new division between the Eastern and Western Churches) to repair to Constantinople, where he was detained upwards of seven years.[a] His legate Stephen, with other ecclesiastics of the west, who were then at Constantinople, had broken off communion with Mennas, on the ground that the patriarch ought not to have acted in the matter, except, as had been before agreed, in concert with the pope.[b] Vigilius at first refused to communicate with Mennas,

[t] Tillem. xv. 687-9; Fleury, xxxiii. 21; Walch, viii. 150-3; Neander, iv. 254; Gieseler, I. ii. 370.

[u] Baron. 546. 45-8; Walch, viii. 155-6.

[x] Baron. 546. 51-3.

[y] Fleury, xxxiii. 22; Schröckh, xviii. 47, 585; Neander, iii. 248, iv. 253-5.

[z] The Roman clergy, being at a loss how to act in the new differences, applied to the learned African deacon Ferrandus for advice, and were guided by his answer. Walch, viii. 150.

[a] Baron. 546. 55, seqq.; Mosh. ii. 47; Schröckh, xviii. 576-7. He was in Sicily in 445, but did not reach Constantinople until January 25, 447. Pagi in Bar. x. 16-28; Walch, viii. 115, 163-5; Clinton.

[b] Fleury, xxxiii. 22; Walch, viii. 158.

but was afterwards persuaded to an agreement with him; and he bound himself to Justinian by a secret written engagement[c] to condemn the *Three Articles*,[d]—by which name the points in question as to Theodore, Theodoret, and Ibas were generally designated. He submitted the matter to a synod of Western bishops, held at Constantinople in 448; but the African members steadily refused to lend themselves to his change of policy.[e] Finding that no favourable decision was to be obtained from the council, Vigilius endeavoured to gain the bishops individually, and sent forth a document known by the title of his *Judicatum* in which he attempted to satisfy both parties—the Orientals, by condemning the Three Articles; the Latins, by professing that he did so without prejudice to the Council of Chalcedon.[f] But in the latter object he was utterly disappointed. An African synod, under Reparatus, of Carthage, excommunicated him;[g] a like spirit was manifested by the Churches of Illyria and Dalmatia; the commotion reached as far as Gaul and Scythia; even some of the pope's own deacons, who had accompanied him to Constantinople, charged him with an abandonment of the Council of Chalcedon, and returned to agitate the West against him.[h] Facundus, bishop of Hermiane in Africa, who had distinguished himself in the council at Constantinople, published, in 549, an able and spirited defence of the Three Articles. He maintained the orthodoxy of Theodore of Mopsuestia; he argued that he, Theodoret, and Ibas, could not be condemned without impugning the Council of Chalcedon, and doing away with its authority against Eutychianism; and he plainly desired the emperor to take warning from a comparison between those of his predecessors who had left the decision of theological questions to the bishops, and those who had ventured to arrogate it to themselves.[i]

A.D. 548.

A.D. 549.

Vigilius, perplexed between the emperor's wishes and the determined opposition of his western brethren, proposed the summoning of a general council, and withdrew his *judicatum* until the assembly should meet. Justinian assented; but, apprehend-

[c] Walch, viii. 168-170.

[d] κεφάλαια, *capitula*. As the usual translation of this word by *chapters* is likely to mislead, I have preferred the word *articles*.

[e] Fleury, xxxiii. 26; Neander, iv. 258.

[f] Pagi in Bar. x. 33, 38; Walch, viii. 172-5; Schröckh, xviii. 579-580. Only fragments of the 'Judicatum' now exist. Walch, viii. 175.

[g] Pagi in Baron. x. 56; Fleury, xxxiii. 32; Walch, viii. 185; Schröckh, xviii. 583-5.

[h] Baron. 548. 2, seqq.

[i] Baron. 546. 41-3.: Fleury, xxxiii. 31, 33, 34; Walch, viii. 183; Schröckh, xviii. 581, 585-590; Neander, iv. 259-260.

ing that the Pope might perhaps attempt some evasion under shelter of the council, he bound him by fresh obligations, which were confirmed by an oath on the nails of the Holy Cross and the Gospels, to exert all his power for the advancement of the imperial designs. He also put forth a long and detailed profession of faith, which he required Vigilius and others to sign.[k] Vigilius refused, threatened to excommunicate those who should comply, and with Datius, archbishop of Milan, and others, took refuge in a church. A prætor was sent with a guard to seize him. The Pope placed himself under the altar, and, while the soldiers attempted to drag him out by his feet, his hair, and his beard, he clung so firmly to the pillars that some of them gave way, and the table would have fallen on him if some clerks had not supported it. The spectators of this scandalous scene broke forth into loud outcries, in which even some of the soldiers joined; and the prætor was shamed into desisting from his attempt.[l] Vigilius was induced by oaths of safety to leave the church, but, finding himself guarded in his lodging, he escaped with Datius and other companions by night to Chalcedon, and took sanctuary in the church of St. Euphemia—the same in which the General Council had held its sessions. After many overtures from the emperor, he was persuaded to return to Constantinople, where the Fifth General Council met in May, 553.[m]

A.D. 551. August, 551. Dec. 23, 551.

Mennas died while Vigilius was in retirement at Chalcedon, and was succeeded in the see of Constantinople by Eutychius, who had recommended himself to the emperor by discovering a scriptural precedent for the condemnation of deceased theologians—namely, the burning the bones of idolaters by Josiah.[n] The council was attended by a hundred and sixty-five bishops, including all the eastern patriarchs; but from the West there were only five African bishops.[o] As the absence of Vigilius gave reason to fear a division in the Church, he was repeatedly summoned, and was urgently requested by the other patriarchs to attend; but he refused—sometimes on the plea

August, 552.

[k] Pagi in Bar. x. 64; Fleury, xxxiii. 35; Walch, viii. 192-200; Schröckh, xviii. 590-4; Neander, iv. 261-2; Guericke, i. 488.

[l] Pagi in Bar. x. 67; Fleury, xxxiii. 37; Walch, viii. 201-6; Neander, iv. 263.

[m] Pagi in Bar. x. 74; Fleury, xxxiii. 37; Walch, viii. 207; Schröckh, xviii. 595.

[n] Evagr. iv. 38.

[o] Reparatus, of Carthage, had gone to Constantinople for the purpose of attending the council, but, as it was found that he would not comply with Justinian's wishes, he was banished on a charge of a crime against the state. The court named a successor, who, before consecration, condemned the Three Articles. Other African bishops were successfully tampered with. Walch, viii. 196-7.

of illness, sometimes alleging that faith had not been kept with him in obtaining a fair representation of the Western Church. He sent to the emperor a paper signed by himself and sixteen other bishops, and known by the name of his *Constitutum*—in which he endeavoured to take a middle course, by condemning the writings which were in question, but without reflecting on the authors—even on Theodore of Mopsuestia.[p] On this, Justinian caused the secret engagements which Vigilius had made with him to be laid before the council, and desired that the Pope might be excluded from the diptychs—professing at the same time a wish to remain in communion with the Roman see;[q] and the council acted accordingly. The Three Articles were condemned, and an anathema was pronounced against all who should defend them or should pretend that they were countenanced by the Synod of Chalcedon.[r] The memory of Theodoret and Ibas was spared; but Theodore was included in the condemnation of his writings. The four earlier General Councils were confirmed. The emperor's edicts relating to matters of religion were approved; but, except by this indirect implication, it does not appear that the opinions of Origen were censured or noticed.[s]

Vigilius—pressed by the censure of the council, frightened by the punishment of some who opposed it,[t] and influenced also by the success of the arms of Narses, which had secured Italy to the emperor—made, some months later, a humiliating submission to the decisions of the assembly,[u] in which he ascribed his past difference of opinion to the craft of the devil; and he repeated this in a longer paper, withdrawing all his acts on the other side. A.D. 554. He was then allowed to return to his see; but before reaching it, he died at Syracuse.[x] His archdeacon Jan., 555. Pelagius succeeded[y] through the influence of the emperor, who on

[p] Hardouin, iii. 10-46; Baron. 553. 50-110; Walch, viii. 260.

[q] Tillem. xxxiii. 43, 46, 49; Walch, viii. 255; Schröckh, xviii. 599; Neander, iv. 264-5.

[r] Hardouin, iii. 194, 197-200; Evagr. iv. 38; Fleury, xxxiii. 45, 47, 48, 50; Walch, viii. 277; Schröckh, xviii. 597-8, 600.

[s] This, however, is questioned. See Baron. 553. 238-244, with Pagi's notes; Fleury, xxxiii. 51; Mosh. ii. 47, and notes; Walch, viii. 281-291; Schröckh, xviii. 57-8, 600; Neander, iv. 381-2; Gieseler, I. ii. 372; Guericke, I. 488.

[t] Baronius (353. 223) and Pagi say that Vigilius was himself banished; but this seems to be very questionable.

[u] Hardouin, iii. 214-244; Fleury, xxxiii. 52; Schröckh, xviii. 602-4; Gieseler, I. ii. 372. The behaviour of Vigilius naturally exercises the ingenuity of Baronius, who defends him from the charge of inconsistency on the ground that, as the question was not one of faith, the pope might rightly act in each stage of it as for the time seemed best (553. 230-7). The council, he says, although in itself undeserving of respect, acquired the authority of a general council by being acknowledged by Vigilius or Pelagius (553. 224, 229). Comp. the remarks on the whole controversy, 546. 38-40; 547. 29-30, 46-7.

[x] See Pagi and Mansi, in Baron. x. 153.

[y] Walch, viii. 330.

this occasion for the first time assumed the privilege of confirming the election;[z] but—whether from the odium attached to him as a partaker in the late Pope's policy, or because (according to another account) he was suspected of having contributed to the sufferings and death of Vigilius—he could not find more than two bishops willing to consecrate him.[a]

Pelagius adhered to the late council, and, with the aid of Narses, enforced the acceptance of it by deprivation, banishment and other penalties.[b] But in the West—where the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia were unknown, where the reliance of the Nestorians on his name was not actually seen, where the condemnation of Theodoret and Ibas was chiefly regarded as endangering the authority of the Council of Chalcedon—the decisions of the Fifth Council were very generally resisted, even by those who were subjects of the empire. The bishops of the Italian diocese separated from Rome on this account; and, although Milan and Ravenna were soon forced, by the terror of the Lombard invasion, to seek a reconciliation, the metropolitans of Aquileia, with the Istrian bishops, remained in separation for nearly a century and a half.[c]

A.D. 555-9.

A.D. 570-580.

Among the variety of opinions which had sprung out of the Monophysite controversy, was one broached by Julian of Halicarnassus, while a refugee at Alexandria, in the reign of Justin.[d] This teacher maintained that the Saviour's body was *incorruptible;* that it was the same before as after the resurrection; that his hunger, thirst, weariness, and the like did not necessarily arise from the constitution of his human nature, but were feelings to which He voluntarily subjected Himself. From their fancy of incorruptibility the followers of Julian were called *Aphthartodocetæ*—a name which they retaliated on their opponents by that of *Phthartolatræ* (servants of the corruptible).[e] Justinian, in his extreme old age, fell into the opinions of Julian—probably through the influence of Theodore Ascidas.[f] He published an edict asserting the Aphthartodocetic doctrine, and required all bishops to subscribe it. Eutychius of

Jan. 565.

[z] Pagi in Bar. x. 155. It had before been exercised by the Gothic kings. Ibid.

[a] Baron. 555. 10; Fleury, xxxiii. 52, 55; Gibbon, iv. 367; Schröckh, xvi. 230-1.

[b] Baron. 556. 1-9, 12-5.

[c] Until 698 or 701. Baron. 556. 116; Fleury, xxxiii. 54-6; Walch, viii. 374-400, 449; Schröckh, xvii. 232-3; xviii. 605-6; Neander, iv. 266; Gieseler, I. ii. 410.

[d] Walch, viii. 568.

[e] Fleury, xxxii. 31; xxxiv. 8; Mosh. ii. 57; Schröckh, xviii. 610, 648-650.

[f] Baron, 564. 6.

Constantinople refused, saying that it reduced the whole Incarnation to a mere appearance; and he was expelled.[g] Most of the eastern bishops said that they would follow Anastasius of Antioch, whose character was held in general estimation; and this bishop strongly maintained, with arguments from Scripture and the belief of the Church, that in all blameless affections the Saviour's body was like to ours.[h] Anastasius was preparing for deprivation, and had composed a farewell letter to his flock, when the proceedings against the orthodox were brought to an end by the death of the emperor, at the age of eighty.[i] Nov. 14, 565.

[g] Baron. 563: 564. 5, 11; Pagi in Bar. x. 214-5. He was restored in 577, on the death of John, who had been put into his place. Baron. 578. 6, with Pagi's notes. [h] Baron. 563. 9-11.

[i] Evagr. iv. 40-1; Fleury, xxxiv. 8, 10; Walch, viii. 590-9, 600-4; Schröckh, xviii. 612-3; Neander, iv. 267-8. Mansi (in Bar. x. 232) contends that 566 was the year of Justinian's death. Theodora had died in 548.

CHAPTER XIII.

Semipelagianism.—Monophysitism.—Extinction of Arianism in the West.—Missions.

I.

It has been mentioned that the Semipelagian opinions became popular in Gaul, and that Prosper was their chief opponent.[a] A.D. 431. He applied for a condemnation of them to Celestine, bishop of Rome, who thereupon wrote a letter to the Gaulish bishops, censuring such persons as pursued unprofitable inquiries and introduced novelties of doctrine. These expressions, however, were capable of more than one application, and the Semipelagians did not fail to turn them against the advocates of the Augustinian system.[b] The abbey of Lerins was a chief stronghold of Semipelagianism. Vincent, a celebrated monk of that society, was perhaps the author of a direct attack on the doctrines of Augustine;[c] it has even been supposed that his A.D. 434. "Commonitory," which came to be regarded as the very standard of orthodoxy, was written with a covert intention of proscribing them by its well-known tests of truth—universality, antiquity, and consent.[d]

Having failed to effect the suppression of Semipelagianism by authority, Prosper vigorously combated it with his pen. Both he and those who followed him on the same side, were careful to mitigate such parts of the Augustinian system as were or seemed to be subversive of the obligation to religious living, or inconsistent with the ideas of the Divine love and justice.[e] Some of these points he attempted to exempt from discussion by referring them to the "secret things of God." God (he said) has chosen the whole

[a] Page 390.

[b] Tillem. xvi. 16; Walch, v. 73-5, 87; Schröckh, xviii. 136; Neander, iv. 386.

[c] Dupin, iv. 172; Schröckh. xviii. 20.

[d] See Dupin, iv. 172; Walch. v. 80-1, 147-9; Schröckh. xviii. 38; Neander, iv. 387. Baronius vehemently contends (431. 189) that the author of the *Commonitorium* was not the same with the Semipelagian Vincent. But Pagi (in Bar. vii. 472-3) owns the identity, and salves the memory of Vincent by supposing that he, like Cassian (see below, p. 489) died religiously. Tillemont will not give a decided opinion, but clearly believes the identity, xv. 114, 861-2. See n. in Fleury, iii. 170.

[e] Dupin, iv. 188.

world out of the whole world; all men are adopted to be His children out of all mankind. Every one who is rightly baptised receives forgiveness both of original and of actual sin; if such persons afterwards fall away to unbelief or ungodliness, they are condemned, not through an irrespective reprobation, but because God foresaw that they would abuse their free-will. Predestination relates to such things only as are of God, and sin is not among these; we must not therefore say that He predestinated to *sin* but to *punishment*.[f]

Semipelagianism still continued to prevail in Gaul. One of its most eminent champions was Faustus, a native of Britain or of Brittany,[g] who at the date of Vincent's "Commonitory" was abbot of Lerins, and in 456[h] was raised to the bishopric of Riez. He was famous for strictness of life, and for a power of eloquence which his celebrated contemporary, Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont, extols in hyperbolical terms.[i] After having vainly endeavoured to convince a presbyter named Lucidus, who held extreme predestinarian opinions,[k] Faustus, about the year 475, brought him before a synod held at Arles. Lucidus was obliged to retract many of his doctrines, and to acknowledge that both grace and human exertion are requisite for obedience to the Divine will.[l] The synod commissioned Faustus to write a confutation of the errors of Lucidus and his party, and another synod, held at Lyons, requested him to make some additions to the work,[m] which thus had an appearance of sanction from the Church of Gaul.[n] It opens with a refutation of the grosser tenets of Pelagianism, and then attacks the Augustinian system, which the writer charges with Antinomianism.[o] Faustus, who had been banished by the Arian Euric, in 481, but recovered his see on

[f] Walch, v. 183; Schröckh, xviii. 132-6; Neander, iv. 390-1; Gieseler, I. ii. 378-9.

[g] Dupin (iv. 242) inclines to follow Ussher in making him a Briton.

[h] Or 462.

[i] Tillem. xvi. 409, 414-6; Walch, v. 92; Schröckh, xviii. 20, 144-5.

[k] In the time of the Jansenistic controversy, it was disputed whether a distinct sect of *Predestinarians* existed in ancient times. (See Tillem. xvi. 19; Dupin, iv. 245-8; Walch, v. 103.) It seems to be now agreed that there was no such sect, but that the Augustinian views were no doubt often carried out to extravagance. (Walch, v. 280-4.) The *Prædestinatus*, a treatise of the time, contains in its second book what seems to be the system of such a party. Neander (iv. 397-8) strongly argues that this second book is a genuine work of an ultra-Augustinian,—not an embodiment of the opinions of such persons by the writer who has inserted it in his work.

[l] Hardouin, ii. 807-810; Dupin, iv. 244.

[m] Walch, v. 105-9; Schröckh, xviii. 149.

[n] Tillemont is very anxious to lessen the amount of this sanction, xvi. 424-5.

[o] Schröckh, xviii. 149-152; Neander, iv. 492-4; Gieseler, I. ii. 377.

that prince's death (484), died about 491-3, at a very advanced age.[p] Avitus, bishop of Vienne, Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, and Claudianus Mamertus, a presbyter of that city, wrote against him;[q] and soon after his death he was condemned by Gelasius in a decretal epistle.[r] His book after a time found its way to Constantinople, where it excited much commotion among the community of *Scythian* monks. These were already in correspondence with the West on a question which had arisen—"whether One of the Trinity suffered?"[s] They applied to Hormisdas, bishop of Rome, for a condemnation of Faustus; and, as his decree was not strong enough to satisfy their zeal, their envoys at Rome referred the matter to the orthodox bishops of Africa who had been banished into Sardinia by the tyranny of the Vandals.[t] One of these, Fulgentius, of Ruspe,[u] took up the question after his recall from exile by Hilderic, and set forth the Augustinian doctrines in a mitigated form, carefully guarding against the possible abuses of them.[x] Cæsarius—who held the see of Arles from 501 to 542, and was revered for the wisdom and charity which he displayed in the trying circumstances of his age and country[y]—procured a condemnation of the Semipelagian tenets by the French bishops in a synod held at Orange in 529.[z] In this judgment all that might startle or shock in the predestinarian doctrine was carefully avoided. The opinion of a predestination to sin and condemnation was rejected with abhorrence, and with the expression of a doubt whether it were really entertained by any one. And it was laid down that sufficient grace is bestowed on all the baptised—a doctrine incompatible with the notions of irresistible grace and absolute decrees.[a] The decisions of Orange were soon after affirmed by another council at Valence, and in the year following were ratified by Boniface II.[b] Thus, in so far as formal condemnation could reach, Semipelagianism was suppressed in the West. But the

A.D. 520-3.

A.D. 530.

[p] Tillem. xvi. 438; Schröckh, 145.

[q] Walch, v. 112; Schröckh, xviii. 153.

[r] On the question whether it was specially aimed against the Semipelagianism of Faustus, or against some strange opinions which he held on the materiality of the soul and other subjects, see Walch, v. 112; Guizot, i. 395-404.

[s] See p. 463; Baron. 519. 99, seqq.; Fleury, xxi. 54.

[t] Sup. p. 460; Pagi in Bar. ix. 275, 313.

[u] See p. 460.

[x] Pagi in Bar. ix. 333; Walch, v. 117-132; Schröckh, xviii. 157; Neander, iv. 406; Gieseler, I. ii. 380-1.

[y] See Schröckh, xvii. 408, seqq.; Neander, Memorials, 347-375; Guizot, Civilis. in France, Lect. xvi.

[z] Tillem. xvi. 426; Walch, v. 130-6; Neander, iv. 405; Mem. 366-7; Guericke, i. 521.

[a] Schröckh, xviii. 160-1; Gieseler, I. ii. 381.

[b] Pagi in Bar. ix. 416; Walch, v. 136-7.

"Conferences" of its founder maintained their popularity—especially in the monasteries,—and the opinions of Cassian were often held where those of Augustine were professed.[c]

II.

Monophysitism, when discountenanced by the emperors, continued to exist in countries beyond their dominions, and also among the populations of Syria and Egypt.

The Armenians had been under the Persian yoke since the year 369.[d] After long resistance to attempts at enforcing the Magian religion on them, they had been allowed to preserve their Christianity. But they were still liable to persecution; and whereas a community of religion had formerly obtained for them the alliance of the Romans, they found that a Christianity different from that authorised by the emperors was a recommendation to the favour of their new masters. Interest, therefore, concurred with other motives in leading them to the adoption of a Monophysite creed. At the synod of Thwin, which by some writers is placed in 536, and by others in 595,[e] the Armenian Church condemned the council of Chalcedon, and to this day it holds the Aphthartodocetic doctrine[f] as to the body of our Lord.[g]

In Syria, where the Monophysite bishops and clergy had been removed by exile, imprisonment, and other means, a monk named Jacob undertook the enterprise of preserving his party from extinction. He received from some Monophysite prelates who were imprisoned at Constantinople consecration as bishop of Edessa, with a commission of general superintendence over the interests of their cause throughout the East.[h] In the dress of a beggar, from which he derived the name of *Al Baradai* (the ragged), he travelled indefatigably over Syria and Mesopotamia—secretly reviving the zeal of the Monophysites, organizing them into a com-

[c] Tillem. xiv. 181; Walch, v. 44, 155-6; Gieseler, I. ii. 128, 379. Pagi (in Baron. vii. 459; comp. ix. 402) states that Cassian, as his opinions had not been condemned during his lifetime, died with the reputation of sanctity; that Gregory the Great styles him *Saint*; and that his memory continued to be honoured at Marseilles. The controversy was, on the whole, carried on with unusual moderation. As the Semipelagians abstained from attacking St. Augustine by name, so their own names were spared by the councils which condemned their opinions. Faustus, it is said, continues even to this day to be revered as a saint in Provence. Tillem. xv. 434-5; Walch, v. 93-4; Gieseler, I. ii. 381.

[d] Gibbon, ii. 432.

[e] Walch, viii. 480. Gieseler says that the later date agrees with the result of recent inquiries, I. ii. 376.

[f] See p. 484.

[g] Gibbon, iv. 385-6; Neander, iii. 161; iv. 271-2; Gieseler, I. ii. 375-6.

[h] The date is variously given—541, 545, 551. See Mosh. ii. 56, n.; Walch, viii. 481-491; Schröckh, xviii. 632; Neander, iv. 272; Gieseler, I. ii. 376.

bined body, and ordaining bishops and clergy for them. At his death, in 578, he left a large and flourishing communion, headed by a patriarch who laid claim to the throne of Antioch; and, although much diminished in importance, it still continues to exist. From Jacob al Baradai the Monophysites of other countries, as well as of those in which he had laboured, derived the name of *Jacobites*.[l]

In Egypt, the possession of the see of Alexandria was furiously contested between the Monophysite parties of Cor-
A.D. 537-8. ruptibilists and Incorruptibilists. The government supported the Corruptibilist Theodosius, but, after having given him the victory over his rival, Gaian, set him aside in favour of an orthodox monk named Paul. The Catholic patriarch obtained possession of the establishment, but the monks in general and the mass of the people were Monophysites. The Catholics were styled by their opponents *Melchites* (imperialists); and an excited feeling of nationality was enlisted against the council of Chalcedon. In the course of these Alexandrian contests a great part of the city was burnt down, and they were attended by enormous bloodshed. It is said that at the installation of Apollinarius, in 550, two hundred thousand persons were slain in one day;—a statement which, although doubtless exaggerated, must have had some frightful truth for its foundation.[k] These discords paved the way for the Saracen conquests of the following century. The daughter church of Abyssinia adopted the Monophysitism of Egypt, and Nubia was converted from heathenism by Monophysite missionaries.[l]

III.

The history of the East during the quarter of a century which followed the death of Justinian does not require to be here specially noticed. During the reign of his successor Justin II.,
A.D. 568. Alboin, king of the Lombards, descended on Italy with a host of adventurers from many nations and professing a variety of religions — Heathenism, Arianism, and Catholic Christianity.[m] The exarch, Narses, who had been affronted by the emperor and superseded in his government, is believed to have shared in inviting the Lombards, and, although he returned to his allegiance, death soon removed him from the

[l] Schröckh, xviii. 632-3; Gibbon, iv. 382-3.
[k] Gibbon, iv. 389-390.
[l] Walch, viii. 478; Gibbon, iv. 391-2; Neander, iv. 271; Gieseler, I. ii. 439.
[m] Gibbon, iv. 246-9.

path of the invaders. Justinian was obliged to yield to them the north of Italy and a part of the centre; Pavia became the Lombard capital. Arianism, which had been extirpated from Italy by the arms of Belisarius and Narses, was again introduced by the new conquerors; and it was among them that it remained latest as a national faith.[n]

In Gaul it had given way to the progress of the Frankish power. Clovis slew a considerable number of Arians on account of their heresy.[o] Sigismund, king of the Burgundians, who had become a convert to the Catholic doctrine before his accession in 517, endeavoured, under the prudent guidance of Avitus, bishop of Vienne, to draw his subjects over after him; but among the Burgundians, as elsewhere, it was by the victory of the Franks that the heresy was suppressed.[p] When the A.D. 534. Gothic garrisons were withdrawn from the north of the Alps to encounter Belisarius in Italy, the Goths ceded Provence to the Franks; the cession was afterwards confirmed by Justinian, and thus Arianism was expelled from that region.

In Spain the Suevi, under Theodomir, returned to the Catholic faith about a century from the time when their forefathers abandoned it.[q] A.D. 559-569.

Amalaric, grandson of the great Theodoric, had succeeded to the Visigothic dominions in Spain, and in Gaul westward of the Rhone.[r] He married Clotilda, a daughter of Clovis, and endeavoured, by very violent means, to convert her to Arianism. Her brother Childebert, roused to indignation by receiving from her a handkerchief stained with her blood, as a proof of the treatment to which she was subjected by her husband, made war on him, defeated, and killed him. Theudis, who was A.D. 531. chosen to succeed Amalaric, allowed his Catholic subjects a free toleration, with the liberty of holding synods; and the same policy was followed by his successors, until the latter part of Leovigild's reign.[s] Hermenegild, son of this prince, married a daughter of Sigebert, king of the Austrasian Franks, by the celebrated Brunehaut. Leovigild's queen, Goswintha, who was grandmother to the young princess as well as stepmother to her husband, exercised great cruelty towards her in the attempt to seduce her from the orthodox faith. Hermenegild was sent away

[n] Gibbon, iv. 259-261; Schröckh, xviii. 129-130; Gieseler, I. ii. 441.
[o] Revillout, 168.
[p] Schröckh, xviii. 121; Gieseler, I. ii. 441; Revillout, 199-217.
[q] Baron. 560. 6-13; Schröckh, xviii. 85-9; Gieseler, I. ii. 441.
[r] Sismondi, 1. 256-7; Revillout, 175.
[s] Schröckh, xviii. 76; Revillout, 177.

from the court, and was soon after induced, by the persuasions of his wife, and of Leander, bishop of Seville, to become a Catholic —a step which offended Leovigild, not only on religious grounds, but because there was room for apprehending political danger from the connexion into which the prince was thus brought with the Catholic portion of his father's subjects. Hermenegild was consequently deprived of his share in the government. Supported by foreign princes of his new communion, he rebelled against his father, but the rebellion was suppressed, and Hermenegild, as he firmly refused to return to Arianism, and gave Leovigild reason to apprehend a renewal of his insurrection, was put to death.[t] Leovigild had been provoked by his son's conduct to exercise severities against the Catholics. One of their bishops had apostatized and had submitted to rebaptism; but the king, wishing to facilitate conversion to his heresy, had prevailed on an Arian council to recognise the baptism of the Church.[u] After the death of Hermenegild, he subdued the Suevi and united their kingdom to his own; and both in the old and in the new portions of his dominions the Catholics were under persecution until his death in 586.[x] His son and successor, Recared, avowed himself a Catholic—the persuasives to his change of belief being, as in many other cases of this age, partly of a miraculous kind. Conspiracies were set on foot against him by the widowed queen Goswintha, and others of the Arian party; but he succeeded in suppressing them; and a synod of seventy bishops, held at Toledo in 589, established the Catholic faith among his people.[y] Thus, at the end of the period embraced in this volume, the Lombards were the only nation who continued to adhere to Arianism.

A.D. 577-585.

IV.

The reigns of Justin the elder and Justinian witnessed the conversion of the Lazi, in Colchis, who thereupon forsook the Persian for the Roman alliance;[z] of the Abasgi, near Mount Caucasus,[a] and of the fierce nation of the Heruli, who had been allowed to

[t] Baron. 586. 32-3; Pagi in Bar. x. 395; Gibbon, iii. 374-6; Lembke, i. 68-72; Revillout, 235-6, 245.

[u] Pagi in Bar. x. 385; Lembke, i. 69-70; Revillout, 238-9.

[x] Pagi in Bar. x. 405; Revillout, 244.

[y] It was this Council that first inserted the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son in the Creed. Hardouin, iii. 472; Baron. 589. 9-45; Gibbon, iii. 376-7; Schröckh, xviii. 77-9, 82-3; Guericke, i. 441; Lembke, i. 78-87; Revillout, 250-4.

[z] Evagr. iv. 22; Fleury, xxxiii. 7; Mosh. ii. 3-4; Gibbon. iv. 106; Schröckh, xvi. 291; Neander, iii. 163; Gieseler, I. ii. 436.

[a] Neander, iii. 164.

cross the Danube in the time of Anastasius.[b] The wild tribes about the river Don were also visited by missionaries.[c] A powerful impression was made on the nomads of the East by Symeon the Stylite and other ascetics whom they met with in the course of their wandering life; one Saracen chief, Aspebethos by name, was not only converted, but was consecrated to exercise a superintendence over his own and other tribes, under the title of "Bishop of the Camps."[d]

In some quarters the Catholics contended with the new sects in missionary labour; but in the further countries of the East, the heretics were the more active. In the sixth century the Nestorian school of Nisibis was the only regular institution for the training of clergy. The Nestorians, driven from the empire, strengthened the kingdom of Persia by their emigration; their religious hostility to the Christianity of the emperors secured for them the countenance of the Persian monarchs; and Nestorianism was established as the only form of Christianity to be tolerated in Persia—thousands of Catholics and Monophysites being slain for refusing to conform to it.[e] Persian missionaries penetrated even into China, from which country two of them, in the reign of Justinian, introduced the silkworm into the Greek empire.[f] Cosmas, a Nestorian of Egypt—originally a merchant and afterwards a monk, who from his expeditions into the east is known by the name of *Indicopleustes* (the Voyager to the Indies),—found Christians of his own communion in Ceylon, in Malabar, and elsewhere on the Indian coasts.[g] Nestorianism had accompanied the Persian commerce into those regions; it does not, however, appear in how far the natives had been converted.[h] From the Nestorians, whom Cosmas visited, are descended the "Christians of St. Thomas," who became known to European travellers in later times.[i]

There were religious wars between the Homerites and the Abyssinians; but the accounts of them are much embarrassed by inconsistencies and other difficulties.[k]

[b] Evagr. iv. 30; Schröckh, xvi. 292.

[c] Evagr. iv. 33.

[d] Evagr. vi. 22; Neander, iii. 167; Guericke, i. 347. He took the name of Peter, and sat in the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. Fleury, xxiv. 27; xxv. 34.

[e] Gibbon, iv. 374-6; Schröckh, xvi. 297; Neander, iii. 260; Gieseler, I. ii. 436-8.

[f] Gibbon, iii. 508.

[g] Cosmas travelled about 522, and published his work about 547. Gibbon, iii. 376; Gieseler, I. ii. 385.

[h] Gibbon, iii. 508; Neander, iii. 165.

[i] See p. 2; Gieseler, I. ii. 437.

[k] See Baron. 522, 523, and Pagi's notes; Fleury, xxxiii. 7; Schröckh, xvi. 293-6; xviii. 550; Gieseler, I. ii. 438-9; Neander, iii. 170-1.

In the West, the conquests of the Franks extended Christianity wherever they penetrated, and revived that which had been before planted in some districts—as, for example, along the Rhine.[l]

The religion of the western converts was too generally tainted both by their own barbarism and by the corruption of the worn-out nations with whose civilization they were brought into contact.[m] Much of heathen superstition lingered in combination with Christianity; Gregory of Tours reports it as a popular saying, that "it is no harm if one who has to pass between heathen altars and God's church should pay his respects to both."[n] Much vice was tolerated by the clergy, who, although their condition was highly prosperous, did not as yet feel themselves strong enough to check the passions of the powerful.[o] The fate of Prætextatus, bishop of Rouen, who, in consequence of having offended the notorious Fredegonde, was stabbed in his cathedral at high mass on Easter-day,[p] was a warning to such of his brethren as might be inclined to take a bolder line. The depravity of the Frankish princes, in particular, was frightful—perhaps even unparalleled in the records of history;[q] and the tone of the bishop of Tours in describing such characters affords abundant proof that his own ideas were far from any high Christian standard.[r] The evangelical idea of forgiveness for sin was abused to sanction licentiousness and atrocity.[s] Fredegonde, in hiring two priests to assassinate Sigebert, assured them that if they lived she would highly honour them, but if they perished in their attempt, she would give largely in alms for them.[t] Murderers were allowed to take sanctuary in churches, and might not be dragged out without an oath for the safety of their lives.[u] Pretended miracles were wrought in vast numbers for the purpose of imposing on the credulous.[x] There was a natural tendency to rely on mere rites and outward pomp of worship; yet good men, such as Cæsarius of Arles, were never wanting to assert the necessity of a real living faith and a thoroughly religious practice;[y] and throughout all the evils of the time the beneficial effects of the Gospel are to be traced in legislation.[z]

A.D. 586.

While the British Church was pent up in the mountains, and

[l] Schröckh, xvi. 258-260.
[m] Gieseler, I. ii. 449-450.
[n] Gieseler, I. ii. 454.
[o] Sismondi, i. 308.
[p] Pagi in Bar. x.460: Sismondi, i. 388.
[q] Hallam, Middle Ages, i. 4, and Addit. Notes, 15; Löbell, 21-33, 99.
[r] See Gieseler, I. ii. 452-3.
[s] Gieseler, I. ii. 450.
[t] Löbell, 52; Gieseler, I. ii. 451-2.
[u] Schröckh, xvi. 255.
[x] Gieseler, I. ii. 451-2.
[y] Neander, Mem. 345, seqq
[z] Schröckh, xvi. 255-8.

Saxon heathenism filled the land, the Church of Ireland was in a very flourishing condition.[a] Columba, an Irish abbot, after founding a monastery in his own country, passed into Scotland with twelve companions, about the year 565.[b] He converted Brud, king of the Northern Picts, and established in the island of Hy—afterwards called from him *Icolm*kill or Iona[c]—a monastery which was long famous as a seat of religion and learning, the nursery of clergy whose labours extended, not only over Scotland, but far into the southern division of the island. The abbots of Icolmkill were at the head of a great society which had its monasteries both in Scotland and Ireland; and, out of respect for the memory of the founder, who had himself been only a presbyter, even the bishops of the district, by what Bede terms "an unusual arrangement,"[d] were in some respects subject to them. Columba laboured as a missionary for more than thirty years. His death is variously dated—in 597, 599, and 603.

The British Churches, in consequence of their remoteness and of the want of communication with Rome, retained some peculiarities which afterwards became subjects of controversy.[e] Among these was the time of observing Easter. Although, like the Quartodecimans of Asia, they professed to derive their practice from St. John, they were not Quartodecimans, inasmuch as they always celebrated the festival on a Sunday.[f] It would seem, in truth, that they adhered to the earlier cycle of the Roman Church, which had in the mean time been superseded by other and more accurate calculations.[g]

[a] Gieseler, I. ii. 457-8; Neander, v. 12.

[b] This is Bede's date. Ussher places the mission two years earlier. See Pagi and Mansi in Bar. x. 243; Collier, i. 141.

[c] *Iona* is said—but surely with great improbability—to be derived from the Hebrew *yonah*, a dove (*Columba*).

[d] "Ordine inusitato" (Bed. iii. 4). From this Presbyterian writers have eagerly inferred that the early Scottish Church differed in its polity from the rest of the Christian world—including the Church from which St. Columba came forth; and they have sought to convert Icolmkill into a precedent for their own system. For a refutation of their arguments, see Collier, i. 142-3; Skinner, i. 97, seqq.; Russell, i. 15-44. It appears evident, without the necessity of argument, that, if the bishops existed at all—which is a part of Bede's statement—the "unusual arrangement" by which they were subjected to the abbots of Icolmkill, must have related, not to the strictly spiritual part of their functions, but to some matters of jurisdiction and regulation which did not touch the essence of the episcopate.

[e] Gieseler, I. ii. 458-9.

[f] Beda, iii. 4; Russell, i. 48-50. It is on a mistaken notion of their having been Quartodecimans that the idea of referring the British churches to an eastern origin chiefly rests. Gieseler, I. ii. 460.

[g] Those of Victorinus of Aquitaine, A.D. 457, and of Dionysius Exiguus, A.D. 525. Gieseler, I. ii. 459; Skinner, i. 110-4. See note in Fleury, iii. 326-330.

CHAPTER XIV.

Supplementary.

I. *The Patriarchal Sees.—Relations with the State.*

During the period between the Council of Chalcedon and the end of the sixth century, the influence of Alexandria and of Antioch declined. Such was the natural result of the differences by which the Churches were distracted—with the frequent and bloody conflicts of their factions—the forcible expulsions and installations of bishops, who, instead of being shepherds over the whole community, could only be the chiefs of parties—and the variations of doctrine and policy between the successive occupants of the sees.[a] In the meanwhile, Constantinople was advancing in authority and importance. The Council of Chalcedon had conferred on it a right of receiving appeals from bishops or clerks against their metropolitans. The patriarchs of Constantinople, by the help of Zeno, finally reduced the exarchate of Ephesus to subjection. The deprivations at Alexandria and Antioch gave them repeated opportunities of exercising an apparent superiority over those elder churches by consecrating patriarchs for them and otherwise interfering in their concerns.[b] The argument for the precedence of Rome, in so far as it was founded on the dignity of the ancient capital—(the only foundation of it which the East had ever acknowledged)—fell with the Western Empire. It has been supposed that Acacius conceived the idea of raising his see above Rome;[c] and it seems at least probable that Constantinople might have successfully rivalled the power of the great Western Church, had not its bishops been placed at a disadvantage in consequence of their dependence on the court, and weakened by their quarrels with the emperors.

The bishops of Rome, as before, pursued in the main a steady course; they were on the orthodox and victorious side in the con-

[a] Gieseler, I. ii. 396.
[b] Can. Chalc. ix., xvii.; Schröckh, xvii. 178, after Baron. 472-5.
[c] Schröckh, xvii. 41-2; Wiltsch, i. 143.

troversies of the time. Thus their reputation and influence grew. They were invoked and courted by the various parties in the Eastern disputes; even the emperors found their account in flattering the bishops of Rome, and using them as a check on the patriarchs of Constantinople.[d] The wealth of the Roman see was increased by the acquisition of great estates, not only in Italy, but in Gaul, Spain, Africa, and even in Asia. And hence, in addition to gaining the natural influence of wealth, the bishops were able, by means of the agents employed in the management of their lands, to keep a watchful eye on the ecclesiastical affairs of distant provinces, and to exercise a frequent interference in them.[e] Even the heresy of the barbarians who overran the West was in its effect favourable to the power of the Roman see, inasmuch as, by everywhere presenting the same enemy, it tended to force the Catholics into combination and centralization, and prevented the breaking up of the Church into separate nationalities.[f]

In Italy, the title of *Pope* was now usually appropriated to the bishop of Rome, although in other countries of the West it continued to be bestowed on bishops in general until the time of Gregory VII. In the East it was commonly restricted to the bishops of Rome and Alexandria.[g] More sounding titles, such as that of *Universal Bishop*, were sometimes applied to the bishops of Rome, chiefly by persons whose interest it was to flatter them; the first instance of this kind was at the Council of Chalcedon, where the Alexandrian complainants against Dioscorus, wishing to enlist the Roman legates in their cause, styled Leo "Ecumenical Archbishop, and Patriarch of the great Rome."[h] But such titles—originating in the prevailing *Oriental* inflation of language—were not intended to be understood in that *exclusive* sense which the words might naturally convey to our minds. Thus the style of "Ecumenical Patriarch" was assumed by the bishops of Constantinople, who yet made no pretensions to dominion over the Western Church.[i] And it was not supposed that there was any incompatibility between the titles, when, at the council under Mennas, in 536, the bishop of Constantinople was called "Ecumenical Archbishop and Patriarch," and the bishop of Rome "Archbishop of Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch;"[k] or when

[d] Schröckh, xviii. 477; Planck, i. 652, 669, 670; Gieseler, I. ii. 400.
[e] Planck, i. 629-632.
[f] Revillout, 394.
[g] Schröckh, xvii. 23-5; Giesoler, I. ii. 228, 405.
[h] Tillem. xiv. 661; Schröckh, xvii. 53; Planck, i. 657.
[i] Bingham, II. xvii. 21; Schröckh, xvii. 54-6. Schröckh shows (p. 55) that the Constantinopolitan use of the title arose from the restricted sense of οἰκουμένη.
[k] Schröckh, xvii. 55.

Justinian addressed each of them as "Head of all the Churches."[l]

The Roman bishops extended their claims of jurisdiction—sometimes resting them on canons and imperial edicts, but more frequently on privileges alleged to be derived from St. Peter—with whom, however, St. Paul, the companion of his martyrdom, and Apostle of the Gentiles, was still joined as having contributed to the foundation of the claim.[m]

In the West, disputes which arose between bishops as to precedence and jurisdiction occasioned a frequent recourse to Rome, and advanced the idea of a supreme jurisdiction in that see—the more so, because the contending parties were often subjects of different governments.[n] A like effect followed from the applications which churches became accustomed to make to Rome in cases of difficulty. These drew forth decretal epistles by way of answer; the applicants were glad to be assured that the substance of such answers was of apostolical tradition and of universal authority; and the pope came to be regarded as a general dictator in matters of this kind.[o] In the beginning of the sixth century, Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman monk, made a collection of canons of the general and of the chief provincial councils, translating those which were in Greek, and including with them the decretal epistles of the Roman bishops, from Siricius downwards. The work became a standard of ecclesiastical law in the West; and it contributed largely to advance the authority of the see whose decisions and advices were thus apparently placed on a level with the decrees of councils.[p]

Although, however, the Roman bishops not only became the highest judges of ecclesiastical matters in the West, but also claimed a right of watching over the faith of the whole Church, the idea of a proper *supremacy*, such as that which was asserted in later times, was as yet unknown.[q] The bishops of Rome still admitted those of the other great *apostolical* churches—Alexandria and Antioch—to be of the same grade as themselves.[r] They did not pretend to be of a superior *order* to other bishops;

[l] See Planck, i. 653-4; Schröckh, xvii. 42.

[m] Fulgentius, ap. Baron. 519. 115; Schröckh, xvii, 183-4; Planck, i. 663-5; Gieseler, I. ii. 401-2.

[n] Guizot, ii. 48-9.

[o] Schröckh, xvii. 17; Planck, i. 658-660; Guizot, i. 329.

[p] Dupin, v. 62; Schröckh, xvii. 379-386; Planck, i. 701-2; Neander, iii. 252-3; Walter, 164. Dionysius is also memorable as the inventor of the paschal cycle mentioned p. 495; and as the author of dating from the Christian era. Pagi in Baron. ix. 383; Schröckh, xvi. 176, 178.

[q] Planck, i. 665-7; Gieseler, I. ii. 401.

[r] Gieseler, I. ii. 405.

nor did they claim a right of interfering with any diocese, except in case of the bishop's misconduct.[s]

The relations of the Roman bishops with the civil power varied according to the political changes of the times. When the election of a successor to Simplicius was going on, A.D. 483. Basil, an officer of Odoacer, appeared, and, in his master's name, professed surprise that such a matter had been undertaken without obtaining the royal license; he also proposed a regulation that no bishop of Rome should alienate any property belonging to the see, on pain of excommunication for himself and the purchaser. The result is not recorded; but there can hardly be a reasonable doubt that the barbarian king's emissary had an important influence on the choice of the new bishop.[t]

Theodoric, in the earlier part of his reign, allowed the Church a great liberty of self-regulation—considering that the schism between Rome and Constantinople secured him against any danger from correspondence between the clergy of his own dominions and their eastern brethren.[u] On the death of Anastasius, A.D. 498. a violent contest for the pontificate took place between Symmachus and Laurence. The Arian king did not interfere until the matter was brought before him by the parties;[x] he then decided that the see should belong to that bishop who had been first consecrated and had the larger party.[y] Symmachus was consequently established. In 502, this bishop held a synod, by which the interference of Basil at the election after the death of Simplicius was indignantly reprobated as an unwarrantable encroachment on the part of the laity. Theodoric allowed the censure to pass without notice—being, probably, not unwilling to permit an attack on the memory of his rival, even at the expense of failing to assert the claims of the crown.[z] In the following year, at the request of the partisans of Laurence, who had again made head, Theodoric appointed the bishop of Altino *visitor* of the Roman Church. The visitor behaved (it is said) in an arbitrary and grossly partial manner, so as greatly to irritate the adherents of Symmachus. For the investigation of some serious charges which had been brought against Sym-

[s] Planck, i. 668; Gieseler, I. ii. 405-6.

[t] See Tillem. xvi. 338; Schröckh, xvii. 179-181.

[u] Gieseler, I. ii. 398.

[x] "Id quidem," says Baronius, "suasit impulitque importuna et malesuada necessitas, legum inscia."

[y] Baron. 498. 4-5; Mosh. ii. 20; Schröckh, xvii. 195-6; Gieseler, I. ii. 399.

[z] Schröckh, xvii. 180, 209; Gieseler, I. ii. 398-400.

machus, Theodoric summoned a council of bishops from all parts of Italy, which, from its place of meeting, is known as the *Palm* synod;[a] and this assembly, after severely censuring the late appointment of a visitor as an unwarranted novelty, pronounced Symmachus innocent, in so far as man's decision was concerned, and declared that, on account of certain specified difficulties, the case was left to the Divine judgment alone.[b] The proposition which has been erroneously inferred from this - that the pope was *exempt* from all earthly judgment — was soon after maintained by Ennodius, bishop of Ticinum (Pavia), a partisan of Symmachus; and for the confirmation of the new pretension, acts of earlier popes were forged in a spirit utterly contradictory of genuine older documents, such as the letters of the Roman clergy in the time of Gratian.[c]

A.D. 503.

On the renewal of intercourse between Rome and Constantinople, Theodoric began to watch the Church with a jealousy very opposite to his earlier policy. The mission of John, with its consequences, has been related in a former chapter.[d] Theodoric nominated the next pope, Felix IV., and other Gothic kings controlled the election of the succeeding popes.[e]

A.D. 526.

Justinian, in his eastern dominions, aimed at reducing the bishops to a greater dependence on the court, and, as this policy was accompanied by professions of great reverence for them, and by an increase of their dignities and privileges in some respects, the Greeks submitted to it without reluctance.[f] The emperor not only interfered much in regulations as to matters of discipline, even the most important,[g] but, as we have seen, he carried out largely the example first set by Basiliscus,[h] of determining points of faith by edicts.[i] His mandates in ecclesiastical matters were published by the agency of patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops, in like manner as his edicts of secular purport were issued through the various grades of lay officials.[k] He attempted, without the sanction of a general council, to erect a sixth patriarchate, by bestowing on the bishop of his native place

A.D. 541.

[a] As to the date, see Baron. 502; Pagi in Baron. ix. 12, and Mansi, ibid.

[b] Hardouin, ii. 967-970; Dupin, v. 154; Schröckh, xvii. 197-201; Hussey, 129-6.

[c] (A.D. 378.) See above, p. 285; Baron. 500. 7; Gieseler, I. ii. 402-4. Symmachus introduced the custom of giving the *pall*, which will be more fully noticed in a later stage of this history. Hussey, 134.

[d] P. 471.

[e] Baron. 526. 22; Mosh. ii. 19; Gibbon, iii. 471; Gieseler, I. ii. 407-8.

[f] Gieseler, I. ii. 395.

[g] See Dupin, v. 55, seqq.

[h] P. 463.

[i] Schröckh, xvi. 27; xvii. 473; Gieseler, I. ii. 396.

[k] Bingham, II. xvii. 18; Gieseler, I. ii. 395.

Justiniana Prima, or Lychnidus (*Achrida*), in Illyricum, a wide jurisdiction, with privileges which were intended to be modelled on those of Rome. But the attempt proved abortive; the new patriarchs never obtained effectual recognition, and soon after the death of Justinian, the bishops of Lychnidus are found among the suffragans of Rome.[l]

On the conquest of Italy, Justinian began to deal with the bishops of Rome as he had dealt with those of Constantinople. He addressed them in flattering titles, and aimed at reducing them to the condition of tools.[m] He made new and stringent regulations as to the confirmation of the pope by the civil power. According to the "Liber Diurnus," which represents the state of things in those days, or shortly after,[n] the death of a Roman bishop was to be notified to the Exarch of Ravenna; the successor was to be chosen by the clergy, the nobles of Rome, the soldiery, and the citizens; and the ratification of it was to be requested in a very submissive form, both of the emperor and of his deputy the exarch.[o]

The proceedings of Vigilius in the controversy as to the Three Articles—the humiliations which he endured—his vacillations, so utterly contradictory of the later Roman pretensions[p]—tended to lower the dignity and reputation of his see; and it was greatly weakened by the schism of Aquileia and other provinces.[q] On the other hand, the Lombard invasion, in 568, had the effect of increasing the political power of the popes, as they were obliged, in virtue of their extensive property, to take a prominent part in the measures adopted for self-defence by the inhabitants of such portions of Italy as still belonged to the empire.[r]

II. *Position of the Clergy.*

(1.) In the course of the fifth and sixth centuries, a growing opinion as to the obligation of celibacy on the clergy had the effect of separating them more and more widely from other Christians. No General Council ventured to prohibit the marriage of the clergy; that of Chalcedon assumes the existence of prohibitions, but does not itself lay down any such law with a

[l] See Pagi in Bar. x. 151-2; Schröckh, xvii. 45; Wiltsch, i. 119-122.

[m] Schröckh, xvii. 475; Gieseler, I. ii. 408.

[n] Garnier refers it to A.D. 714; but the system which it exhibits is older. See Schröckh, xvii. 233-6.

[o] Schröckh, xvii. 233-7.

[p] The expedient by which Baronius attempts to reconcile these incompatibles has been mentioned p. 483.

[q] Walch, viii. 325 seqq.; Gieseler, I. ii. 409-410.

[r] Gieseler, I. ii. 410-2.

view of binding the whole Church.[s] But local councils were continually occupied with the subject, and the bishops of Rome were steady in advancing the cause of celibacy.[t] The general tendency was to prevent marriage altogether, if possible; to extend the prohibition to the lower grades of the ministry; to debar the married from higher promotion; to prevent such clerks as were allowed to marry once from entering into a second union; to limit their choice to women who had never been married; to separate the married clergy from their wives, or, if they lived together, to restrain them from conjugal intercourse.[u] These regulations were chiefly in the Western Church—a greater liberty being apparently allowed in the East.[x] But, as has been remarked in a former period,[y] the frequency of canons is itself a proof how imperfectly they were able to make way; and very many cases are recorded which show that the enforcement of them was found impracticable, and that a variety of usages in different places was largely tolerated.[z] Thus Lupus, bishop of Troyes, after mentioning the restraints which he placed on the marriage of ostiaries, exorcists, and subdeacons, is obliged to content himself with saying that, as to the higher grades, *to which the canons forbade marriage*, he *tried* to avoid raising to them persons engaged in that state.[a] And a witness of a more unfavourable kind to the resistance which such laws met with, is found in the fact that, in proportion as celibacy was enforced on the clergy, it became the more necessary to enact canons prohibiting them to entertain concubines or other "extraneous" female companions.[b]

The marriage of the clergy is now the subject not only of canons, but of imperial laws. Honorius, in 420,—perhaps at the suggestion of Boniface, bishop of Rome—enacted, in accordance with the Nicene canon, that the clergy should not have as inmates of their houses any women except their own nearest relatives; but it was allowed that such of the clergy as had married before ordination should retain their wives; "for," it was

[s] Schröckh, xvi. 378-9.

[t] Schröckh, viii. 25-6; xvi. 389.

[u] Schröckh, xvi. 379. The widows of the higher clergy were forbidden to marry, on pain of exclusion from communion until on their death-bed. (Conc. Tolet. I. A.D. 400. can. xviii. ap. Hard. i. 992.) Theiner (i. 341, 343) interprets some other canons as ordering that they should not communicate even on their death-bed; but the word used in those canons, *relicta*, evidently means, as the canons of Eliberis (viii-x. ap. Hard. i. 251) show, a wife whom her husband has *forsaken* on a religious ground.

[x] See Soc. v. 22; Planck, 1. 352; Theiner, i. 330, seqq.

[y] P. 291.

[z] Schröckh, xvi. 385-7; Planck, i. 353; ii. 84-6; Theiner, i. 263.

[a] Tillem. xvi. 129; Schröckh, xvi. 381-2.

[b] Schröckh, xvi. 387-9; Theiner, i. 335, 339, 341, 343, 353, 390, 395, &c.

said, "those are not unfitly joined to clerks who have, by their conversation, made their husbands worthy of the priesthood."[c] A century later Justinian, by several enactments, forbade the promotion of persons who had children or grandchildren to bishoprics, confirmed all the ecclesiastical prohibitions of clerical marriage, and declared the issue of such marriages illegitimate, and incapable of inheriting property.[d]

(2.) The privileges of the clergy in general were on the increase.[e] Their immunities were confirmed and enlarged; the tendency of legislation was to encourage the bestowal of riches on the Church, and to secure to it the permanent possession of all that had been acquired.[f] The idea of expiating sin by liberality to the Church was now put forth more broadly than before;[g] it found the readier entrance among the Gothic tribes from the circumstance that the system of compensating for crimes by fines had prevailed among them before their conversion.[h] Laws and canons were often found necessary to check the practice of obtaining ordination or spiritual dignities by money.[i]

The clergy were exempted from the jurisdiction of lay tribunals in cases of slight offence, although it seems to be doubtful how far this exemption practically extended.[k] Honorius, in 407, appointed lay *defenders* (*defensores*) of the Church, whose business it was to watch over its privileges and to maintain its rights, so that the clergy should not be obliged to be personally present in secular courts.[l] Justinian enacted that bishops should not be required to appear in courts as witnesses; certain officers were appointed to wait on them for the purpose of taking their depositions, which were not to be made on oath, but on their mere word, with the gospels lying before them.[m] The bishops were charged with an oversight of prisoners, lunatics, minors, foundlings, and other helpless persons, and were furnished with the powers necessary for the exercise of it.[n] They were also charged with a general supervision of public morals—thus, for example, it was their duty to check the practice of gambling.[o] They were, in

[c] Theiner, i. 261.
[d] Theiner, i. 309-313.
[e] Schröckh, xvi. 337.
[f] Bingham, V. ii.; iv. 6, 9; Baron. 455. 25-8; Schröckh, viii. 15; xvi. 400-4, 409; Planck, i. 288.
[g] As by Salvian, see Schröckh, xvi. 419, seqq.
[h] Schröckh, xvi. 426-7; Gieseler, I. ii. 450.
[i] Baron. 459. 3-8; Tillem. Emp. vi. 403; Schröckh, xvi. 326-7; xvii. 217, 220.
[k] See Planck, i. 304-7.
[l] Schröckh, viii. 13.
[m] Bingham, V. ii. 1.
[n] Schröckh, xvi. 332; Gieseler, I. ii. 393.
[o] Gieseler, I. ii. 393.

conjunction with the civil magistrates, to manage the appointment of the subordinate officers of government, and were to superintend public works, buildings, and establishments, as also the administration of the local revenues.[p] They were to see that the civil prefects did their duty, while these in turn were to take care that the bishops should hold synods regularly, and should not alienate the property of the Church; but, whereas the prefect was not authorised to do more than admonish a bishop of his neglect, and, in case of his persevering in it, to report the matter to the emperor, the bishop had, in some circumstances, a right to supersede the prefect in his functions.[q] The consequence of such regulations was, that the bishops advanced in political influence, and became more entangled in secular business; and that, agreeably to the object of Justinian's policy, they were reduced into a greater dependence on the court by becoming officers of the state.[r]

(3.) The origin of *patronage* in the Church is referred to a law of Justinian, by which it was enacted that any person who should found a church, and should endow it with a maintenance for a clerk, might nominate a person, who should be ordained to it. The bishops—to whom the nomination of clergy had belonged at the first institution of parish churches[s]—were at liberty in such cases to refuse ordination, if the individual presented were unfit.[t]

A.D. 541.

(4.) The power of the clergy in the West survived the system under which it had grown up. During the barbarian invasions, they often stood forward, and with effect, to intercede for their flocks.[u] The conquerors found them established as an important body, and were ready to transfer to them the reverence which they had formerly paid to the priests of their national idolatries.[x] On the settlement of the new kingdoms, the Church mediated between the victorious and the vanquished; it held up before the rude barbarians the idea of a law higher than human—of a moral power superior to force—of a controlling and vindicating Providence.[y] Few of the conquering race were disposed to enter into the ranks of the clergy; their ordination, indeed, was not allowed without the leave of the sovereign, lest the nation should be

[p] Schröckh, xvi. 333; Gieseler, I. ii. 494; Guizot, i. 36-7.
[q] Gieseler, I. ii. 393-4.
[r] Schröckh, xvi. 325, 339-342.
[s] Planck, i. 554-5.
[t] Schröckh, xvi. 408-9.
[u] Löbell, 319.
[x] Mosh. i. 439; Schröckh, xvi. 341; Löbell, i. 319.
[y] Guizot, i. 34, 38; Löbell, 268-270.

deprived of its warriors.[z] The Church, unlike other paths to distinction, was open to the ability of the subjugated people; through it they acquired a powerful influence over their conquerors.[a] The clergy were the sole possessors of learning; they were the agents of civilisation, the reformers of law, the authorized protectors of the weak; they superintended the administration of justice; they were often employed as envoys and peacemakers between princes.[b] Some had the reputation of miracles; others were venerable and formidable as holding the possession of miraculous shrines—such as that of St. Martin, at Tours.[c] Riches flowed in on them; tithes were enforced by canons, and large donations of land were bestowed on them.[d] In order to secure the influence of bishops and abbots, kings endowed their churches and monasteries with lands. To these lands the obligation of military service was attached, and in no long time some of the ecclesiastical holders began to discharge such duties in their own persons.[e] The political importance and landed establishment of the bishops gave them the rank of counsellors to the sovereign; their abilities and knowledge often made them the most influential of counsellors. Hence in France a system of mixed ecclesiastical and secular councils grew up, which for a time superseded the purely spiritual synods.[f] Thus while the bishops gained in secular power, the metropolitan jurisdiction was weakened, and the king came to be regarded as the highest judge in ecclesiastical affairs as well as in others.[g]

The clergy continued under the Frankish monarchy to be governed by the Roman law.[h] As the bishops rose, the other clergy, being of the conquered races, sank in relative position. Ordination, indeed, was regarded as emancipating them; but, while priests to the laity, they were serfs to the bishops. The old relation of the bishop and his council disappears. The prelates treated their subject clergy with great rudeness; canons of the time enact bodily chastisement as the penalty for some ecclesiastical offences, while other canons were found necessary to restrain the bishops from beating their clerks at pleasure. The clergy sometimes attempted to protect themselves by combining

[z] Schröckh, xvi. 343; Guizot, ii. 32; Gieseler, I. ii. 446; Revillout, 169.
[a] Gibbon, iii. 418; Guizot, i. 95.
[b] Schröckh, xvi. 365; Gieseler, I. ii. 447.
[c] Schröckh, xvi. 341; Löbell, 274-288.
[d] Schröckh, xvi. 418, 435-6; Guizot, i. 449.
[e] Guizot, i. 119; Gieseler, I. ii. 443-4.
[f] Schröckh, xvi. 436-7, 439; Gieseler, I. ii. 446; Löbell, 321-3.
[g] Gieseler, I. ii. 446.
[h] Gibbon, iii. 418; Planck, ii. 106-7; Gieseler, I. ii. 443; Walter, 178.

against their superiors; such combinations are repeatedly forbidden by councils.[j]

The rude princes of Gaul often behaved violently in ecclesiastical affairs.[k] The prerogative which Clovis had acquired by his merits towards the Church was extended by his successors.[l] The Fifth Council of Orleans (A.D. 549) enacted that bishops should be appointed "with the king's will, after election by the clergy and people;" but sovereigns frequently took it on themselves to appoint and to depose bishops by their own sole power.[m] The royal patronage in such cases was often obtained by simony or other unworthy means; the change combined with other influences to widen the separation between the bishops and the other clergy.[n] The Frankish princes made many regulations by their own authority in matters concerning religion.[o] The wealth of the clergy soon attracted their cupidity,[p] and they endeavoured to get a part of it into their own hands by heavy taxation or by forcible acts of rapacity; but on such occasions, it is said, the property of the Church was protected by the judicial infliction of sickness, death, or calamity on her assailants; and by tales and threats of such judgments the clergy were often able to ward off aggression.[q]

In Spain, the bishops did not become secularised to the same degree as in France. They had an important share in the appointment to the throne. The Gothic kings from Recared were crowned by bishops.[r] From the time when he and his nobles appeared at the synod of Toledo, for the purpose of arranging the change of religion, mixed councils of clergy and laity, summoned by the sovereign, were frequently held.[s] At the earlier sessions of these, the affairs of the Church were discussed by the bishops and abbots, without the laity; but on the fourth day, the nobles, judges, and others were called in to take a part in the deliberations.[t]

III. *Monasticism.*

Monachism continued to increase in popularity during the fifth and sixth centuries; but when a system founded on a pro-

[j] Planck, ii. 71; Theiner, i. 326-9; Guizot, ii. 54-6; Gieseler, I. ii. 445.
[k] Löbell, 321.
[l] Löbell, 336-350.
[m] Planck, ii. 65-6; Guizot, ii. 30; Gieseler, I. ii. 445.
[n] Guizot, ii. 52; Löbell, 338-9.
[o] Schröckh, xvi. 344-5.
[p] Löbell, 350-1.
[q] Gibbon, iii. 418; Schröckh, xvi. 345, 409-413; Gieseler, I. ii. 444; Löbell, 329.
[r] Lembke, i. 85.
[s] Ibid. i. 198.
[t] Gibbon, iii. 420-2; Schröckh, xvi. 368; Lembke, i. 197, 203. On the clerical influence traceable in the ancient Spanish laws, see Guizot, i. 488.

fession of rigour becomes popular, its corruption may be safely inferred.[u] We have seen how in the controversies of the East the monks held all parties in terror—wielding a vast influence by their numbers and their fanatical fury.[x] Justinian made several enactments in favour of Monachism—as, for example, that married persons might embrace the monastic life without the consent of their partners, and that slaves might do so without the leave of their masters.[y] Monks more and more acquired the character of *clergy*, although monasteries had usually only so many ordained clergy as were necessary, and some of them were without any resident presbyter.[z] Leo forbids monks to preach, or to intermeddle with other clerical functions;[a] and other prohibitions to the same effect are found.[b] As, however, the monks had a greater popular reputation for holiness than the clergy, and consequently a greater influence over the people, it was the interest of the clergy rather to court than to oppose them.[c]

The Council of Chalcedon, in its fourth and eighth canons, enacted that monasteries should be strictly under the control of the bishops in whose dioceses they were situated, and that no one should found a monastery without the bishop's consent.[d] Other councils and the emperor Justinian issued ordinances of like purport.[e] The first country in which this principle was violated was Africa—where, about the year 520, many monasteries, passing over the local bishops, placed themselves under the primate of Carthage or other distant prelates. Throughout the other countries of the West, the local bishop still had the superintendence of monasteries—in so far, at least, as the abbots and clerical members were concerned, although some canons prevented his interference in the relations between the head and the lay brethren.[f]

The revolutions of the West were favourable to monasticism. Monks, both by their numbers and by their profession of especial sanctity, impressed the barbarian conquerors. Their abodes, therefore, became a secure retreat from the troubles of the time; they were honoured and respected, and wealth largely flowed in on them.[g] But where the monastic profession was sought for

[u] Mosh. i. 411-2; Gieseler, I. ii. 417.
[x] Walch, vii. 46-7.
[y] Gieseler, I. ii. 417-8.
[z] Schröckh, xvii. 395, 399-400; Planck, i. 421; 426; Gieseler, I. ii. 424. As to monks being in time ordained in greater numbers, see Guizot, ii. 89-90.
[a] Epp. cxviii. 2; cxix. 6.
[b] See Theiner, i. 116-8.
[c] Planck, i. 427.
[d] Hardouin, ii. 601-4.
[e] Bingham, II. iv. 2; Schröckh, xvii. 401-4; Guizot, ii. 84-5; Gieseler, I. ii. 392.
[f] Mosh. ii. 12; Gieseler, I. ii. 425-6.
[g] Schröckh, xvii. 397-8; Guizot, i. 120.

reasons so different from those which its founders had contemplated—for the sake of a safe and tranquil life rather than for penitence or religious perfection—a strong tendency to degeneracy was soon manifested.[h] And thus in the earlier part of the sixth century there was room for the labours of a reformer.

The person who was to appear in that character, Benedict,[i] was born near Nursia, in the duchy of Spoleto, about the year 480, and at the age of twelve was sent to study at Rome. The irregularities of his fellow-students disgusted him; at fourteen he fled from Rome, and, separating himself even from his nurse, who had attended him, he lived for three years in a cave near Subiaco. The only person acquainted with the secret of his retreat was a monk of the neighbourhood, named Romanus, who saved from the conventual allowance of bread a quantity sufficient for the support of the young recluse, and conveyed it to him by a string let down to the mouth of the cave.[k] At length Benedict was discovered by some shepherds; he instructed them and others who resorted to him, and performed a number of miracles. He was chosen abbot of a monastery in the neighbourhood; A.D. 510. but his attempts at a reformation provoked its inmates, and in order to rid themselves of him they mixed poison with his drink. On his making the sign of the cross, the cup flew in pieces; whereupon he mildly reminded the monks that he had warned them against electing a person of manners so unlike their own, and returned to his solitude.[l] His fame spread; great multitudes flocked to him, and even persons of rank entrusted their children to him for education.[m] He built twelve monasteries, each for an abbot and twelve monks. But he was disquieted by the envy of a monk named Florentius, and in 528 he quitted Subiaco with some companions.[n] After some wanderings, he arrived at Monte Cassino, where Apollo was still worshipped by the rustics, and a grove sacred to the pagan deities continued to be held in reverence. The devil attempted to check him by various prodigies; but Benedict triumphed over such obstacles. He cut down the grove, destroyed the idol of Apollo, and on the site of the altar erected an oratory dedicated to St. John the Evangelist and St. Martin[o]—the germ of the great and renowned monastery which became the mother of all the societies of the

[h] Schröckh, xvii. 296.
[i] An account of St. Benedict forms the second of St. Gregory's Dialogues.
[k] Gregor. 1.
[l] Ibid. 3.
[m] Ibid.
[n] Ibid. 8.
[o] Ibid.

West.[p] Here he drew up his *Rule* about the year 529—the year in which the schools of Athens were suppressed,[q] and the Semi-pelagian doctrine was condemned by the Council of Orange.[r]

The severity of former rules—fitted as they were for the eastern countries in which monachism had originated, rather than for those of the West, into which it had made its way—had become a pretext for a general relaxation of discipline throughout the western monasteries,[s] while, on the other hand, it had given occasion for much hypocritical pretension. Benedict, in consideration of this, intended his code to be of a milder and more practicable kind—suited for European constitutions, and variable in many respects according to the climate of the different countries into which it might be introduced.[t]

Every Benedictine monastery was to be under an abbot, chosen by the monks and approved by the bishop. The brethren were to regard their head as standing in the place of Christ, and were therefore to yield him an entire obedience;[u] while the founder was careful to impress on the abbots the duty of moderation in the exercise of their authority. The monks were to address the abbot by the title *Domnus;* in speaking to each other they were not to mention the names of the individuals, but were to use the titles of *Father* or *Son*, according to their relative age.[x] Next in order to the abbot, there might be a prior or provost (*præpositus*); but as in some monastic societies, where the prior was appointed by the bishop, he assumed an air of independence towards the abbot, the Benedictine provost was to be chosen by the abbot, and was to be subject to him in all things. Benedict, however, preferred that, instead of a prior, the abbot should be assisted in the government of his community by *elders* or *deans* (*decani*). With these he was to consult on ordinary occasions, while for important matters he was to take council with the whole body of monks.[y]

Parents might devote their children to the order. Candidates for admission into the order were to submit for a year to probations of various kinds. At their reception they gave in a written vow of stedfastness, amendment, and obedience. The first of these articles was an important novelty; for whereas formerly, although persons who forsook the monastic for the married life

[p] Fleury, xxxii. 13; Schröckh, xvii. 439-440; Neander, iii. 372; Beugnot, ii. 285-7; Guizot, ii. 74.

[q] P. 475.

[r] P. 488.

[s] Schröckh, xvii. 443, 452, 458-9; Guizot, ii. 74.

[t] Fleury, xxxii. 19; Mosh. ii. 22-4; Guizot, ii. 80; Gieseler, I. ii. 420; Neander, iii. 374.

[u] See Guizot, ii. 77.

[x] Fleury, xxxii. 18; Schröckh, xvii. 455; Neander, iii. 373-4; Gieseler, I. ii. 420.

[y] Fleury, xxxii. 18; Schröckh, xvii. 456; Gieseler, I. ii. 419.

were liable to censures and penance, their marriage was yet allowed to continue, the introduction of the Benedictine rule led to the practice of forcibly separating monks who married from their wives, and dragging them back to their monasteries.[z] All the property of the novice was to be given to the monastery, and a strict community of goods was to be observed by the monks; no presents or letters were to be received, even from the nearest relation without the abbot's permission.[a]

A distinctive feature of the Benedictine system was the provision of ample occupation for the monks,—especially of manual labour, which in the western monasteries had as yet been little practised.[b] They were to rise at two o'clock; to attend eight services daily, or, if at a distance from the monastery, to observe the hours of the services; and they were to work seven hours. The whole Psalter was to be recited every week in the course of the services. Portions of time were assigned for committing psalms to memory, for the study of Scripture, and for reading Cassian's "Conferences," lives of saints, and other devout and edifying books. A book was to be read aloud at meals, but no conversation was to be held. At dinner there were to be two sorts of *pulmenta*, "that they who cannot relish the one" (said Benedict) "may eat of the other." These *pulmenta* included grain and vegetables dressed in various ways; some authorities extend the word to eggs, fish, and even birds. A third dish, of fruit or vegetables, was to be added where such things grew. Each monk was allowed a small measure of wine; because (as Benedict remarked), although monks ought not to taste wine, it had been found impossible to enforce such a rule. A pound of bread was the usual daily allowance; but all such matters were to be arranged at the discretion of the abbot, according to the climate and the season, the age, the health, and the employment of the monks. Flesh was forbidden, except to the sick. The dress of the monks was to be coarse and plain, but variable according to circumstances. They were to sleep by ten or twenty in a room, each in a separate bed, and with their clothes on. A dean was to preside over each dormitory, and a light was to be kept burning in each. No talking was allowed after compline—the last service of the day.[c]

The monks were never to go out without permission, and, in order that there might be little necessity for leaving the monastery,

[z] Schröckh, xvii. 453-4; Neander, iii. 373; Gieseler, I. ii. 421-2.
[a] Fleury, xxxii. 19; Schröckh, xvii. 449; Gieseler, I. ii. 421; Guizot, i. 78.
[b] Guizot, ii. 75; Gieseler, I. ii. 420.
[c] Fleury, xxxii. 14-7; Schröckh, xvii. 447-450; Gieseler, I. ii. 420; Neander, iii. 375.

it was to contain within its precincts the garden, the mill, the well, the bakehouse, and other requisite appurtenances. The occupation of every monk was to be determined by the abbot; if any one were disposed to pride himself on his skill in any art or handicraft, he was to be forbidden to practise it.[d] Monks were to sell the productions of their labour at a lower price than others —a regulation by which Benedict intended to guard against the appearance of covetousness, without, probably, considering how it might interfere with the fair profit of secular persons, who depended on their trades for a livelihood.[e]

St. Gregory the Great, in his account of Benedict, ascribes to him a multitude of miracles and prophecies. Among other things, it is related that the Gothic king Totila, wishing to have an interview with the saint, made trial of his penetration by sending to him an officer dressed in the royal robes; but that Benedict discovered the device, and afterwards foretold to Totila the course of his successes and his eventual ruin.[f]

Before the death of Benedict, which took place in 543,[g] his order had been established in France, Spain, and Sicily.[h] In no long time it absorbed all the monachism of the West—being the first example of a great community spread through various countries, and subject to one rule.[i] Its ramifications were multiplied under a variety of names. Although precluded by their vow of obedience from altering their rule, the later Benedictines were able, by means of a distinction between the essential and the accidental parts of it, to find pretexts for a departure in many respects from their founder's original constitutions.[k] The monks cleared forests, reduced wastes into fertility by tillage, civilised rude populations, and extirpated the remains of heathenism. Although St. Benedict had not contemplated the cultivation of learning in his monasteries —an object which was first recommended to monks by his contemporary Cassiodorus[l]—it was found to agree well with the

[d] Fleury, xxxii. 15, 17; Schröckh, xvii. 453; Gieseler, I. ii. 420.

[e] Neander, iii. 375.

[f] Greg. 14-5.

[g] Some say 547. See Dupin, v. 65.

[h] From Maur, who introduced it into France, the celebrated congregation of St. Maur took its name. The existence of St. Maur has been questioned by some Protestants—apparently with very little reason. Schröckh, xvii. 465.

[i] Fleury, xxxiii. 13; Mosh. ii. 24; Schröckh. xvii. 433, 462; Gieseler, I. ii. 421; Guizot, ii. 81.

[k] Mosh. ii. 23-4.

[l] Cassiodorus, a senator, after having been employed in high political offices, retired at the age of seventy to the neighbourhood of his native place, Squillace, in Calabria, and founded the monastery of Vivarium (A.D. 539). It was furnished with a library, and in other respects was widely different from the monastic establishments of the East. Cassiodorus superintended it in the character of patron. The Benedictines claim him as one of their order, but without ground. He recommended to his monks the study and the transcription of religious and other works. He composed many books for their instruction—one of them at the age of ninety-three. The time of his

regular distribution of time which was a characteristic of the order. During the troubled centuries which followed, learning found a refuge in the Benedictine cloisters; the monks transcribed the works of classical and Christian antiquity, and were the chief instruments of preserving them. They taught the young; they chronicled the events of their times; and, in later ages, the learning and industry of this noble order have rendered inestimable services to literature.[m]

IV. *Rites and Usages.*

In matters connected with worship, the tendencies of the fourth century were more fully carried out during the two which followed, by the multiplication and the increased splendour of ceremonies, the gorgeous and costly decoration of churches, the addition of new festivals, and the like.[n]

(1.) The reverence paid to Saints rose higher; their intercession and protection were entreated, their relics were eagerly sought after, and extravagant stories were told of miracles wrought not only by such relics themselves, but by cloths which had touched them, and by water in which they had been dipped.[o] Churches were dedicated to saints and angels; and, although the preachers of the time were careful to distinguish between the honour paid to saints and that which belongs to God alone, some of them openly avowed that the saints and their days held in the Christian system a like place to that which had formerly been assigned to the gods of paganism and *their* festivals.[p] Relics of scriptural personages continued to be found. A remarkable instance occurred in the year 487, when Peter the Fuller, then bishop of Antioch, and strong in the favour of Zeno, revived the claim of jurisdiction over Cyprus which had been disallowed by the General Council of Ephesus.[q] Anthimus, bishop of Constantia and metropolitan of the island, a sound Catholic, was summoned to appear at Constantinople, and answer the Monophysite patriarch's claims. On the eve of his departure from Cyprus, he was visited in his sleep by the Apostle St. Barnabas, who discovered to him the resting-place of his remains. The body was found accordingly, and with it a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel, written by the hand of St. Barnabas. Anthimus on this went to Constantinople, and met the apostolical pretensions of Antioch by

death is unknown. See Baron. 514. 1; 562. 8-23; Dupin, v. 63; Schröckh, xvi. 58; xvii. 137-153; Gieseler, I. ii. 422-3.

[m] Mosh. ii. 12; Gieseler, I. ii. 423-4.

[n] Mosh. i. 471-2; ii. 40; Schröckh, xvii. 481-2.

[o] Schröckh, xvii. 485, 502-3.

[p] Mosh. ii. 51; Schröckh, xvii. 495-501; Theodoret, in Gieseler, I. ii. 274-5.

[q] See p. 437.

this proof that his own Church also could boast an apostolical origin. The emperor gladly admitted it, and expressed great delight that his reign had been distinguished by so illustrious an event. Peter returned discomfited to Antioch, and the autocephalous independence of Cyprus was established beyond all controversy.[r]

Spurious relics were largely manufactured.[s] Lives of recent saints were composed—full of miraculous recitals. Saints of older date were supplied with biographies in a like spirit of accommodation to the prevailing taste; and imaginary saints, with suitable histories, were invented.[t]

(2.) The Nestorian controversy had a very important effect in advancing the Blessed Virgin to a prominence above all other saints which had been unknown in earlier times. When the title of *Theotokos* had been denied to her, Cyril, Proclus, and the other opponents of Nestorius burst forth in their sermons and writings into hyperbolical flights in vindication of it, and in exaltation of the Saviour's Mother.[u] In this Eutychians vied with Catholics; the Monophysite Peter of Antioch was the first who introduced the name of the Virgin into all the prayers of his Church.[x] Justinian invoked the aid of St. Mary for the success of his arms; Narses never ventured to fight a battle unless he had previously received some token of her approval.[y] The idea of a female mediator—performing in the higher world offices akin to those labours of mercy and intercession which befit the feminine character on earth—was one which the mind of mankind was ready to receive;[z] and, moreover, this idea of the Blessed Mary was welcomed as a substitute for some which had been lost by the fall of Polytheism.[a] The veneration of her, therefore, advanced rapidly, although it was not until a later period that it reached its greatest height.

(3.) The religious use of images and pictures gained ground.[b]

[r] Baron. 485. 4, seqq.; Tillem. xvi. 379-380; Schröckh, xvii. 503.

[s] A Spanish canon of A.D. 592 may be mentioned here, although it falls just beyond the period embraced in this volume. With a view of testing, not the genuineness but the orthodoxy of relics, it enacts that such as might be found in Arian places of worship should be tried by fire. Hard. iii. 533; Schröckh, xvii. 504.

[t] Gieseler, I. ii. 427-9.

[u] Schröckh, xvii. 489-90.

[x] Tillem. xvi. 376; comp. 691.

[y] Evagr. iv. 24; Schröckh, xvii. 495-6. Excess of reverence for the Blessed Virgin is curiously combined with another superstition of the time, in a story that the mother of a maiden debauched by Zeno, having prayed to St. Mary for vengeance on him, had a vision of the Theotokos, who told her that the emperor's alms suspended the punishment due to his crimes. Tillem. Emp. vi. 475.

[z] Bayle, art. "Nestorius," note N.

[a] Beugnot, ii. 262-4.

[b] Schröckh, xvii. 503-4.

Figures of the Blessed Virgin—in some cases throned, and with the infant Saviour in her arms—were introduced into churches.[c] It was during this time that stories began to be current of authentic likenesses of the Saviour—painted by St. Luke or sent down from heaven[d]—and of miracles wrought by them in healing the sick, casting out devils, procuring victory against enemies, and the like.[e] The use of images obtained more in the East than in the west.[f] Leontius, bishop of Neapolis, in Cyprus, at the end of the sixth century, defends the worship (*προσκύνησις*) of them, in token of honour towards those whom they represent; and he speaks of miraculous images from which blood trickled.[g] On the other hand, Xenaias or Philoxenus, a bishop of the Syrian Hierapolis, who was notorious as a Monophysite in the early part of the century, ejected images out of churches.[h]

(4.) To the festivals of general observance was added in the sixth century that of the *Purification*, or, as it was styled in the East, the *Hypapante*—the *meeting* with Symeon in the temple. The first celebration of it at Constantinople was in 542.[i] The *Annunciation* was also probably celebrated in the sixth century, as it was fully established in the next. In most countries it was kept on the 25th of March, although in Spain and in Armenia other days were chosen, in order that it might not interfere with the Lenten fast.[k] Both the Annunciation and the Purification, although having the Saviour for their primary object, fell in with the prevailing tendency to exalt the mother of His humanity.[l] The *Nativity of St. John the Baptist* appears to have been also now generally observed—the more naturally because Midsummer was marked by festival rites both among the Romans and among the northern nations. It is mentioned as a principal festival by the Council of Agde, in 506.[m] The fast of the *Rogation-days*, with its litanies and processions, was instituted by Mamercus, bishop of Vienne, during a season of distress, about the middle of the fifth century, and was soon adopted elsewhere.[n]

[c] Mosh. i. 472; Schröckh, xvii. 496.

[d] The first mention of such things is by Theodore the Reader, A.D. 518. Gieseler, I. ii. 430.

[e] Evagr. iv. 27; Gibbon, iv. 280; Neander, iii. 416-8.

[f] Neander, iii. 416; Gieseler, I. ii. 430.

[g] Gieseler, I. ii. 430.

[h] Schröckh, xvii. 504; Neander, I. ii. 418.

[i] It has been supposed that the Purification took the place of the Lupercalia, which had been celebrated at nearly the same time of the year. Mosh. ii. 51; Schröckh, xvii. 194, 486-7.

[k] Mosh. ii. 52. n.; Schröckh, xvii. 485.

[l] Bingham, XX. viii. 4-5; Gieseler, I. ii. 431.

[m] Can. xxi. ap. Hard. ii. 1000; Schröckh, xvii. 487; Mosh. ii. 52, note.

[n] Tillem. xvi. 114-7; Bingham, XXI. iii. 8; Schröckh, xvii. 173; Gieseler, I. ii. 432.

(5.) No alteration in the doctrine of the sacraments is to be noted during this period. With respect to the Eucharist, however, writers and preachers became more rhetorical in their language, so that some of their expressions might, if they stood alone, imply the later doctrine of the Romish Church. But that no one as yet doubted the continued subsistence of the elements in their own nature, while yet a higher virtue was believed to be imparted to them by the consecration, appears from other expressions which are clear and unequivocal.[o] The controversy as to the union of natures in the person of the Redeemer was often illustrated by a comparison with the doctrine of the Eucharist—an illustration obviously inconsistent with the more modern teaching of Rome.[p]

Gelasius forbids communicating in one kind; "A division of one and the same mystery," he declares "cannot be made without great sacrilege." It is needless to refute, or even to characterise, the explanations by which Romish writers have endeavoured to get over this prohibition—by restricting the words of Gelasius to the priest alone, or by saying that they relate to the Manichæan sectaries *only*, and have no application to Catholics, since these do not *abhor* the reception of the eucharistic cup.[q]

Canons were now found necessary to enforce the reception of the Lord's Supper. Thus the Council of Agde (A.D. 506) enacted that no one should be accounted a Christian unless he communicated at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.[r]

V. *Doctrine of Purgatory.*

Among the doctrines which now crept in must be noted that of a *purgation* after death. The oriental idea of a purgatorial fire, through which souls must pass at the day of judgment, had been maintained by Origen;[s] but a process of cleansing between death and judgment[t] was afterwards inferred by some from 1 Cor. iii. 12; and it was supposed that by such means every one who died in the orthodox faith, however vicious his life might have been, would eventually be brought to salvation. St. Augustine earnestly combated this error; he maintained that the probation of which the Apostle spoke consisted chiefly in trials which are sent on men during the present life. He thought, however, that for those

[o] Neander, iv. 437. See quotations from Theodoret, Gelasius, and Facundus, in Schröckh, xviii. 589; Neander, iii. 437-8; Gieseler, I. ii. 435-6.

[p] Neander, iii. 437.

[q] See Baron. 496, 20; Schröckh, xvii. 182, 505.

[r] Can. xviii. ap. Hard. ii. 1000; Gieseler, I. ii. 434-5.

[s] Sup. p. 105. See quotations in Gieseler, I. i. 323.

[t] Plato, Phædo, 143-4.

who in the main were servants of Christ there *might* be a purging of their remaining imperfections after death; and the opinion, although advanced by him merely as a conjecture, was soon more confidently held, and became in the sequel of vast practical importance.[u]

VI. *Decline of Learning.*

From the middle of the fifth century learning had been on the decline in the Church, and towards the end of the sixth hardly any other than ecclesiastical literature continued to be cultivated. The barbarian invasions—the necessity in troubled times of directing all activity to *practical* purposes[x]—the extinction of paganism, with the consequent removal of the motive by which Christian teachers had been obliged to qualify themselves for arguing with learned heathens—the dislike and scorn with which the monkish spirit regarded pagan letters and philosophy—all combined in producing this result. Even among the works of Christian authors, all but such as were of acknowledged orthodoxy were proscribed;[y] and this also operated towards the discouragement of learning. Nor did the age produce any writers whose genius could rise above its depressing and narrowing influences. The most distinguished of those who lived in the middle or towards the end of the century—such as Cassiodorus and Isidore of Seville[z]—did for the most part little beyond abridging and compiling from the works of earlier ages.[a]

Yet in this sad time—amid corruption of doctrine and of morals, degeneracy of talent, decline of learning and civilisation—we see the Gospel acting not without effect, even on the very surface of things. It softens barbarians, it mitigates the horrors of war and of slavery, it teaches both to conquerors and to conquered something of a new bond superior to differences of race, it controls the oppression of brutal force by revealing responsibilities beyond those of this present world. We see the Church bearing within it, not only the hope of immortality, but the treasures of the past, rescued from the deluge of barbarism.

[u] Mosh. i. 460; Gieseler, I. ii. 433; Neander, iv. 442-3.

[x] Guizot, ii. 99, 102.

[y] The first list of forbidden books was issued by a Roman council under Gelasius, A.D. 494. Hardouin, ii. 937-8; Gieseler, I. ii. 383.

[z] Hallam, Hist. of Literature, i. 3. For Cassiodorus, see p. 511. St. Isidore of Seville was born in 570, and died in 636.

[a] Mosh. i. 429; ii. 41-4; Schröckh, xvi. 49, 54; Gieseler, I. ii. 382-3.

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